

# Homeric and Pharmacologic Medical Recipes in a Greek Papyrus Formulary

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Michael Zellmann-Rohrer *University of Oxford*

## Abstract

Edition of a Greek papyrus from the Rendel Harris collection, with a late second/third-century text on the front consisting of two recipes for amulets, one including the use of a Homeric verse, and with a fourth-century text on the back consisting of two medical recipes.

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The fragment published here, acquired in Egypt by J. Rendel Harris, bears two separate texts in different hands on front and back. From the original writing (front), of the late second or third century AD, portions of two recipes for amulets survive. The second of these, lines 4-6, belongs to the genre of iatromagical texts<sup>2</sup> and calls for the inscription of a Homeric verse (*Il.* 1.75), probably on the skin of a hare, to stop vaginal bleeding. As such, if the paleographic dating of the fragment is correct, it is the earliest attestation of amuletic use of Homeric verses in the papyri, a practice well known in Graeco-Roman antiquity from a variety of sources.<sup>3</sup> A later version of the same recipe appears in the fourth-century archival codex of Aurelius Philammon from Hermopolis,

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<sup>1</sup> I thank the Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, University of Birmingham for permission to publish this papyrus and the accompanying images, and the editors and anonymous readers of *BASP* for helpful comments on this article.

<sup>2</sup> As defined by M. de Haro Sanchez, "Mise en texte et contexte des papyrus iatromagiques grecs: recherches sur les conditions matérielles de réalisation des formulaires et des amulettes," *PapCongr.* 26:159-169, with a useful catalogue of such texts; ead. "Catalogue des papyrus iatromagiques grecs," *PapLup* 13 (2004) 37-60; add now also *P.Oxy.* 80.5245. On the so-called magical papyri more generally, see W.M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey. Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)," *ANRW* 2.18.5 (1995) 3380-3684.

<sup>3</sup> See D. Collins, "The Magic of Homeric Verses," *CP* 103 (2008) 211-236, with bibliography.

now in Berlin.<sup>4</sup> There it forms part of a collection of at least ten prescriptions for the use of Homeric lines for various healing and protective purposes. The remains of the first recipe on the present papyrus show that the rest of the two collections differed substantially. Other Homeric verses are deployed as amulets in the fourth-century “great Paris magical papyrus.”<sup>5</sup> Their supposed divine inspiration and canonical status were no doubt also responsible for their use in divination, including the “Homer oracle” (Ὅμηρομαντεῖον) in a ritual and recipe handbook on papyrus now in London.<sup>6</sup>

The amuletic use of Homeric verses continues after late antiquity in a tradition more vital than acknowledged in recent studies.<sup>7</sup> Aside from recipes in Byzantine medical writers and the *Geoponika* and *Hippiatrika* collections,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> P.Berl. inv. 9873 p. 22.13-15, ed. G. Poethke, S. Prignitz, and V. Valske, *Das Aktenbuch des Aurelios Philammon* (Berlin 2012); cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa. The useful edition of Poethke et al. should be approached with the cautions advised in the review of P. van Minnen, *BASP* 50 (2013) 331-334, especially on the “magical” texts themselves (333): there is no compelling reason not to regard them as included in the codex for the practical use of its owner.

<sup>5</sup> BnF cod. suppl. gr. 574, ff. 7r, 10v, and 24v, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P IV.467-474, 830-834, and 2145-2151.

<sup>6</sup> P.Lond. inv. 121, coll. 1\*-4, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII. A new edition of this formulary is being prepared by R. Martín Hernández; on the Ὅμηρομαντεῖον see most recently ead. “Two More Verses for the Homeromanteion,” *ZPE* 190 (2014) 97-98.

<sup>7</sup> This continuity can be supported by manuscript evidence (see below), despite the fact that neither of the two examples adduced by Collins for survivals “well into the Middle Ages” (op. cit. [n. 3] 211) support the claim upon further examination. The first is the seventeenth-century work of Jean-Baptiste Thiers, *Traité des superstitions* (2nd ed., 4 vols. [Paris 1697]). It is hardly conceivable that Thiers encountered evidence of the Homeric recipes that he cites (2.6, 1:417) in use in contemporary France, however: rather, he simply copied them from printed editions of the *Geoponika* (7.31.2 and 10.87.6) and Alexander of Tralles (*Therapeutica* 12, 2:581 Puschmann). That Thiers drew many of these “superstitions” from his own research in books in a similar manner has been well observed; see the introduction to the useful re-edition of the treatise by J.M. Goulemot, *Traité des superstitions. Croyances populaires et rationalité à l'Âge classique* (Paris 1984). The second is a Latin recipe in an eighth-century codex produced in England (London, BL cod. Royal 2 A XX, f. 49v), which contains a palindromic Greek hexameter verse followed by a Latin translation also in hexameter. It may recall *Il.* 24.451, as L.W. Daly suggests (“A Greek Palindrome in Eighth-century England,” *AJPh* 103 [1982] 95-97), but the resemblance is not particularly close, and in any case it can be found verbatim in the Palatine Anthology (16.387b), requiring no direct acquaintance with Homer.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* 12, 2:581 Puschmann; *Geoponika* 7.31.2, 10.87.6; *Hippiatrika Cantabrigiensia* 10.5 (ed. K. Hoppe and E. Oder, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* 2 [Leipzig 1927]).



which were copied extensively in the medieval period, there are at least two independently circulating Byzantine examples. The first, from an eleventh-century manuscript with astrological material, recommends that *Il.* 10.139, in which the wise Nestor wakes up the crafty Odysseus, be written as an amulet for children “unable to learn.”<sup>9</sup> The second, transmitted in a sixteenth-century manuscript of broadly natural-philosophic and medical content, perhaps produced in Italy, targets insomnia. Specifically, it prescribes that the patient address sleep itself (ὕπνος) in the words of Hera in *Il.* 14.233, followed by an original composition in Homeric diction, resembling particularly *Il.* 14.236 and *Od.* 13.79, of Odysseus sleeping on the Phaeacian ship en route to Ithaca.<sup>10</sup>

The internal title of the new version of the Homeric amulet, πρὸς ἑμάρροῦσαν (for αἱμορροῦσαν) makes clear that the bleeding concerned is vaginal, and that the Homeric text is to be inscribed, then worn on the patient’s body as a periapt. The Berlin text gives no directions for wearing, though a reference to inscription is a probable new reading (see commentary to lines 4-5 of the present text). This type of amulet is more generally titled αἱμαροϊκόν, but a specific function for post-partum hemorrhage has been proposed by M.

<sup>9</sup> πρὸς παιδία κακομαθῆ ὄντα πρὸς πᾶσαν μάθησιν. “φθεγζάμενος, τὸν δ’ αἶψα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ’ ἰωή,” τοῦτον γράψων ἐν Ἑρμῇ παιδίῳ μὴ δυναμένῳ μαθεῖν. [τόνδε ἐκ δ’ cod., the writer may have conflated the beginning of the verse with that of *Il.* 10.140, ἐκ δ’ ἤλυθε κλισίης.] From Florence, BML cod. Plut. 28.34, f. 83v, ed. W. Kroll, “Astrologisches,” *Philologus* 57 (1898) 131 (with old foliation). On the manuscript see further F. Boll, F. Cumont, W. Kroll, and A. Olivieri (edd.), *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* 1 (Brussels 1898) 60-72.

<sup>10</sup> ἄλλο ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου, ποιεῖ δὲ ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ νοσοῦσι. λέγοντος γὰρ τοῦ πάσχοντος τρίτον, ὑπνώσει. “ὕπνε ἄναξ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ’ ἀνθρώπων, κοίμησον στέρνοισιν ἑμοῖσιν ἐὼν καὶ βλεφάροισιν ἢ νήδυμος ἔμπεσε τυτθὸν ὄφρ’ ἕκας ἔλθοιμι ἀνίης.” [τε θεῶν correxi : τῶν θ. cod.; ἑμοῖσι νέον cod.; ἕκα ἔλθοιμι ἀνίης cod.] (“Another from the [verses] of Homer, it works on healthy and sick people. For if the patient says it three times, he will fall asleep: ‘Sleep, lord of all gods and all men, bring rest and reside in my chest and eyes, or fall, deep sleep, gently upon [me] so that I may leave distress far behind.’”) From Leiden, UB cod. VGF 25, f. 5v. The recipe is as far as I know unpublished. On the manuscript see K. de Meyier, *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti, VI. Codices Vossiani graeci et miscellanei* (Leiden 1955) 28. The collection in which the recipe occurs is preceded in the manuscript by a meteorological treatise (Ἡλιοδόρου περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν, f. 1r-v), and another on sympathy and antipathy under the name of Democritus (περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν, ff. 1v-3v, edited from two other sources by W. Gemoll, “Nepualii fragmentum Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀντιπάθειαν καὶ συμπάθειαν et Democriti Περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν,” *Städtisches Realprogymnasium zu Striegau* 190 [1884] 3-6; on the text and its sources and composition see M. Wellmann, *Die Φυσικά des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa* [Berlin 1928] 28-32).

de Haro Sanchez.<sup>11</sup> As for the mechanism of the amulet, C.A. Faraone has suggested that the reference to the wrath (μῆνις) of Apollo is intended as a threat to the blood itself,<sup>12</sup> if it does not quickly cease to flow. The line might also be meant to set up an analogy of the type at work in the narrative historiola, common in incantations.<sup>13</sup> Here the patient would be assimilated to the plane of the Homeric epic, in which the μῆνις, physically manifested as plague, is duly appeased after the seer Calchas correctly identifies its source and the recommended expiation is carried out.

The Homeric recipe is juxtaposed with another amulet, in lines 1-3, which involves the writing of χαρκτήρες. These signs, without direct semantic value but projecting a broader sense of ritual power, on which see further the note on line 3, are common in the so-called Greek magical papyri but not present in any of the surviving recipes in the Berlin codex. Unfortunately the purpose of this first amulet cannot be reconstructed, specifically whether it is in fact medical or aimed at a broader protection of the person from external menace, or even the acquisition of favor or love. From line 2 it appears that it was meant to be worn about the neck.

The back of the fragment shows the later addition of two medical recipes of a pharmacologic type.<sup>14</sup> The remains are primarily lists of ingredients, with

<sup>11</sup> “Le vocabulaire de la pathologie et de la thérapeutique dans les papyrus iatromagiques grecs. Fièvres, traumatismes et ‘épilepsie,’” *BASP* 47 (2010) 140-141. C.A. Faraone, “Taking the ‘Nestor’s Cup Inscription’ Seriously: Erotic Magic and Conditional Curses in the Earliest Inscribed Hexameters,” *CA* 15 (1996) 84 had suggested hemorrhoids. Collins considers this unlikely, suggesting instead “some other kind of bloody flux,” op. cit. (n. 3) 218.

<sup>12</sup> Faraone, op. cit. (n. 11) 84, n. 24. Collins has perhaps misunderstood this suggestion in dismissing it, and in any case does not offer a persuasive alternative mechanism: “[the amulet] seems to derive its efficacy from naming Apollo’s wrath with no further action specified ... one commentator has suggested that it operates by chilling the hemorrhoidal blood, except that it is not at all clear whether this would be desirable,” op. cit. (n. 3) 217. On such threats in incantations see further C.A. Faraone, “Stopping Evil, Pain, Anger, and Blood: The Ancient Greek Tradition of Protective Iambic Incantations,” *GRBS* 49 (2009) 227-255.

<sup>13</sup> See D. Frankfurter, “Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical Historiola in Ritual Spells,” in P. Mirecki and M.W. Meyer (edd.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden 1995) 451-470.

<sup>14</sup> Some recently published examples, with useful bibliography, are: *P.Oxy.* 80.5242-5253; C. Werner, *P.Scholl* 13-15 (*P.Lips.* inv. 390a-e, in L. Popko, N. Quenouille, and M. Rücker [eds.], *Von Sklaven, Pächtern und Politikern. Beiträge zum Alltag in Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom. Δουλικά έργα zu Ehren von Reinhold Scholl* [Berlin 2012] 230-249); J. Lenaerts, “P. Brux. Inv. E. 7191: prescriptions médicales et prose littéraire non identifiée,” *CdÉ* 85 (2010) 207-211; I. Andorlini (ed.), *Greek Medical Papyri* 2 (Florence

additional references in the second recipe to times of day (lines 7 and 9), possibly an indication of more substantive therapeutic instructions. The precise purpose of the recipes cannot be determined, but the first (lines 1-3) is very likely for a salve or unguent. The combination of these recipes with the earlier text on the front may be evidence of the simultaneous use of amuletic and pharmacologic approaches to healing by the same practitioner, namely whoever was behind the addition of the later text. But there is evidence also for the use of recycled papyrus of documentary content unrelated to medicine for the writing of such medical recipes,<sup>15</sup> so the two sides are not necessarily linked. The first recipe on the back also prescribes bear fat (line 2), an ingredient not previously attested in medical recipes in the papyri.

P.Harr. inv. 303a    H x W = 6.2 x 11.8 cm    late second/third cent. (front),  
Acquired 1922-1923<sup>16</sup>    fourth cent. (back)

### *Front*

The light brown papyrus is broken on three sides, with additional surface damage. The left edge (the top edge with respect to the text on the back) is either intact or nearly so. The original text, in a rather clumsy and irregular imitation of a bookhand, can be dated to the late second or third century by comparison to *P.Oxy.* 3.596 (late second century; cf. Roberts, *GLH* 16c),

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2009) nos. 4-9; A.E. Hanson, "Recipes for Female Complaints and Other Ailments: P.CtYBR inv. 1443, col. i," *PapCongr.* 24.1:427-433. On medical recipes in general see V. Gazza, "Prescrizioni mediche nei papiri dell'Egitto greco-romano," *Aegyptus* 35 (1955) 86-110 and 36 (1956) 73-114; M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* (Geneva 1981); the introduction of H. Harrauer and P.J. Sijpesteijn to *MPER* 13; M.-H. Marganne and P. Mertens, "Medici et Medica. Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires grecs et latins," *PapCongr.* 18.1:105-146; I. Andorlini, "L'apporto dei papiri alla conoscenza della scienza medica greca," *ANRW* 2.37.1 (1993) 458-562, esp. 517-544 on collections of recipes and prescriptions; ead., *Trattato di medicina su papiro* (Firenze 1995); ead., "Il 'gergo' grafico ed espressivo della ricettazione medica antica," in A. Marcone (ed.), *Medicina e società nel mondo antico. Atti del convegno di Udine (4-5 ottobre 2005)* (Florence 2006) 142-167.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. the prescriptions edited by R. Coles, "New Literary and Sub-Literary Fragments from the Fayum," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 247-266, no. 8, on the back of "a document in a cursive hand;" *P.Oxy.* 80.5247 "[o]n the back of what appears to be an account;" *P.NYU* 2.28, an account of the prices of ingredients in medical recipes, on the back of *P.NYU* 2.27, a receipt for a loan dated to 163 CE.

<sup>16</sup> Part of a collection acquired by J. Rendel Harris in the winter of 1922-1923 by purchase from dealers in Behnesa (ancient Oxyrhynchus) and Cairo. See the preface to *P.Harr.* 1.

*P.Oxy.* 8.1100 (206 CE; cf. Roberts, *GLH* 20b), and *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.2 (late third century; cf. Roberts, *GLH* 23c). An extended paragraphus below line 3, with a short vertical stroke at its left end, divides the two preserved recipes. A left margin survives, with enthesis in line 3; the text of the second recipe below the paragraphus is set farther to the right. The text on the back is described and edited separately below.

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→                   ] . [  
         ἐπὶ τ[ὸ]ν τράχηλον κα[ ±3 ]σεω . [  
*vac.*   ⊗ γ π π Ϟ + λ Ϟ αρμεωθ[

                  πρὸς ἐμαρροῦσαν. “μήνιν Ἀπό[λλωνος]  
5           ἐκατελαβέτοο ἄνακτος” γρά[ψον εἰς]  
                  [δ]έρμα [λα]γ[ωο]ῦ καὶ περρίψον κ[

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4 l. αἰμορροῦσαν   5 l. ἐκατηβαλέταο

“... upon the neck ... (*charaktêres*) *armeōth* ...  
For a woman with (vaginal) bleeding. ‘The wrath of Apollo, far-shooting lord’ – write it on hare skin and bind it upon (her) ...”

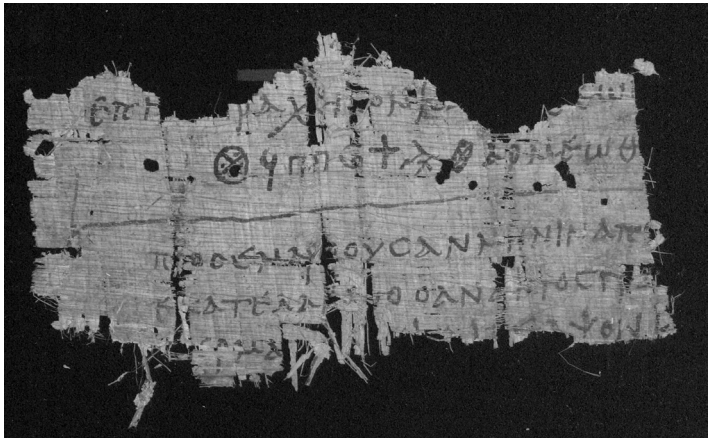


Fig. 1: *P.Harr. inv.* 303a front, reprinted with permission of the Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, University of Birmingham

1 In the lost portion of this recipe will have stood a title or indication of intended use (cf. line 4 below) and directions for something to be placed on or hung around the neck, as in P.Berol. inv. 9873 p. 22.10-11 (ed. G. Poethke, S. Prignitz, and V. Vaelske, *Das Aktenbuch des Aurelios Philammon* [Berlin 2012]; cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa). The single trace of a letter in this line is too exiguous to support any conjecture.

2 κα[ ±3 ]σεω . [: the trace before the break at right is a vertical stroke which would be consistent with π, and therefore a supplement such as κα[ῖ χρυ]σέω π[ετάλω γρ(άψον) or γρ(άφε)] (“and write on a gold leaf”) is tempting, if we suppose that a separate amuletic object is prescribed in the previous clause referring to the neck. No exact parallels for the proposed supplement can be found, however, and a preposition might be expected, cf. e.g. P.Lond. inv. 121 col. 12.11 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.417) γρ(άφε) εἰς πέταλλον κασσιτέρινον, for the binding of an enemy (κάτοχος), and col. 16.21-22 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.580-581) ἐπιγραφόμενον ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ πετάλου, for a protective amulet (φυλακτήριον). In any case the entheses of line 3 suggests that the *charaktères* and *logoi* to be inscribed begin in that line and not before.

3 On the signs (χαράκτῆρες) see in general R. Gordon, “Charaktères Between Antiquity and the Renaissance: Transmission and Re-Invention,” in V. Dasen and J.-M. Spieser (eds.), *Les savoirs magiques et leurs transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance* (Florence 2014) 253-300. Numbers 1 and 8 in this sequence (from left to right) are variations on a theme, seen in the formularies P.Lond. inv. 46 f. 5 v° in the figure at the bottom (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P V.357 with vol. 1, Abb. 6) and P.Lond. inv. 121 col. 5.38, 6.1, 4, 11.30, 12.9, 12.15 (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* P VII.204, 206-207, 399, 415, 421), and on the amulet P.Med.Copt. inv. 254, ed. S. Pernigotti, “I papiri copti dell’Università Cattolica di Milano: I,” *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 73-76, no. 3 with tav. III; there is a resemblance to the hieroglyphic sign Gardiner O49 (circular peripheral walls of a town enclosing a crossroads). Numbers 2, 5, and 6 resemble Coptic letters (ϣ, ϭ, ϫ), and 3 and 4 the Greek π. The seventh recalls the abbreviation λί(τρα), perhaps a borrowing from medical or chemical literature.

— αρμεωθ: this portion of the *logos* is not otherwise attested in the magical papyri, and no other instances are known to me. Cf. the glossary of such words in W.M. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey. Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994),” *ANRW* 2.18.5 (Berlin 1995) 3576-3603.

4-5 Il. 1.75. So too P.Berl. inv. 9873 p. 22.13-15 (ed. G. Poethke, S. Prignitz, and V. Vaelske, *Das Aktenbuch des Aurelios Philammon* [Berlin 2012]; cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* P XXIIa): ἄ[λλ]ο. αἰμαροῦκόν. “μῆνι[ν] Ἀπόλλων[ο]ς ἐκ[ατ]η-

βελῆτα(ο) ἄνακτ[ο]ς” εἰς δέ[ρ]μα λ[α]γωφῶ γρ(άφε). αἵμαρῶϊαν ἰᾷται. The most recent editors of the Berlin text print λ[α]γωφῶ [ . . . ] in line 15, but the reading can be revised by comparison with the excellent digital facsimile available through the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank. The ink clearly continues after λ[α]γωφῶ, and the traces strongly suggest γρ/ as an abbreviation of γρ(άφε), as also in line 24 of the same page; the possibility of restoring “eine Partizipialform von γράφω ... in der Lücke” is raised in the commentary (p. 122), but there is in fact no lacuna.

6 [λα]γ[ωο]ῶ: difficult, but supported by the Berlin version (see note on lines 4-5 above); in its present disposition the fibers bearing the crossbar of γ are twisted 90 degrees from their proper alignment. The medicinal use of hares more generally is attested in the letter *P.Flor.* 2.177, with the corrections of D.W. Rathbone, “P.Flor.177: Breeding Hares for Medicinal Uses,” *ZPE* 47 (1982) 281-284, in which Appianus recommends that the φροντιστής of his estate in the Arsinoite set up an enclosure for the breeding of hares, because they are in demand among ἰατροί “for salves and other medical needs” (εἰς κολλούρια καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας ἱατρικὰς χρεῖας, 19-22).

– The end of the line is perhaps to be supplemented κ[αὶ ἰᾷται]; cf. the note on lines 4-5 above.

### Back

A later text has been added on this side, with rotation of 90 degrees with respect to the text on the front. The surface is badly abraded in lines 2 and 5-6. The first preserved line is probably the beginning of the text, since the top edge (the left edge with respect to the text on the front) is either intact or has lost only a small portion. Although the bottom edge is not intact, as can be seen from the loss of letters at what is the right edge of the front, the substantial blank space after line 9 suggests that the text on the back ended there. The hand is more cursive than that of the earlier text, especially in the forms of α and υ, and can be dated to the fourth century CE with reference to *BGU* 2.405 (348 CE; cf. Schubart, *PGB* 38b), *BKT* 5.1 (fourth century CE; cf. Schubart, *PGB* 43a) and *PSI* 6.718 (first half of the fourth century CE; cf. F. Ronconi, “Riedizione di *PSI* VI 718: ricette mediche e geponiche,” *AnalPap* 12 [2000] 143-149). The *vacat* in line 4 appears to separate two recipes and may have been accompanied by a paragraphus at the beginning. There is punctuation by single high point in line 3.

→ ]ριχων ἴρεος εκ . [  
       ] στέατος ἄρκτου [  
       ]ας· λιθαργύρου· ψι[μυθίου  
       ] *vacat* [  
 5   ] . . . . . ο . . . τ . . . .  
       ] . . . . . ει . . . ὅταν δε[  
       ] πρωὶ καλῶς ειξ . [  
       ]ν ρίζαν καλαμ[  
       ]πον γυκτὸς κ[

1 l. ἴρεως

“... of iris ... of bear fat ... of litharge, of white lead ... when ... in the morning well ... root ... at night ...”

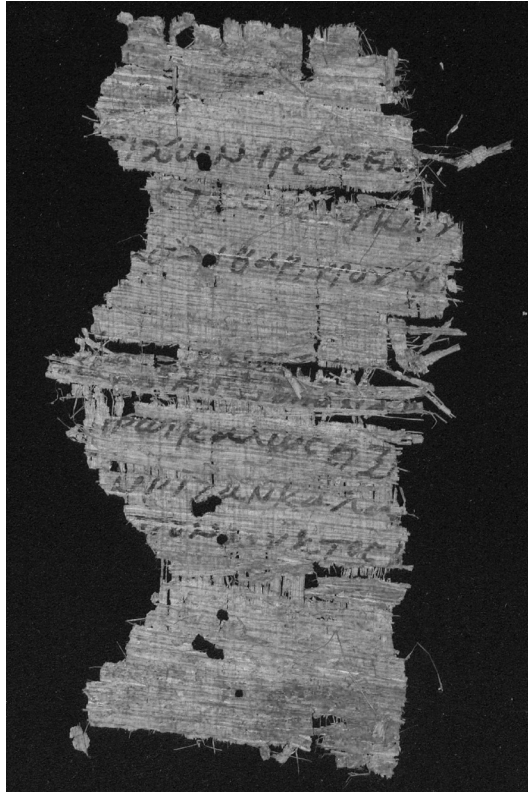


Fig. 2: P.Harr. inv. 303a back, reprinted with permission of the Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, University of Birmingham



1 The title and indication of purpose cannot be reconstructed with confidence, but the general nature of the ingredients suggests a salve. The specific collocation of litharge and white lead in line 3 appears also in an eye-salve (see the note on λιθάργυρος in 3), and there is a broad similarity with another salve for baldness (see the following note). No amounts survive for any of the ingredients listed, but their presence is implied by the use of the genitive case.

– ]ρίχων: perhaps [τ]ρίχων as an ingredient, cf. Gal. *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 12:417 K, for baldness (ἀλωπεκία), which recommends bear hairs along with bear fat and the root of the κάλαμος plant. Bear fat also occurs here (3), and perhaps κάλαμος root too (8), a possible suggestion of a similar purpose for these recipes, but the rest of the ingredients do not align. Other supplements are possible, e.g. [τα]ρίχων or [ώμοτα]ρίχων.

– ἵρεος: for ἵρεως (ἵριδος); cf. Dsc. *Eup.* 2.126.2 γλήχων, ἵριδος ς β', but [γ]λήχων cannot be read here. The form ἵρεος appears in P.Berl. inv. 7763, ed. H. Schöne, *BKT* 3, pp. 32-33, line 9, and SB 8.9860b.9; see further *MPER* 13.7.4 with commentary.

2 στέαρτος ἄρκτου: bear fat is not attested elsewhere in medical recipes in the papyri, but it is recommended for baldness (ἀλωπεκία) in Gal. *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 12:392 and 416-417 K, Orib. *Syn.* 8.23, and Aët. 2.152, 6.55; and in Aret. *CD* 2.13.8 for leprous tubercles; cf. also *Kyranides* 2.1 καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ τὸ στέαρ παρωτίδας καὶ ῥαγάδας καὶ χίμετλα ἰᾶται ("by itself the fat [of bears] heals parotid tumors and chapping and chilblains"), and the *Hippiatrika Berolinensia* 4.17 (ed. K. Hoppe and E. Oder, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* 1 [Leipzig 1924]), part of a potion for a lame horse. The Latin collection of Marcellus Empiricus also makes frequent use of it in salves (*De medicamentis*, ed. M. Niedermann [Leipzig 1916]), for baldness (6.6, 6.9, 6.17, 6.24, 6.27) and various other complaints: parotid tumors (15.45), pain in the neck (18.5), hips (25.18), and lower back (25.29), arthritis and paralysis (35.4), and blemishes (19.22) and sores of the skin (34.4, 34.93); as well as in plasters for gout (36.12, 14, 67). Compare the use of pig- or calf-fat (στέαρ χοίρινον ἢ μόσχινον) in *P.Scholl* 14.12, with commentary: P.Lips. inv. 390d, ed. C. Werner in L. Popko, N. Quenouille, and M. Rücker (eds.), *Von Sklaven, Pächtern und Politikern. Beiträge zum Alltag in Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom. Δουλικά ἔργα zu Ehren von Reinhold Scholl* (Berlin 2012) 230-249. Fat from a variety of animals appears in medical recipes in the Coptic tradition, but the bear is not among them: see W. Till, *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten* (Berlin 1951) no. 35.

3 At least two ingredients, and a third if another genitive termination is preserved at the beginning of the line, are listed in direct succession here



without intervening specification of an amount, which suggests that all were prescribed in the same amount, and would have been governed by a single unit placed at the end of the list, with ἀνά (“each”). Compare the recipes in P.Berl. inv. 21272, ed. W.M. Brashear, “Prescription,” *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 5 (1990) 151-158, line 3 with commentary; also P.Berl. inv. 7763, ed. H. Schöne, *BKT* 3, pp. 32-33; in both cases the ingredients are separated by a double point, in place of the single point used here.

– ]ας; e.g. [ἀκακί]ας (acacia) or [καδμεί]ας (calamine), for which see J. Landon in I. Andorlini (ed.), *Greek Medical Papyri* 2 (Florence 2009) no. 4 (P.U.Tor. inv. F0812v) col. 2.3 and 9, respectively, with commentary.

– λιθάργυρος is also prescribed along with ψιμύθιον in *P.Ryl.* 1.29a.41-42, a recipe that may concern the eyes (see introduction to ed. pr.), and further in the recipes edited by R. Coles, “New Literary and Sub-Literary Fragments from the Fayum,” *ZPE* 6 (1970) 247-266, no. 8, lines 3-8 with note on line 3. For the substance see *P.Scholl* 14.11 (as cited above in the note on line 2) and *P.Oxy.* 80.5247.2.13 with commentary.

– ψι[μυθίου]: see J. Landon in I. Andorlini (ed.), *Greek Medical Papyri* 2 (Florence 2009) no. 4 (P.U.Tor. inv. F0812v) col. 2.2, with commentary, and further *P.Oxy.* 80.5243.1.11.

5-6 The title and indication of this recipe are lost, and little can be suggested from the other remains. The vertical spacing between these lines is unusually tight, and it is possible that line 5 is in fact an extensive supralinear addition to line 6; the ink in line 6 is somewhat obliterated but probably not from intentional erasure.

6 ] . . . . . ει . . . . : ποίει καί (either ποίει or ποιεῖ) could perhaps be obtained from the latter part of this heavily damaged portion, but the reading is very doubtful.

6-9 Several parallels could suggest a prescription to be followed in the morning, after some preliminary procedure the night before: Gal. *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 12:408 Κ ἐπίθες καὶ ἕα διανυκτερεῖσαι, πρῶτὸν δὲ ἄρας ἕα ξηρανθῆναι τὸν τόπον (“Apply and let stand overnight, and remove in the morning and let the spot dry out”); [Gal.] *De remediis parabilibus* 14:321 Κ ἀλείψας τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ βάθει τῆς ἐσπέρας καὶ ἐπάνω λαγῶσθαι δέρμα βαλὼν ἕως πρῶτὸν ἄρον τὸ δέρμα καὶ ἰαθήσῃ (“Anoint your head late in the evening and place hare skin on top until the morning, then remove the skin and you will be healed”); Hippoc. *Mul.* 91 ἐρευθεδανὸν κόψας καὶ κέδρου πρίσματα ὕδωρ τε ἐπιχέας θεὲς ἐς τὴν αἰθρίην εἶτα πρῶτὸν δὸς πρὸς τὰς ἀλγηδόνας (“Cut madder and pour on sawdust from cedar wood and water and

place in the open air, then in the morning administer it for pain”). The traces in line 7 do not support the reading of any verb form consistent with such a prescription, however (see below). A single prescription to be followed at both morning and night is also possible, e.g. Paul. Aeg. 3.53.3 λειώσας ἐπίθες πυρίων ὀψὲ καὶ πρωΐ (“Pulverize and apply, fomenting at night and in the morning”).

7 εἶξ . [: possibly εἶξε[ι], an assertion that the malady will yield, that is abate, in the morning, cf. e.g. Gal. *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 12:863 K εἰ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν προγεγραμμένων εἴκει, ἔγκειται δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ὁ πόνος (“... but if it yields to none of the aforementioned [remedies], and acute pain persists ...”); Orib. *Syn.* 7.13.2 ἀνίατος ὁ καρκίνος ἐστί ... μήτε ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσιν ὅλου τοῦ σώματος εἴκων (“Cancer is incurable ... not yielding under purges of the entire body”); Aët. 12.1 λύει δὲ αὕτη ἡ καθύσις τὰς ἄκρας ἰσχιάδας καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἄλλο βοήθημα εἰκούσας (“This cautery resolves the extreme cases of sciatica that yield to no other remedy”). Also possible is εἶξε[ι] for ἥξει, that is, with the preceding καλῶς, an assertion that if the directions are followed, the patient will be well in the morning. Cf. Lib. *Ep.* 1209.5 ἔστω δὴ σοι φίλος Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ δοκεῖτω καὶ καλεῖσθω, κἂν τοῦτο παγῇ, καλῶς ἥξει τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκολουθοῦντα (“Let Alexander be, seem, and be called your friend, and if this becomes established, the rest that follows will be well”). Alternatively, though harsher syntactically, read εἰ ζη[ρόν ἐστι] *vel sim.*, followed by an imperative, perhaps calling for moistening (e.g. βρέχε, construed with καλῶς), if in the morning the preparation left to set overnight has become too dry. For βρέχε cf. SB 14.11709.8 (*O.Bodl.* 2.2185, re-edited by L.C. Youtie, “*O. Bodl. II 2182 and 2185,*” *BASP* 14 [1977] 39-43).

8 καλαμ[: likely καλάμ[ου], e.g. Gal. *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* 12:417 K against baldness, with note on line 1 above, and the leaves of the κάλαμος in a recipe apparently concerned with promoting the growth of hair, PSI 10.1180 fr. A col. 3.35-36 in the new edition of I. Andorlini, “Un ricettario da Tebtynis,” in ead. (ed.), *Testi medici su papiro. Atti del Seminario di studio (Firenze, 3-4 giugno 2002)* (Florence 2004) 81-118. Also possible is καλαμ[ίνθης], e.g. Gal. *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 13:980 K.

## Drei neue ptolemäische Papyri und das Amtsarchiv des Demetrios

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Matthias Stern *Universität Basel*

### Abstract

Three new papyri from the Austrian National Library provide insight into the dealings of a local subordinate of Athenodoros, the Ptolemaic *dioiketes* who held office from at least 197 to 190 BCE. The texts are all addressed to a certain Δημήτριος ὁ παρὰ Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ διοικητοῦ, who is without a doubt also the addressee of *CPR* 28.11. Demetrios appears to have been responsible for various fiscal matters in the Herakleopolite nome: solving problems in regard to some tax issue, protecting *naukleroi* against supposedly unjustified freight charges, protecting a worker against fiscal demands on the part of a security officer, and, possibly, organizing a grain transport.

Die Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek beherbergt in Anbetracht ihrer Größe zwar eine verhältnismäßig geringe Zahl ptolemäischer Stücke, doch verbergen sich darunter eindrucksvolle Texte wie etwa der „Fluch der Artemisia“.<sup>1</sup> In einem Ankauf von 1992 fand sich nun das Archiv eines Beamten namens Demetrios, der als ὁ παρὰ Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ διοικητοῦ bezeichnet wird; es handelt sich um die hier vorgestellten Papyri 1 und 3.<sup>2</sup> Diesem Archiv ist auch der bereits publizierte *CPR* 28.11 zuzuordnen,

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<sup>1</sup> Dieser Artikel entstand im Rahmen des Projekts S10809-G18 „Police Authorities in Late Antique Egypt“ des vom Wissenschaftsfonds FWF finanzierten und an der Universität Wien angesiedelten Nationalen Forschungsnetzwerks (NFN) „Imperium and Officium: Comparative Studies in Ancient Bureaucracy and Officialdom“. Hilfreiche Anmerkungen zu diesem Aufsatz verdanke ich Charikleia Armoni und Thomas Backhuys (beide Universität zu Köln) sowie den anonymen Gutachtern des *BASP*. Alle Jahresangaben sind, sofern nicht anders vermerkt, vorchristlich. Aus Gründen der Übersichtlichkeit beschränken sich die Herkunftsangaben im Falle kleinerer Dörfer auf den jeweiligen Gau. Alle Abb.: © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

<sup>2</sup> Ich danke Sophie Kovarik und Markus Resel, die mich im Zuge eigener Recherchen auf den letztgenannten Papyrus aufmerksam machten. Die vier hier erörterten Papyri wurden zusammen mit 30 weiteren Fragmenten 1992 von der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek angekauft (Inv. G 56631-56664) und stammen

dessen Text hier mit ergänzenden Bemerkungen als 2 wiedergegeben ist. Dagegen bleibt unsicher, ob auch 4 einen Teil dieses Archivs darstellt, da ein solcher Zusammenhang lediglich durch die zeitliche Verortung des Stücks, durch dessen Herkunft aus demselben Ankauf sowie durch den im Text angesprochenen Amtsbereich nahegelegt wird.

Den Grundstock des neuen Archivs bilden demnach 1-3. Durch ihr Format, ihre Textgestaltung sowie ihr spezifisches Vokabular sind diese drei Texte als ὑπομνήματα ausgewiesen.<sup>3</sup> Es handelt sich um Eingaben an Demetrios, deren Aufbau parallel gestaltet ist und die das Hochformat angenommen haben; auf dem Verso findet sich jeweils eine kurze Notiz des Inhalts. Zwar konnte die genaue Herkunft dieser Papyri schon beim Ankauf nicht mehr benannt werden, doch muss sie im Herakleopolites zu suchen sein. Csaba Láda vermutete dies in CPR 28, S. 181 bereits für 2 anhand der Formel τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρμου (Z. 3). Diese Vermutung findet durch 1 und 3 nun ihre Bestätigung, da diese die Tekmi-Toparchie bzw. das Dorf Machor erwähnen, die beide gut bezeugt sind.

Auch zeitlich können 1-3 präzise eingeordnet werden, da sich in allen Fällen die Jahresangabe erhalten hat und zudem der in allen drei Papyri bezeugende Dioiket Athenodoros bereits anderweitig bekannt ist.<sup>4</sup> Dieser war διοικητής<sup>5</sup> von mindestens 197-190, jedoch wohl nicht früher als 204 und

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vermutlich sämtlich aus Kartonage. Die Aufzeichnungen der Papyrussammlung geben keine weiteren Auskünfte über Herkunft und einen etwaigen Fundzusammenhang der Texte. Weitere Stücke desselben Ankaufs befinden sich momentan in Bearbeitung und so dürften sich in nicht allzu ferner Zukunft neue Texte des Archivs zu den hier vorgelegten hinzugesellen.

<sup>3</sup> Die Grenze zur verwandten Gattung der προσαγγέλματα scheint im zweiten Jahrhundert nicht allzu eng gezogen worden zu sein, denn beide Begriffe tauchen für quasi gleichartig stilisierte Texte auf. Vgl. jedoch 3.13, wo auf ein früheres, explizit ὑπόμνημα genanntes Schriftstück in derselben Angelegenheit verwiesen wird. Zu Abgrenzung und Ausgestaltung dieser Textgattungen sowie zu den ptolemäischen Petitionen allgemein siehe die noch immer maßgebliche Literatur bei N. Gonis, „A New 2nd Century B.C. Prosangelma“, in *Pap. Congr.* 20, S. 232; siehe ferner J. Hengstl, „Petita in Petitionen gräko-ägyptischer Papyri“, in G. Thür und J. Vélissaropoulos-Karakostas (Hg.), *Symposium* 1995 (Köln/Weimar/Wien 1997) 265-289.

<sup>4</sup> Außer den Texten des vorliegenden Archivs sind dies *P.Sijp.* 45 (Arsinoites/Herakleopolites; 197), *P.Mich.* 18.778 und 779 (beide Arsinoites; 193/2), *P.Hels.* 1.23 (Arsinoites; 191/0; siehe die Tabelle auf S. 21), *P.Köln* 5.221 (Arsinoites; 190), *P.Yale* 1.36 (Arsinoites; 190), *P.Rain. Cent.* 45 (Herkunft unbekannt; 197-190) sowie *SB* 22.15536 (Arsinoites; 197-190).

<sup>5</sup> Zum Amt des Dioiketen sowie zu allen sonstigen in den vorliegenden Texten genannten Ämtern siehe die verdienstvolle Materialsammlung von W. Huß, *Die Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Reichs* (München 2011) jeweils mit Literatur s.v. Zu den exe-

nicht später als 189.<sup>6</sup> Diese Datierung von 1-3 wird durch deren paläographische Charakteristika unterstrichen<sup>7</sup> und auch der Wert des in 3 thematisierten Streitfalles spricht für eine Datierung in das frühe zweite Jahrhundert, denn die dort genannten 1400 Drachmen scheinen im Bronzestandard einen den erkennbaren Umständen angemessenen Streitwert darzustellen.<sup>8</sup> Zudem wird in 1-2 jeweils ein 14. und in 3 ein 15. Jahr genannt, wodurch sich die Datierung in die Regierungszeit von Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes sichern lässt. Denn im 15. Jahr Philopators (208/7) bekleidete noch Theogenes den Posten des Dioiketen

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kutiven Funktionen des Dioiketen siehe jetzt auch J. Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2013) 125-127. Zu den Eingaben an Dioiketen und Hypodioiketen vgl. J. Hengstl, „Petitions to the Dioiketes?“, *BASP* 33 (1996) 111-116.

<sup>6</sup> *P.Sijp.*, S. 313. Das maßgebliche Fundament dieser Datierung bilden nunmehr die Kontextualisierungen von *P.Sijp.* 45 sowie der Athenodoros-Papyri aus Ann Arbor in *P.Sijp.*, S. 303 (mit Verweisen) bzw. in *P.Mich.* 18, S. 93-94. Die an sich wenig zwingende ursprüngliche Einordnung des Athenodoros in das frühe zweite Jahrhundert in *P.Köln* 5, S. 165-166 hat somit eine Bestätigung erfahren. Hinsichtlich der Datierung des Dioiketen Athenodoros muss außerdem *SB* 20.14069 (Arsinoites; 204; siehe die folgende Tabelle) herangezogen werden, wo ein Dorion oder Dorotheos (Z. 4-5; siehe die folgende Tabelle) eindeutig als Nachfolger des Dioiketen Theogenes belegt ist (Z. 17-18). Hinzu kommt jetzt *P.Tarich.* 4, der zeigt, dass der Dioket Bakchon am 25. September 189 bereits im Amt gewesen sein muss (siehe *P.Tarich.*, S. 11). J.D. Thomas, „Aspects of the Ptolemaic Civil Service. The Dioiketes and the Nomarch“, in H. Maehler und V.M. Strocka (Hg.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz 1978) 187-194 stellte die These auf, dass es an der Wende zum dritten Jahrhundert nicht lediglich einen Dioiketen für ganz Ägypten gegeben habe, sondern dass mehrere gleichrangige Beamte dieses Titels jeweils für verschiedene Regionen verantwortlich gewesen seien. Die in *P.Köln* 11, S. 82-84 im Zusammenhang mit dem Dioiketen Phoinix angestellten Überlegungen zur Datierung des Archivs des Theomnestos könnten ein weiteres Indiz für diese These sein (vgl. dagegen für eine frühere Datierung des Phoinix M.R. Falivene, „On Provenance. The Case of P.Köln XI 448“, in *Pap.Congr.* 26, S. 222). Möglicherweise ist also auch Athenodoros nicht für ganz Ägypten zuständig. Die oben genannten Minimal- und Maximaldatierungen bleiben allerdings von dieser Frage unberührt, da sowohl der fragliche Vorgänger als auch der fragliche Nachfolger des Athenodoros, die Dioiketen Dorion/Dorotheos bzw. Bakchon, beide aus dem Fayum belegt sind.

<sup>7</sup> Keine der in 1-4 vorkommenden Hände kann sicher mit einer der anderen identifiziert werden. Auch das Schriftbild der Versovermerke unterscheidet sich trotz gemeinsamer zeitspezifischer Merkmale teilweise deutlich voneinander.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. dazu meine Bemerkungen zur Datierung nach dem sogenannten Bronzestandard in M. Stern, „Einblicke in die ptolemäische Verwaltungspraxis. Nochmals BGU VI 1242 und BGU VI 1311“, *APF* 59 (2013) 73-76.

und nach Epiphanes gab es ein 14. und 15. Regierungsjahr erst wieder unter Kleopatra III. und Ptolemaios X. Alexander (104/3).<sup>9</sup>

Was nun Demetrios selbst anbelangt, so wissen wir bislang nichts über ihn, das außerhalb der hier vorgestellten Papyri liegt. In gleicher Weise mit ὁ παρὰ bezeichnete Subalterne eines Dioiketen finden sich in sechs weiteren Papyri (s. Tabelle auf der nächsten Seite).<sup>10</sup> Von diesen Subalternen tritt Artemidoros offenbar als Eintreiber von Steuerforderungen auf; Hermolaos erscheint als Absender einer offiziellen Weisung im Zusammenhang mit dem Kauf eines Weingartens; Ornymenes begegnet in unklarem Zusammenhang mit einer Steuerzahlung;<sup>11</sup> Pamphilos, Achilleus und Apion zeigen sich verantwortlich für den staatlichen Getreidetransport. Im Falle von Pamphilos und Apion findet sich jeweils ein Partizip als Bezugswort für den Artikel und es besteht die Vermutung, dass es sich hier um temporär mit spezifischen Befugnissen ausgestattete Repräsentanten des Dioiketen handelt, wie sie wohl auch in *P.Tebt.* 1.28 (Arsinoites; 117) begegnen (siehe die dortige Einleitung). Andererseits sprechen 1-3 im Falle des Demetrios gegen einen derart eingeschränkten Zuständigkeitsbereich.

<sup>9</sup> P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* (Leiden 1967) 41-71.

<sup>10</sup> Es muss offen bleiben, ob auch das verwaltungsinterne Zeugnis SB 16.12287.1-2 (Herkunft unbekannt; 214): Διονυσίου τοῦ παρὰ Θεογένους | [ἐπισπο]ῦδαστοῦ in diese Gruppe gehört. T.C. Skeat, „The Date of the Dioiketes Theogenes“, *Anc.Soc.* 10 (1979) 164-165, Anm. 3 stellte die Möglichkeit in den Raum, dass hier Dionysios der ἐπισπουδαστής sei und es sich in diesem Fall bei Theogenes um den bekannten Dioiketen handeln müsse. Dies würde insofern zu den im Folgenden aufgeführten Texten passen, als dort in einigen Fällen ebenfalls Untergebene des Dioiketen für Korntransporte verantwortlich sind. Zudem bezieht sich das ebenfalls amtsinterne Schreiben *P.Lille* 1.4.2.16 (Arsinoites; 217) tatsächlich auf den Dioiketen Theogenes, ohne dessen Amtsbezeichnung zu nennen. Allerdings wäre es singulär, wenn die Stellung eines mit ὁ παρὰ bezeichneten Untergebenen durch einen echten Amtstitel spezifiziert würde: In den im Folgenden wiedergegebenen Parallelen geschieht dies – wenn überhaupt – durch ein Partizip. Vgl. allerdings *P.Coll.Youtie* 1.16.24-25 (Arsinoites; 109): εἰς Ἄρειον τὸν τῆς μερίδος | ἐπισπουδαστήν, wo der entsprechende Beamte über seinen Amtsbereich definiert wird und nicht über die Zugehörigkeit zum Ressort eines Vorgesetzten. Bedenken gegenüber Skeats Interpretation äußerten bereits Charikleia Armoni und Klaus Maresch in *P.Köln* 11, S. 84, Anm. 8. Naheliegende Rekonstruktionen wie [τοῦ ἐπισπο]ῦδαστοῦ oder [τοῦ διοικητοῦ ἐπισπο]ῦδαστοῦ verbieten sich durch die Platzverhältnisse. Die in *P.Lips.* 2.124.16 genannten ο[ϐ]ί δὲ παρὰ τοῦ διοικητοῦ γραμματεῖς (2.27).

<sup>11</sup> Zu Ornymenes und seiner Verbindung zu Demetrios, die ja beide unter dem Dioiketen Athenodoros im Amt waren, siehe 1.35.

<i>P.Col.</i> 4.83.4-5 (Arsinoites; 245/4)	Ἀρτεμι[δ]ώρου τοῦ   παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ διοικητοῦ
<i>SB</i> 20.14069.4-5 (Arsinoites; 204)	Ἑρμολάου τοῦ παρὰ Δωρ[±5] τοῦ   διοικητοῦ <sup>13</sup>
<i>P.Hels.</i> 1.23.22-23 (Arsinoites; 191/0) <sup>14</sup>	Ὀρ[ν]υμένου τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου τ[οῦ] διοικητοῦ <sup>15</sup>
<i>W.Chr.</i> 159.18-19 (Latopolites; 108) <sup>16</sup>	Παμφίλῳ τῷ παρ' ἡμ[ῶν] προκεχειρισμένῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπισπουδασμὸν τοῦ πυροῦ <sup>17</sup>
<i>BGU</i> 18.1.2739.4-5 (Herakleopolites; ca. 87-85)	[Α]χιλλέω[ς] τοῦ παρὰ ±10   τοῦ διοικητοῦ
<i>BGU</i> 14.2422.1-3 (Herakleopolites?; 1. Jh.)	Ἀπίωνι τῷ παρ' Ἑρμίου   [τ]οῦ διοικητοῦ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τῶν τοῦ   Ἑρμίου γεννημάτων

Demetrios scheint in unseren Texten demnach allgemein als Repräsentant des Dioiketen fungiert, also dessen Funktionen lokal ausgeübt zu haben.<sup>12</sup> So ist auch im bereits erwähnten *BGU* 18.1.2739.4-5 davon die Rede, dass Schiffe εἰς τὸν νομὸν ὑπὸ [Α]χιλλέω[ς] τοῦ παρὰ ±10 | τοῦ διοικητοῦ gelangen sollen, woraus sich in diesem Fall ein fest umrissenes Amtsterritorium des ὁ παρὰ τοῦ διοικητοῦ erkennen lässt. Aufgrund der Angaben in **1** und **3** muss der Aktionsbereich des Demetrios wohl im nördlichen Herakleopolites verortet werden – und zwar in unterschiedlichen Toparchien. Da sich jedoch in **2** auch die Schiffer von Herakleopolis an Demetrios wenden, liegt die Annahme nahe,

<sup>12</sup> Dass es sich bei Demetrios um einen ὑποδιοικητής handeln könnte, ist aufgrund seiner eindeutig formelhaften Bezeichnung wohl nicht anzunehmen.

<sup>13</sup> Hinsichtlich des Namens des Dioiketen kann keine sichere Entscheidung getroffen werden; siehe dazu G. Casanova, „Ancora su P.Med.inv. 89.03“, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 30.

<sup>14</sup> Zur Herkunft der Urkunde aus dem Arsinoites siehe **1**, Komm. Z. 35 Ὀρνυμέν[ην].

<sup>15</sup> Die *editio princeps* gab den Text folgendermaßen wieder: [±?] | νυμενου τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου . [±?]. Mit *BL* 11:94 war zuletzt Ὀρ[ν]υμένου τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου δι[οικητοῦ] zu lesen. Dass die Spuren vor der Lacuna zu einem ὁ gehören, erscheint indes fragwürdig, da dieses im restlichen Text nirgends in dieser Weise ausgeführt ist. Vielmehr stellt der sichtbare Buchstabenrest wohl den Ansatz der Horizontalhaste eines τ dar, wie ihn der Schreiber des Ὄfteren bildet; vgl. Z. 15: Σπαρτάκου, Z. 17: τὰς κτήσεις, Z. 18: τὰς καταβολάς, Z. 19: εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικὸν) τοῦς. In diesem Fall lautete der Text Ὀρ[ν]υμένου τοῦ παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου τ[οῦ] διοικητοῦ und entspräche somit dem Schema, das aus den hier vorgelegten Zeugnissen ersichtlich ist.

<sup>16</sup> Neuedition: S. Vinson, „P.Grenf. II 23. A New Edition“, *ZPE* 121 (1998) 197-202. Siehe zum Text auch C. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Ägypten. Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus* (Paderborn 2012) 43 und 75-77.

<sup>17</sup> Absender der Zeilen 17-22 ist der Dioiket Ptolemaios.



dass dieser den Dioiketen im gesamten Gau vertrat. Demnach ist das Büro des Demetrios aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in Herakleopolis zu vermuten.<sup>18</sup>

Der Begriff des „Archiv“ kann im vorliegenden Fall auch im engeren Sinn Anwendung finden, da sich 1-3 alle an Demetrios als ὁ παρὰ τοῦ διοικητοῦ Dioiketen Athenodoros richten.<sup>19</sup> Die Akten aus dem Büro des Demetrios wurden offenbar im Ganzen oder zumindest in großen Teilen abtransportiert, um für die Herstellung der Kartonage herangezogen zu werden, und blieben uns dadurch in relativ intaktem Zusammenhang erhalten. Möglicherweise gehören die vorliegenden Stücke einem Fundkomplex an, dessen Bestandteile sich immer zahlreicher in verschiedenen Sammlungen Europas und der USA identifizieren lassen.<sup>20</sup> Diese befassen sich mit administrativen Geschäften im Herakleopolites und im östlichen Arsinoites in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts und entstammen wohl derselben Nekropole – vermutlich Abusir el-Melek, Hawara oder el-Lahûn.<sup>21</sup> Gerade jene Papyri, in denen die für unser Archiv bedeutsamen Personen Athenodoros, Spartakos und Ornymenes auftauchen (siehe unten), werden dieser Fundgruppe zugerechnet, und zumindest einer der möglichen Herkunftsorte unserer Kartonage, nämlich Abusir el-Melek, kann mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit zu den Nekropolen von Herakleopolis gezählt werden, wo das Büro des Demetrios wohl lokalisiert werden muss.<sup>22</sup>

### 1. Eingabe eines Kleruchen (wegen steuerlicher Belange?)

P.Vindob. G 56639                      H x W = 32,7 x 12,2 cm                      nach 9. Dez. 192  
Tekmi-Toparchie, Herakleopolites

Der dunkelbraune Papyrus scheint in seinen Ausmaßen vollständig erhalten zu sein, weist jedoch über die gesamte Länge des oberen sowie des rechten Randes unregelmäßige Zerstörungen auf. Rechts scheint überdies eine ca. 1,2 cm breite Papyruslage zu fehlen; darunter sind dennoch Schriftspuren erkennbar, bei denen es sich um Abdrücke anderer, aufliegender Kartonageteile handeln dürfte. Solche „abdruckverdächtigen“ Spuren finden sich fast über

<sup>18</sup> Freilich kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass sich die besagten Petenten zum entsprechenden Zeitpunkt gerade nicht in Herakleopolis, sondern eben im nördlichen Teil des Gaus befanden.

<sup>19</sup> Zu den Konzepten „Archiv“ und „Dossier“ siehe K. Vantorpe, „Archives and Dossiers“, in R.S. Bagnall (Hg.), *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 216-255.

<sup>20</sup> Dazu *PSijp.*, S. 303 mit der weiterführenden Literatur in Anm. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Dazu *PMich.* 18, S. 91 mit Anm. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Zu Abusir el-Melek als Nekropole von Herakleopolis siehe *P.Berl. Salmen.*, S. 14-15 mit Literatur in Anm. 21.



den gesamten Papyrus verteilt. Mitten im Text wurden vier größere Papyrusstücke ausgeschnitten. Die Kartonagebehandlung war zudem derart intensiv, dass die Tinte an den meisten Stellen sehr stark abgewaschen ist und sich der Text daher zum größten Teil nur mehr errahnen lässt. Relativ gut lesbar sind noch die Zeilenanfänge sowie teilweise die Zeilenenden, ebenso wie der Zusatzvermerk in Z. 32-35.

Die Hände gehören wie im Falle von 2 und 3 zu denen des späten dritten und frühen zweiten Jahrhunderts; die erste Hand wirkt jedoch auffällig statisch, da sie zahlreiche inschriftliche Buchstabenformen verwendet und quasi ohne Verbindungslinien auskommt. Der Schreiber neigt dazu, die Zeilenanfänge jeweils stets in diesem Sinne „sauber“ zu schreiben, um dann im weiteren Zeilenverlauf etwas kursiver zu werden, wobei die Schriftführung insgesamt etwas angestrengt wirkt. Der Unterschied zur zweiten Hand ist augenfällig: Diese gehört einem Schreiber, dessen Duktus deutlich flüssiger ist und der die Urkundenschrift des späten dritten Jahrhunderts noch stark verinnerlicht zu haben scheint. Dies zeigt sich nicht nur an der noch spürbaren, abgerundeten Form der Zeilenoberlinie der Einlinien-Urkundenschrift, die der ersten Hand weitestgehend fehlt, sondern auch an markanten älteren Formen wie dem hoch auslaufenden Treppen-v. Die dritte Hand unterscheidet sich nur wenig von der zweiten; es könnte sich durchaus um denselben Schreiber handeln, der den Überblicksvermerk lediglich etwas deutlicher aufsetzen wollte.<sup>23</sup> In Z. 1-2 haben sich zu wenig Reste erhalten, um zweifelsfrei festzustellen, ob diese von der zweiten bzw. dritten Hand oder einer vierten verfasst wurden.

- 1 (4. Hand?) [ ] . . . σμ[ ]  
 2 [ ] . [ ]  
 3 (1. Hand) Δημητρίῳ τῷ παρὰ Ἀ[θ]ην[οδώρο]υ  
 4 τοῦ διοικητ[ο]ῦ *vacat*  
 5 παρ' Ἀρχίου Θρα[υ]κ[ὸ]ς τῶν Χάρητος  
 6 ιδιώτου. Ὑπάρχοντός μοι περ[ι]σ-  
 7 τερῶνος ε . . . . . μ[1-2?]  
 8 ἐγ κόμῃ . . . . . τῶρων περὶ  
 9 Τέκμει . . . . . εστ . . π . .  
 10 τὸν . . . [ . . ] ν ποταμόν,  
 11 ἐμοῦ δὲ . . . ε . . κτότος  
 12 δι . . . [2-3] μ . . σ . . . . .  
 13 τωι ε . [±5] . . [ . ] τη . . . . .  
 14 περιστ[ερῶ]νων εἰς τὸ . . (ἔτος) . .

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. etwa in Z. 37 die regelmäßigen Buchstabenausführungen von Ἀρχίου mit den wieder flüssiger gezogenen Formen von Χάρητ[ο]ς.

15 δι . . . [4-5] . . . . . ἐπεσομέ-  
 16 νοϋς ε . [3-4] του . δ . . . . . ς πάν-  
 17 τας ἐμ[ . . ] . . . . . ε . . . . . [2-3]  
 18 [π]ερὶ τη . [ . . ] . δ . . . . . ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 19 προτεταγ[μ]έναις ἐδηλ . .  
 20 [ . ] . τ . . ἀξιῶ οὖν σε . . . . .  
 21 . . ἀνακαλέσασθα[ι Διονύ]σι-  
 22 ον \καὶ/ ἐὰν φαίνωμαι τὴν [μέτ-]  
 23 ρησιν πεποιημένους π . . . [ . ]  
 24 καθότι προγέ[γ]ραπται ὑπογρ[α-]  
 25 φή/ν/ μοι γενέσθαι παρὰ σοὶ ὅπω[ς]  
 26 μ[ὴ] ἐξ[ ] ὥστε[ρο]υ συκοφαντῶμαι  
 27 σ[3-4] . ἐνπεφανικότος μου.  
 28 Τοῦ[τ]ου δὲ [γ]εγομένου ἔσο[μαι]  
 29 διὰ σοῦ τῶ[ν] φιλ[αν]θρώπων  
 30 τετευχ[ώς].  
 31 Εὐτύχει.

32 (2. Hand) (Ἔτους) ἰδ̄ . . ἔ.  
 33 Ἐτύγχανεν Διονύσιος  
 34 ἀποδεδημηκὸς εἰς τὸν  
 35 Ἀρσινοίτην πρὸς Ὀρνυμέν[ην].

*Verso*

→ 36 (3. Hand?) (Ἔτους) ἰδ̄ Ἀθ̄ν̄ρ . . π[αρά]  
 37 Ἀρχίου Θραικὸς [τῶν] Χάρητ[ο]ς  
 38 κ[ατὰ ±?]

6-7 l. περιστερεῶνος 8 l. ἐν 9 l. Τέκμι 14 l. περιστερεῶνων; L  
 pap. 27 l. ἐμπεφανικότος 32 L pap. 36 L pap.

„Demetrios, dem Untergebenen des Dioiketen Athenodoros, vom Thra-  
 ker Archias, Soldat der Einheit des Chares. Es gehört mir ein Taubenschlag  
 [---] im Dorf N.N. um Tekmi [---] (Z. 18) entsprechend des vorher Aufge-  
 führten [---] bitte ich dich daher [---], dass du Dionysios vorladen lässt und  
 dass – wenn es sich erweist, dass ich die Abmessung durchgeführt habe [---]  
 ] wie zuvor geschrieben – mir bei dir eine amtliche Bestätigung ausgestellt  
 wird, damit ich nicht im Nachhinein belangt werde, nachdem(?) ich [---] die  
 Meldung gemacht habe. Wenn dies geschehen ist, werde ich durch dich der  
 Gnade teilhaftig sein. Leb wohl!

(2. Hand) 14. Jahr, 5. [---]. Dionysios hat sich zu Ornymenes in den Ar-  
 sinoites begeben.

(Verso) 14. Jahr, x. Hathy. Vom Thraker Archias aus der Einheit des Cha-  
 res, gegen [---].“

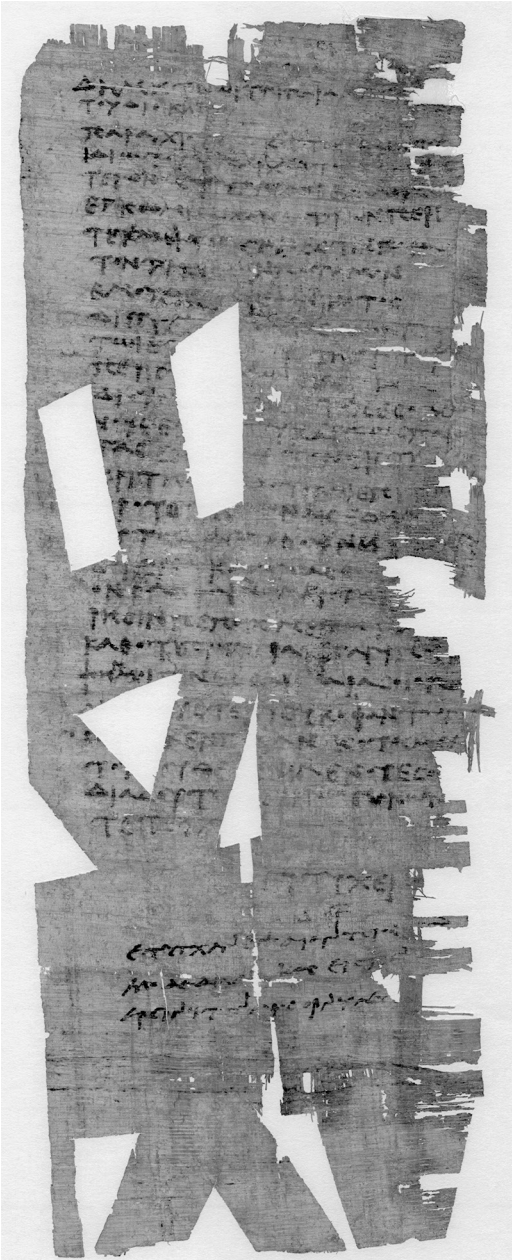


Abb. 1: 1. Eingabe eines Kleruchen (wegen steuerlicher Belange?)

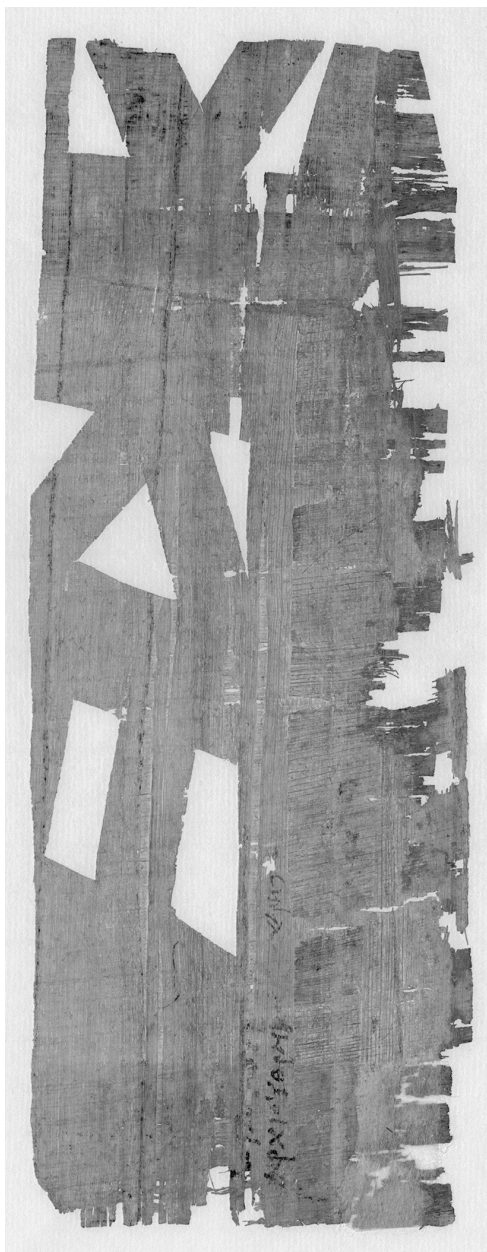


Abb. 2: 1. Vermerk auf dem Verso

Anhand typischer Formeln (Z. 20 und 28-30) lässt sich klar erkennen, dass wir eine Petition vor uns haben. Der Kleruch Archias, der als „Thraker“ bezeichnet wird<sup>24</sup> und aus der Einheit des Chares stammt, schreibt an Demetrios wegen eines ihm gehörenden Taubenschlags,<sup>25</sup> der sich offenbar in einem Dorf in der Tekmi-Toparchie des Herakleopolites befindet.<sup>26</sup> In dieser Angelegenheit bittet Archias nun Demetrios um Abhilfe: Ein gewisser Dionysios soll vorgeladen und eine ὑπογραφή bei Demetrios hinterlegt werden. In einem Zusatzvermerk, der vermutlich aus dem Büro des Demetrios stammt, wird schließlich der momentane Verbleib des gesuchten Dionysios festgehalten, der sich in den Arsinoites zu Ornymenes begeben habe, dem dortigen Kollegen des Demetrios.

Was nun genau das Problem darstellt, lässt sich aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustands des Papyrus nicht mehr eruieren. Eine denkbare Interpretation wäre, dass Archias Schwierigkeiten mit einer seiner Ansicht nach unrecchten Steuerforderung wegen seines Taubenschlags hatte und sich damit an Demetrios wandte. Indizien dafür wären folgende: Archias gibt in Z. 22-26 offenbar an, eine Schätzung ausgeführt zu haben, und fordert als Konsequenz daraus die offizielle Bestätigung dieser Schätzung ein, um nicht noch einmal belangt zu werden – letzteres stellt eine typische Formulierung in Auseinandersetzungen mit Steuerbehörden dar. Zudem wird in Z. 13-14 allem Anschein nach die Steuer eines bestimmten Jahres erwähnt.

Wer besagter Dionysios ist und warum er vorgeladen werden soll, ist nicht klar zu erkennen. Der Name muss bereits vor Z. 21 genannt worden sein, kann jedoch an keiner Stelle sicher gelesen werden. Naheliegend ist die Vermutung, dass es sich um einen Steuerbeamten handelt, mit dem der Kleruch Archias in Konflikt geraten war. Allerdings kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass wir es mit einer Privatperson zu tun haben – vielleicht mit einem Pächter des Archias –, und ebenso ist es denkbar, dass Dionysios einfach als Zeuge vorgeladen werden und z. B. die Schätzung des Archias bestätigen soll.

Ebenfalls unklar muss die genaue Datierung des Textes bleiben. Zwar ist anzunehmen, dass der Vermerk der zweiten Hand nach der Inhaltsangabe auf dem Verso geschrieben wurde, doch lässt sich das Gegenteil nicht zweifelsfrei ausschließen; überdies wissen wir nicht, wie viel Zeit zwischen der Abfassung beider Passagen vergangen war und ob die unlesbare Notiz in Z. 1-2 vielleicht

<sup>24</sup> Zu „Thrakern“ in den Papyri siehe die Diskussion in *P.Heid.* 8, S. 76-77 sowie die Materialsammlung bei C. Láda, *Foreign Ethnic in Hellenistic Egypt* (Leuven 2002) 87-103.

<sup>25</sup> Zur Taubenzucht siehe *P.Heid.* 6, S. 77-78.

<sup>26</sup> Zur Toparchie περὶ Τέκμτ siehe die Literatur in *BGU* 18.1, S. 48.

noch späteren Datums ist. Daher kann innerhalb des 14. Jahres Ptolemaios' V. lediglich der 1. Hathyri (Z. 36) als *terminus post quem* bestimmt werden.

1-2 Über παρά in Z. 3 sind Schriftspuren von zwei Zeilen zu sehen, die möglicherweise zu einem Eingangsvermerk gehören. Den anderen Papyri des Archivs fehlt eine solche Notiz zu Beginn des Schreibens.

5 Χάρης: Durch die Erwähnung des Namens auf dem besser lesbaren Verso ist die Lesung sicher. Der Name Chares ist in ptolemäischer Zeit nur selten belegt und von den bisher bekannten Zeugnissen scheint keines in unsere Zeit zu fallen; demnach war auch ein eponymer Offizier dieses Namens bislang unbekannt.

6 ιδιώτου: Zu ιδιώτης als Titulaturbestandteil siehe *PHeid.* 8, S. 110. Vgl. dort auch S. 194-195, bes. Anm. 73. Unser Archias ist nun ein Beispiel für einen Kleruchen aus dem nördlichen Herakleopolites, dessen Titulatur dem dort konstatierten Schema folgt, das bislang nur aus dem südlichen Teil dieses Gaus bekannt war.<sup>27</sup>

7 ε . . . . . μ[1-2?]: Vielleicht muss trotz der beengten Platzverhältnisse ἐν τῇ περιστάσει μ[ου] gelesen werden. Vgl. *PHels.* 1.12.4-7 (Herakleopolites; 163): τὸ ὑπάρχον | μοι λουτρωνίδιον ἐν τῇ | περιστάσει μου ἐν κόμῃ | Βουσίρει.

8 ἐγ κόμῃ . . . . . τόρων: Vor τόρων steht möglicherweise . χαγ . . oder . χογ . . ; in jedem Fall scheint der Name des Dorfes bis dato unbekannt zu sein.

8-9 περὶ | Τέκμει: Dass die Toparchie περὶ Τέκμει gemeint ist, wird dadurch nahegelegt, dass bereits zuvor ein Dorf genannt wird. Unser Text ist der früheste sicher datierte Beleg für diese Toparchie.

9 εστ . . π . . . : Eventuell ist ἔστιν παρὰ zu lesen und wir finden hier die Standortbeschreibung des Taubenschlags an einem bestimmten Fluss oder Kanal. Vgl. Z. 10 ποταμόν.

10 ποταμόν: Das Wort kann auch die spezielle Bedeutung „Flut“ annehmen; so z. B. in *PHels.* 1.32.12 (Herakleopolites; 160). Der Grund der Eingabe des Archias könnte somit darin zu suchen sein, dass die Nilflut den Taubenschlag in irgendeiner Weise beschädigt hatte. Wenn in Z. 13-14 wirklich die Steuer eines bestimmten Jahres erwähnt ist, so könnte Archias also möglicherweise dagegen protestieren, dass von ihm ein bestimmter Steuersatz

<sup>27</sup> Siehe dazu F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Berlin 1968) 383 für den Herakleopolites bzw. 380-383 für den Oxyrhynchites, wo dieses Schema ebenfalls auftritt.

verlangt wird, der angesichts der Umstände ungebührlich anmutet. Andererseits könnte das Wort hier auch einfach noch Teil einer detaillierten Lokalisation des Taubenschlags sein; in diesem Fall verwies  $\tau\omicron\nu \dots [\dots] \nu \pi\tau\alpha\mu\acute{o}\nu$  auf einen spezifischen Fluss oder Kanal, dessen Name sich nicht erhalten hat. Vgl. Z. 9 ( $\epsilon\sigma\tau \dots \pi \dots$ ).

11  $\dots \epsilon \dots \kappa\acute{o}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ : Vor dem isoliert gelesenen  $\epsilon$  scheint ein  $\pi$  über eine Vertikalhaste gezogen worden zu sein. Vielleicht ist  $\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\kappa\acute{o}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (vgl. Z. 27:  $\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\kappa\acute{o}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) zu lesen, in dem das  $\pi$  aus einem  $\phi$  korrigiert wurde. Beginnend über  $\epsilon$  steht im Zeilenzwischenraum möglicherweise  $\epsilon\gamma\rho \dots$ , doch hier könnte es sich um Abdrücke handeln.

13-14  $\tau\eta \dots \dots \mid \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau[\epsilon\rho\acute{o}]\gamma\omicron\nu$ : Zu ergänzen ist vielleicht  $\tau\eta\varsigma \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ , das sich jedoch nicht sicher lesen lässt.<sup>28</sup> Auch  $\tau\eta\gamma$  ist möglich.

14  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron \dots$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ): Das zu erwartende  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron \iota\gamma$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) oder  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\omicron \iota\delta$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) lässt sich nicht erkennen; auch eine einstellige Zahl erscheint denkbar. Vgl. Z. 13-14  $\tau\eta \dots \dots \mid \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau[\epsilon\rho\acute{o}]\gamma\omicron\nu$ .

15 Die Tintenspuren am Zeilenbeginn vor der Lücke im Papyrus scheinen wie zu Beginn von Z. 14 von einem Abdruck zu stammen.

15-16  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\gamma\omicron\nu\varsigma]$ : Das erste und dritte  $\epsilon$  sind nur mehr zu erraten. Vor diesem Wort dürfte am ehesten  $\iota$  und damit wohl  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  gestanden haben.

18  $[\pi]\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\eta \dots$ : In Anbetracht der umliegenden Zeilenanfänge scheint hier zu Beginn nur wenig Platz zu sein; eventuell stand  $\pi$  bereits am Ende der vorigen Zeile. Nach  $[\pi]\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$  ist eher  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  als  $\tau\eta\gamma$  zu lesen. Falls man nicht an eine iotazistische Verschreibung denken möchte, wäre die einzige Alternative zur gegebenen Rekonstruktion das Ethnikon  $\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ .<sup>29</sup>

–  $\delta \dots \dots \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota} \tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ : Eventuell ist  $\delta\omicron\gamma\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}$  zu lesen.

20-22  $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu} \sigma\epsilon \dots \dots \mid \dots \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha[\iota \Delta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{o}]\sigma\iota\omicron\nu \backslash \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}/$ : Die Idee zu dieser Lesung verdanke ich Charikleia Armoni. In Anbetracht der Platzverhältnisse lässt das gattungstypische Formular nach  $\sigma\epsilon$  an  $\delta\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  oder  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota$  denken, doch überzeugt keine dieser Lesungen.

22-23  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu[\omega]\mu\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\eta\gamma [\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau]\rho\eta\sigma\iota\nu \pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\nu\omicron\varsigma]$ : Eine analoge Konstruktion findet sich in *P.Heid.* 6.378.20-21 (Arsinoites; 2. Hälfte des 3. Jhs.):  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\mu\alpha\acute{\iota} \epsilon\mu\mu \dots \mid \dots [\dots] \dots \epsilon \dots \mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>28</sup> Zur  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$  siehe die Literatur bei Huß (Anm. 5) 224, Anm. 227.

<sup>29</sup> Siehe zu diesem die Zeugnisse bei Láda (Anm. 24) 73-74.



– τὴν [μέτ]ρησιν πεποιημέ[νο]ς: In einer Wendung mit ποιέω ist μέτρησις in ptolemäischer Zeit nur einmal belegt, nämlich in BGU 8.1856.5-6 (Herakleopolites; 64-44), wohingegen der Ausdruck in späterer Zeit ungleich häufiger zu finden ist. Zweifel an dieser Konjektur weckt die atypische Silbentrennung, die jedoch in ähnlicher Form in *P.Berl.Salmen*. 3.13-14 (Herakleopolis; 86): μ[ετρ]ῖσαι belegt zu sein scheint; die Platzverhältnisse sowie der Kontext lassen in diesem Fall keine Alternative zu. Regulärer Silbentrennung entspräche die Ergänzung [τή]ρησιν,<sup>30</sup> das überdies regelmäßig in Verbindung mit ποιέω belegt ist.<sup>31</sup> Andererseits sehe ich für diesen Fall keinen sinnvollen Textzusammenhang, da der erwähnte Taubenschlag, um den es zu gehen scheint, eindeutig dem Kleruchen selbst gehört, der daher nicht aus irgendeiner amtlichen Verantwortung heraus für dessen Bewachung zuständig sein kann. Keinesfalls bietet die Lacuna Raum für mehr als vier Buchstaben.

23 π . . . [ . ]: Vielleicht muss πᾶσα[v] gelesen werden.

25-26 παρὰ σοὶ ὅπω[ς] μ[ὴ] ἐξ] ὑστέρ[ο]ν συγκοφανῶμαι: Vgl. die typische Formulierung in *P.Amh.* 2.35.35-40 (Soknopaiu Nesos; 132).

27 Die Zeile scheint mit σ zu beginnen und die Spuren zuvor dürften wie in Z. 14 und 15 von einem Abdruck herrühren.

– ἐνπεφανικότος: Vgl. für die Form des π mit nach rechts auslaufender Vertikalhaste auch ὅπω[ς] in Z. 25. Daran anschließend lässt sich vor der Beschädigung noch die linke Seite des ε erkennen.

28-30 Die Konstruktion dieser Zeilen hat keine wortwörtliche Parallele, doch die Bestandteile sind klar. Vgl. *P.Enteux.* 81.24-25 (Arsinoites; 221): διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τῶν φιλανθρωπῶν τύχῳ sowie *P.Petr.* 2.32 col. 1.39 (Arsinoites; 197): ἔσομαι τετευχὼς τῶν παρὰ σοῦ φιλανθρωπῶν].

32 (Ἐτῶς) ἰδῶ . . . ε: Diese Zeile wirkt in ihrem Schriftduktus dem Folgenden stark verwandt und ist überdies so klein geschrieben, dass es fast scheint, als sei sie noch nachträglich über den Bearbeitungsvermerk gesetzt worden. Auch orientieren sich die Buchstaben offenbar an der leicht aufsteigenden Linienführung der folgenden Zeilen. Die abgekürzte Monatsangabe ist nicht auszumachen; am Ende lässt sich jedoch ε mit der typischen Überstreichung bei der Tagesangabe recht deutlich erkennen.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. *P.Tebt.* 3.1.731.6-7 (Tebtynis; 153/2 oder 142/1): νεώτερος ἐπὶ τὴν τή]ρησιν.

<sup>31</sup> *P.Tebt.* 3.1.703.152 (Tebtynis; 210), *P.Tebt.* 3.1.706.8 (Tebtynis; 171?) und *P.Tebt.* 3.1.763.4-5 (Tebtynis; 143).



33 Rechts dieser Zeile finden sich Schriftspuren, die aussehen, als wäre dort ein um 90° gedrehter, maximal acht Buchstaben langer Vermerk an den Rand des Blattes geschrieben worden.

– ἐτύγγανεν: Die Konstruktion mit dem Perfektpartizip erscheint auch in *P.Heid.* 9.427.4-5 (Herakleopolis; 158): ὁ Σωκράτου Πτολεμαῖος | ἐτύγγανεν ἐπιτετελεκώς, ebenso in *P.Heid.* 9.429.13-14 (Herakleopolis; 161-155): ἐτύγγανεν [ἢ στέρεσις] | ὁ χρηματισμὸς / | [γεγενημένη] | γεγενημένος/ und wohl auch in *SB* 14.11367.3 (Arsinoites; 3. Jh.): ἐτύγ(?)]χανεν διαπεπραγμένος Σίμων.

35 Ὀρνυμέγ[ην]: Der Name Ornymenes ist bislang nur selten bezeugt. In *P.Mich.* 18.779 wird ein Mann dieses Namens um die Weiterleitung eines Anliegens an den Dioiketen Athenodoros ersucht. Das Schreiben stammt von einem Bewohner von Muchis in der Polemon-Meris des Arsinoites und dürfte in das Jahr 192 fallen. Dies wird nicht nur durch die Erwähnung des Athenodoros, sondern auch durch die Kontextualisierung anderer Papyri desselben Konvoluts deutlich (vgl. *P.Mich.* 18, S. 93-94). Ein Vergleich mit dem Kontext unseres Schreibens (Seltenheit des Namens, Bezug auf den Arsinoites, Untergebenstellung zum Dioiketen Athenodoros) lässt keinen Zweifel aufkommen, dass es sich bei dem dort genannten Ornymenes um dieselbe Person handelt. Dieser taucht ebenfalls in *P.Hels.* 1.23.22-23 (191/0) auf und wird dort sogar explizit als Untergebener des Dioiketen Athenodoros bezeichnet.<sup>32</sup> Wir können anhand unseres Textes den Amtsbereich des Ornymenes nunmehr eindeutig in den Arsinoites setzen, weshalb im Fall von *P.Hels.* 1.23 wohl arsinoitische Herkunft anzunehmen ist.<sup>33</sup>

Ein weiterer Ornymenes begegnet in der „Weihe- und Stifterinschrift“ *SB* 5.8926.6 (Leontopolis; 193-186), deren Stifter als γραμματεὺς Ὀρνυμένους bezeichnet wird.<sup>34</sup> Eine Identifikation mit unserem Ornymenes ist nicht auszuschließen und schon vom zeitlichen Aspekt her reizvoll, erscheint aber aufgrund der räumlichen Distanz doch etwas gewagt.

36 Ἀθὺρ . . π[αρά]: Ähnlich wie bei der zuvor angeführten Tagesangabe lässt sich hier das π auf dem Papyrus nur mehr erahnen; zudem stören offenbar Abdrücke die Lesbarkeit der Tagesangabe, weshalb sich auch eine einstellige Zahl nicht ausschließen lässt.

<sup>32</sup> Siehe Anm. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Siehe zu dieser Frage auch 3, Komm. Z. 14-15 Σπαρ|τάκωι τῶι ἐπιμελητῇ.

<sup>34</sup> Zu diesem Text É. Bernand, „Le culte du lion en Basse Égypte d'après les documents grecs“, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 16 (1990) 63-94, Nr. 3. Dieser stellt die Möglichkeit in den Raum, dass es sich beim dortigen Ornymenes um eine Gottheit handeln könnte.

38 κ[ατὰ ±?]: Am Zeilenanfang lässt sich κ recht gut erkennen. Die Rekonstruktion ergibt sich aus den Vermerken von 2.23 und 3.32 und falls es sich bei dem in Z. 1 und 33 genannten Dionysios wirklich um einen Widersacher des Archias handelt, so dürfte dieser hier zu ergänzen sein. Die Schriftspuren in den Folgezeilen sind wohl Abdrücke; vgl. etwa das auffällige horizontal gespiegelte lunare σ. Im Gegensatz zum offenbar quasi auf dem Kopf geschriebenen Vermerk in 2.24 neigen die Schriftspuren hier – um 180° gedreht – zu sehr nach links, als dass sie auf die gleiche Art und Weise zustande gekommen sein könnten.

## 2. Naukleroi beschweren sich über Steuerpächter

P.Vindob. G 56636  
Ed. pr. = CPR 28.11

H x W = 32,8 x 11,7 cm

21. Jan. 191

Herakleopolites (Herakleopolis?)

Für Abbildung, Beschreibung und Kommentar siehe die *editio princeps*. Im Folgenden sind lediglich Text, eine deutsche Übersetzung sowie ergänzende Bemerkungen wiedergegeben.

- 1 [Δημη]τρίῳ τῷ παρὰ  
2 Ἀθηνοδώρου \τοῦ διοικητοῦ/ παρὰ τῶν  
3 ναυκλήρων \τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρμου/ τῶν μετα-  
4 φερόντων τὸν βασιλικὸν σῖτον  
5 ἐνταῦθα εἰς τὰ μετρήματα.  
6 Ἐπειδὴ οἱ[ι] τελῶναι πρᾶσ-  
7 σουσιν ἡμᾶς τὴν τετάρτην  
8 τῶν ναύλων οὐ καθηκόντως  
9 οὐδέποτε η[±10] . . . -  
10 κότων καὶ το[±9] . . .  
11 διασείοντες [ . . . . . ἄξι-]  
12 οὔμην σε, ἐάν σοι φαίνεται,  
13 ἀνακαλεσάμενον αὐτοὺς  
14 ἐπισκέψασθαι, καὶν φαί-  
15 νων\ται/ ἀγνωμόνως ἡμᾶς  
16 παραλογεύοντες, μὴ  
17 ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς  
18 συκοφαντεῖν ἡ{η}μᾶς.  
19 Εὐτόχει.

*Verso*

→ 20 [ ±? ] . . . . . ους  
21 *vacat?* εσει κα . . . ηης

22 (2. Hand) (Ἔτους) ἰδ Χοιὰχ ἰδ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρμου[υ]  
23 κατὰ τῶν τε(λωνῶν).

Am linken Rand zwischen Z. 21 und 22, um 180° gewendet:

24 (3. Hand) εσο . [±?]

1 [ . . . . . ] . ρῖωι *ed. pr.* 21 ο *corr. ex ι* 22 ὄρμου[υ ναυκλήρων] *ed. pr.* 23  
τ<sup>ε</sup> *pap.*

„Demetrios, dem Untergebenen des Dioiketen Athenodoros, von den Naukleroi vom Hafen (von Herakleopolis), die das königliche Getreide für die Naturalzuteilungen hierher liefern. Nachdem die Steuerpächter uns in ungerechtfertigter Weise angehen wegen des Vierten der Frachtabgaben, niemals [---] und [---] pressen sie (uns) aus [---] bitten wir dich, wenn es dir zusagt, dass du sie vorlädst, eine Untersuchung anstellst und – falls es sich erweisen sollte, dass sie in widersinniger Weise Gebühren von uns verlangen – ihnen nicht gestattest, uns zu belangen. Leb wohl.

(*Verso*) 14. Jahr, 14. Choiak. Von den Leuten vom Hafen (von Herakleopolis) gegen die Steuerpächter.“

In dieser Petition wenden sich Naukleroi, die staatliche Getreidelieferungen verschiffen, an Demetrios im Streit um ungerechtfertigte Frachtabgaben.<sup>35</sup> Wie bereits in der allgemeinen Einleitung erwähnt, ist auch in den Parallelen *W.Chr.* 159.18-19 (Latopolites; 108), *BGU* 18.1.2739 (Herakleopolites; 87-85) und *BGU* 14.2422.1-3 (Herakleopolites?; 1. Jh.) jeweils ein mit ὁ παρὰ bezeichneter Untergebener des Dioiketen für den staatlichen Getreidetransport zuständig. Demetrios ist hier offenkundig in ähnlicher Funktion angeschrieben.<sup>36</sup>

1 [Δημη]τρῖωι: Csaba Láda vermutete diesen Namen bereits aufgrund der Häufigkeit sowie der vorliegenden Platzverhältnisse. Die Texte 1 und 3 geben nunmehr die sichere Ergänzung.

<sup>35</sup> Zum Transport des Steuergetreides Armoni (Anm. 16) 33-60, v. a. 48-51.

<sup>36</sup> Zur Frage nach der Verortung dieser Angelegenheit siehe die allgemeine Einleitung mit Anm. 18.

5 ἐνταῦθα: Ich folge Thomas Kruses Interpretation, derzufolge hier vom Hafen von Herakleopolis selbst die Rede ist, da ansonsten kein Toponym genannt wird.<sup>37</sup> Falls die Angelegenheit jedoch außerhalb von Herakleopolis verortet werden muss,<sup>38</sup> ist vermutlich eher mit „dorthin“ zu übersetzen und die Verwendung von ἐνταῦθα wäre aus der vorigen Erwähnung des Hafens im Text zu erklären.

– εἰς τὰ μετρήματα: Zu den Naturalzahlungen aus Steuergetreide an staatliche Bedienstete siehe jetzt Armoni (Anm. 16) 60-84, v. a. 63 und 70-71.

22 τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρμου[υ]: Dieser Ausdruck ist bislang nur aus dem Herakleopolites bezeugt und meint den Hafen von Herakleopolis als administrative Einheit, welche jedoch offenbar den städtischen Beamten unterstand.<sup>39</sup> Offensichtlich ist die Verwendung von τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρμου als Herkunftsangabe in den folgenden Parallelen (alle aus dem Herakleopolites): *P.Diosk.* 8.3; 12.3 (beide Mitte 2. Jh.); *P.Polit.Iud.* 10.4 (138/7); 1.7-8 (135); 11.5 (133/2). In all diesen Fällen fehlt das direkte Bezugswort von τῶν und auch der Einschub der Phrase in Z. 3 unseres Textes, wo der Artikel wiederaufgenommen wird, zeigt, wie sehr diese Wendung als Einheit verstanden wird, sodass an der vorliegenden Stelle die Ergänzung τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρμου[υ ναυκλήρων] der *editio princeps* nicht wahrscheinlicher ist als ihr Fehlen.

### 3. Beschwerde über einen Komophylakiten

P.Vindob. G 56637

H x W = 31,2 x 12 cm

3. Feb. 190

Machor, Herakleopolites

Der mittelbraune Papyrus ist allseitig zum allergrößten Teil vollständig erhalten. Eine vor allem auf dem Verso deutlich sichtbare Aufhellung zeugt vom Gebrauch des Blattes als Mumienkartonage. Dieser Anwendung fielen auch einige größere ausgeschnittene Papyrusteile vor allem am rechten Rand und in der unbeschriebenen unteren rechten Ecke sowie zwei rechteckige Ausschnitte in der zweiten Hälfte des Textes zum Opfer. Drei größere Risse setzen sich vom linken Rand horizontal in den Text hinein fort und ebenso ist die Schrift im rechten unteren Teil aufgrund mehrerer Risse, die sich vom Rand in den Text hinein ziehen, nur schwer zu lesen. Davon abgesehen ist der Text in einem guten Zustand mit vereinzelt, schwachen Abreibungen, die über

<sup>37</sup> T. Kruse, „Urkundenreferat 2008. 1. Teil“, *APF* 56 (2010) 176.

<sup>38</sup> Siehe Anm. 18.

<sup>39</sup> *P.Heid.* 6, S. 21 mit Literatur.

das gesamte Blatt verteilt sind. Die Tinte auf dem Verso ist dagegen durch die Kartonageverarbeitung stark abgewaschen und die Buchstaben am Ende der letzten Zeile sind aufgrund einer fehlenden Papyruslage nur mehr zu erahnen.

Beide erkennbaren Hände sind typisch für das späte dritte und frühe zweite Jahrhundert, wobei die Schrift des Verso regelmäßiger anmutet als jene des Recto. Mit letzterer sowohl im Duktus wie auch nach den Buchstabenformen eng verwandte Hände sind jene aus *P.Hels.* 1.1-3 (alle Arsinoites; Anf. 2. Jh.) sowie aus *P.Heid.* 8.412 (Herakleopolis; 186) und 417 (Herakleopolis; 190/89). Als illustrativ für die Zeitstellung unseres Textes erscheint etwa das Nebeneinander von halbrundem π, gespaltenem τ sowie dem markanten ω der Einlinien-Urkundenschrift mit linkem Bogen und Auslaufstrich. Eine frappierende Ähnlichkeit besteht überdies zur Hand von *P.Yale* 1.36 (Arsinoites; 190),<sup>40</sup> die jedoch regelmäßiger geführt ist und in kleineren Details abweicht, z. B. in der Bildung des π. Einen ganz ähnlichen Duktus mit teils anderen Buchstabenformen zeigt auch 2.

- 1 Δημητρίῳ τῷ παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου  
 2 τοῦ διοικητοῦ παρὰ Ἀμεννέως  
 3 τοῦ Τεῶτος κεραμέως τῶν ἐκ Μαχόρ.  
 4 Ἐμοῦ ἐπαντλοῦντος εἰς τὸν Πολιάν-  
 5 θου κλῆρον ἀπὸ τῆς δ' τοῦ Ἀθὺρ μη[νός]  
 6 ἐπελθὼν Ἐριεὺς Ἐσιέους κωμοφυλακ[ίτης]  
 7 ἀπήγαγέν με εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ [τοῦ]ς  
 8 παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀντλητὰς ἀνεσώβησεν ὥ[στ]ε  
 9 καὶ ἀσπορήσαί μου τὴν γῆν καὶ οὐ[κ ἄ]φῆ-  
 10 κέ με ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς μέχρι τοῦ με δοῦ-  
 11 ναι (δραχμὰς) Αὐ ὑποθεῖς τὴν οἰκίαν μου.  
 12 Τοῦ δ' Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ διοικητοῦ/ παραγενομένου ἐνέ-  
 13 τυχον αὐτῷ μεθ' ὑπομνήματος [περὶ]  
 14 τούτων καὶ γράψαντος αὐτοῦ Σπαρ-  
 15 τάκῳ τῷ ἐπιμελητῇ ὅπως τὰ δί-  
 16 καὶά μοι γένηται καὶ τοῦ Σπαρτάκου  
 17 γράψαντο[ς Ἀμ]μωνίῳ τ[ῷ] τῆς κώμ[ης]

<sup>40</sup> Dieser Text ist besonders interessant, da er zunächst in das Jahr 232 datiert wurde, später jedoch anhand der genaueren Einordnung des erwähnten Dioiketen Athenodoros in das Jahr 190 verortet werden konnte. Der ältere Kommentar von Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 3.1, S. 305 zu diesem Text unterstreicht somit indirekt auch die Datierung unseres Papyrus: „Wäre der Yale-Papyrus [...] ohne das Datum 232 v. Chr., müßte man ihn einmal wegen seiner Schreibweise, dann auch wegen der Buchstabenbilder in das ausgehende 3. Jh. v. Chr. datieren.“

18 ἐπιστάτ[ηι ἀπ]οστεῖλα[ι τὸν] Ἑριέα/ [Ἀμμόνιος],  
 19 πεισθεῖς ὁ [Ἀμ]μόνιος ὁ [μετ]αλαβὸν οὐ-  
 20 κ ἀπέστει[λε]ν ἕως τῷ [νῦν]. Ἀξιῶ οὖν  
 21 μετὰ πάσης δεήσεως, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσιν ἀπο-  
 22 νέμει καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποεῖς, γράψαι  
 23 ὧι καθήκει ἀποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν  
 24 Ἑριέα φυλακίτην ὅπ[ως] τὴν περὶ τ[ο]ύ-  
 25 των ἐπίσκεψιν ποιήσης. Τούτου δὲ  
 26 γενομένου τεύξομαι τῆς παρὰ σοῦ  
 27 βοηθείας.  
 28 Εὐτύχει.

*Verso*

→ 29 (2. Hand) (Ἔτους) ιε Χοιάχ κζ παρὰ  
 30 Ἀμεννέως τῶν ἐκ Μαχὸρ  
 31 κατὰ Ἑριέως ὑπὲρ (δραχμῶν) Ἀν.

6 l. Ἑσιήους 11  $\angle$  pap. 21-22 l. ἀπονέμεις 22 l. ποίεις 29 L pap.  
 31  $\angle$  pap.

„Demetrios, dem Untergebenen des Dioiketen Athenodoros, vom Töpfer Amenneus, Sohn des Teos, einem der Bewohner von Machor. Während ich – seit dem 4. des Monats Hathyr – den Kleros des Polianthes künstlich bewässerte, kam der Komophylakit Herieus, Sohn des Hesies, herbei, warf mich ins Gefängnis und verjagte diejenigen, die mit mir die Bewässerungsarbeit verrichteten, sodass mein Boden unbesät blieb, und er entließ mich nicht aus dem Gefängnis, bis ich 1400 Drachmen gezahlt hatte, wobei ich mein Haus verpfändete.

Als aber der Dioiket Athenodoros zugegen war, wandte ich mich an ihn mittels einer Eingabe über diese Angelegenheiten, und er schrieb dem Epimeleten Spartakos, dass mir Recht geschehen solle, und Spartakos schrieb dem Epistaten des Dorfes, Ammonios, den Herieus zu überstellen; Ammonios, der den Befehl empfangen hat, ließ sich überreden und hat (den Herieus) bis heute nicht überstellt.

Ich bitte daher mit aller Unterwürfigkeit – denn du weist allen (das Rechte) zu und bewirkst das Rechte – dass du demjenigen, der zuständig ist, schreibst, den Phylakiten Herieus an dich zu überstellen, damit du die Untersuchung über diese Angelegenheiten anstellen kannst. Wenn dies geschieht, werde ich deines Beistands teilhaftig werden. Leb wohl!

(*Verso*) 15. Jahr, 27. Choiak. Von Amenneus, einem der Bewohner von Machor, gegen Herieus über 1400 Drachmen.“

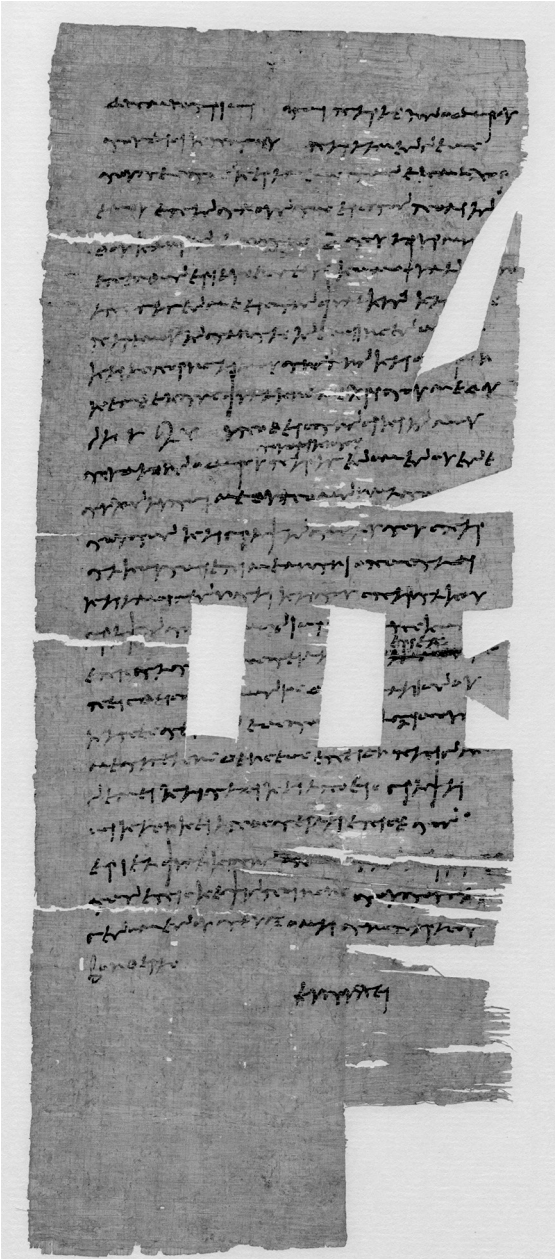


Abb. 3: 3. Beschwerde über einen Komophylakiten



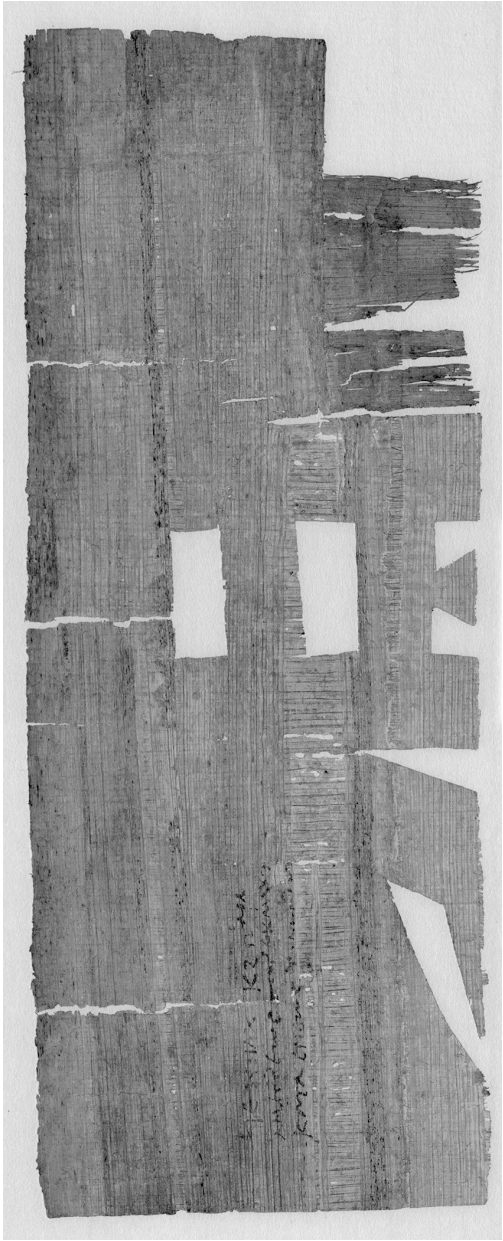


Abb. 4: 3. Vermerk auf dem Verso



In dieser Petition beschwert sich ein Töpfer namens Amenneus über den Komophylakiten Herieus, der ihn ins Gefängnis geworfen und erst nach einer Zahlung von 1400 Drachmen wieder freigelassen habe. Einer früheren Bitte um Verhaftung des Herieus war vonseiten des Dioiketen stattgegeben worden, doch offenbar blieb diese Anweisung ohne Folgen. Somit wendet sich Amenneus nun an Demetrios und ersucht abermals um die Überstellung des beschuldigten Komophylakiten.

Die näheren Hintergründe des Schreibens bleiben wie so oft unklar. Amenneus verdingte sich offenbar als Lohnarbeiter auf dem Kleros des Polianthes;<sup>41</sup> wir erfahren allerdings nicht, weshalb er eingesperrt wurde, und womöglich tut Amenneus auch gut daran, den entsprechenden Vorwurf nicht zu erwähnen. Da die beiden an Demetrios gerichteten Texte 1 und 2 sich ebenfalls mit fiskalischen Fragen befassen, könnte es sich auch in diesem Fall um eine Steuerforderung handeln. Ebenso mag die Instanzenkette vom Dioiketen über den Epimeleten ein Indiz für diese Hypothese sein,<sup>42</sup> obgleich dieses Argument von einer Ressortzuteilung in der ptolemäischen Verwaltung ausgeht, die sich in dieser rigiden Form nicht nachweisen lässt.<sup>43</sup> Auch spricht die relativ niedrige hierarchische Stellung des beschuldigten Herieus gegen diese These; daher erscheint die Vermutung plausibler, dass wir es mit einer Privatfehde und einem Fall von Amtsmissbrauch vonseiten des Herieus zu tun haben.

Die Strategie, sich über mehrere Kanäle an die Verwaltung zu wenden, begegnet uns in den Papyri recht häufig. Amenneus hatte bereits direkt dem Dioiketen Athenodoros geschrieben, doch da dessen Anordnung auf der Dorfebene vom lokalen Epistaten Ammonios aus unbekannten Gründen ignoriert wurde,<sup>44</sup> verleiht er nun noch einmal seinem Anliegen Nachdruck, indem er Demetrios auf den nachlässigen Beamten hinweist. Alternativ wandte man sich mit seiner Eingabe auch gleichzeitig an mehrere Verwaltungsstellen, woraus wir ersehen können, dass eine gewisse Skepsis gegenüber der Motivation des Amtspersonals offenbar recht verbreitet war.

Unser Text erlaubt uns zudem zwei interessante Beobachtungen bezüglich der administrativen Praxis in solchen Fällen. Zum einen zeigt die detaillierte

<sup>41</sup> Zu den Kleruchen und ihren κλήροι siehe jetzt die umfassende Abhandlung bei C. Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2014) 199-237.

<sup>42</sup> In zahlreichen Petitionen legen Bearbeitungsvermerke oder Bitten der Petenten die Vermutung nahe, dass der Dorf-Epistates die übliche Instanz war, die mit einer solchen lokalen Angelegenheit von höherer Stelle betraut wurde. Vgl. jedoch auch die Instanzenkette Dioiket-Epimelet-Archiphylakit in *W.Chr.* 166.

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. dazu die Bemerkungen von B.C. McGing, „Illegal Salt in the Lycopolite Nome“, *APF* 48 (2002) 63-64.

<sup>44</sup> Möglicherweise spielen auf dieser Ebene gemeinsame Interessen der beiden quasi-Kollegen Herieus und Ammonios eine Rolle.

Beschreibung des Instanzenweges, wie Amenneus sie hier vorträgt, dass das geschädigte Individuum den Briefverkehr zwischen den einzelnen amtlichen Stellen in der Regel selbständig zu organisieren hatte.<sup>45</sup> Anders ist auch kaum zu erklären, wodurch Amenneus Kenntnis des offenbar leicht variierenden Inhalts der Schreiben erlangt haben könnte – doch wohl nicht dadurch, dass er über jede erfolgte Weiterleitung einzeln informiert wurde! Damit korrespondiert die zweite Beobachtung, denn Amenneus hatte sich explizit zu jenem Zeitpunkt direkt an den Dioiketen Athenodoros gewandt, als dieser gerade in der Gegend war (Z. 12), was wiederum erklärt, warum er sich nun in seinem folgenden Schreiben ‚nur mehr‘ an Demetrios als Untergebenen des Athenodoros wendet. Dies spricht dafür, dass wir solche Angelegenheiten stets in möglichst lokalem Rahmen verorten sollten – schon angesichts der Ressourcen der jeweiligen Petenten.<sup>46</sup>

4 ἐπαντλοῦντος; Vgl. Z. 8 ἀντλητάς. Das in der Ptolemäerzeit seltene ἐπαντλέω meint die Bewässerung mittels Maschinen.<sup>47</sup> Die Konstruktion mit εἰς scheint singulär zu sein, findet sich allerdings indirekt in Platons *Phaidros* 112c: ὅταν τε οὖν ὑποχωρήσῃ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν δὴ κάτω καλούμενον, τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνα τὰ ρεύματα διὰ τῆς γῆς εἰσρεῖ τε καὶ πληροῖ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐπαντλοῦντες.

4-5 εἰς τὸν Πολιάν|θου κλήρον: Ein Kleros des Polianthes war aus dem Herakleopolites bislang nicht bekannt. Schon die fehlende Nennung eines anderen Gaues oder einer anderen Toparchie spricht jedoch für einen eher lokalen Rahmen der Angelegenheit. Keine der bislang bekannten Personen mit diesem Namen passt räumlich oder zeitlich in unseren Kontext.<sup>48</sup>

5 ἀπὸ τῆς δ: Für die Verbindung von π und ο vgl. Z. 9 ἀσπορήσαί sowie Z. 11 ὑποθείς; für das nach links unten gezogene η und das kleine oben rechts angefügte ς vgl. Z. 6 κωμοφυλακ[ί]της.

<sup>45</sup> Dies illustrieren überdies auch *P.Tarich.* 11.34-36 (Arsinoites; 185-184) sowie *UPZ* 1.14 col. 7-8 (Memphis; 157).

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. zur Frage, wo diese Petitionen jeweils bearbeitet wurden, jetzt illustrativ Bauschatz (Anm. 5) 197-206. Andererseits bedeutet diese Beobachtung wohl nicht, dass Adressen etwa an den König wörtlich zu verstehen sind, denn gerade hier wissen wir, dass solche Petitionen in der Regel vom Büro des Strategen bearbeitet und wohl auch dort eingereicht wurden (siehe *P.Enteux.*, S. xxi-xl).

<sup>47</sup> Zu den Wasserhebewerken in hellenistischer Zeit siehe A. Wilson, „Machines, Power and the Ancient Economy“, *JRS* 92 (2002) 7-9.

<sup>48</sup> Zum Namen selbst, der wohl auf kyrenische Herkunft schließen lässt, siehe *P.Count.*, S. 482-483.

6 Ἐσιέους: Die Tinte ist hier stark abgerieben und das Patronym daher nicht leicht zu lesen. Am Ende ist εους sicher und davor lese ich am ehesten ρ, doch Ταρέους, Ἀτρέους oder auch Μαρέους sind ganz unmöglich. Die Form eines ι mit oben rechts angefügtem Häkchen ist freilich in diesem Text gang und gäbe, wenngleich nicht so ausgeprägt wie hier. Somit erscheint mir Ἐσιέους am wahrscheinlichsten und auch gut nachvollziehbar zu sein. Allerdings ist anzumerken, dass zwar zahlreiche Beispiele für den Wechsel von η zu ε auch in betonter Silbe vorliegen, jedoch offenbar niemals im Inlaut.<sup>49</sup> Die verbreitetere, obschon ebenfalls seltene Form Ἐσιήους begegnet etwa in *P.Rain.Cent.* 50 (Delta; 1. Hälfte des 1. Jhs.).

– κωμοφυλακ[ί]της: Für diesen Terminus des „Dorfpolizisten“ existiert lediglich ein sonstiger Beleg, nämlich *SB* 8.9792.14-15 (Hermupolis; 162). Dort wird eine Benachrichtigung über einen Diebstahl Δάννῳι | καὶ τοῖς κωμοφυλακίταις gesandt; letztere dürften demnach auf Dorfebene agierende Exekutivkräfte gewesen sein, die einem höheren Dorfbeamten unterstanden – also wohl dem ἀρχιφυλακίτης oder dem ἐπιστάτης. Es erscheint mir daher sehr wahrscheinlich, dass wir hier dieselben Organe vor uns haben, denen wir üblicherweise als φυλακίται in den Dörfern begegnen; so wird auch der Gebrauch dieses allgemeinen Begriffs in *Z.* 24 unseres Textes verständlich. Die Verwendung des spezifischen Terminus könnte dadurch motiviert gewesen sein, dass eine Abgrenzung zu höheren Verwaltungsebenen (so in *SB* 8.9792) oder eine detaillierte Angabe der Funktion (etwa zur Identifikation des Herieus in unserem Papyrus) notwendig erschienen.<sup>50</sup>

Für die Ergänzung [δὸς κω]μοφύλακι in *P.Bad.* 2.35.31 (Thinites; 87 n. Chr.) liegt kein zwingender Grund vor, da ein κωμοφύλαξ sonst nirgends belegt ist und der Textverlust wohl nur drei bis vier Buchstaben beträgt. Es sind zahlreiche Ergänzungen denkbar, da der Kontext der Phylakie nicht ersichtlich ist.

8 ἀντλητάς: Vgl. *Z.* 4 ἐπαντλοῦντος. Die genannten Personen dürften als Lohnarbeiter angeheuert worden sein. Vgl. dazu *P.Köln* 10.413 (Herakleopolites; 142), eine Eingabe an den Strategen um die Entlohnung von Bewässerungsarbeiten in einem Weinberg, sowie *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59176 = *C.Ptol.Sklav.* 2.212 (Arsinoites; 255), eine Abrechnung über Aufwendungen unter anderem für einen Arbeiter an der Feldbewässerung (*Z.* 230).

<sup>49</sup> Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.1 § 22.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. *P.Sorb.* 3.112.10 (Arsinoites?; 219): τὸν φυλακίτην τῆς κόμης, *P.Mich.* 18.778.35-36 (Arsinoites; 193/2): τοὺς | κατὰ κόμην φυλακίτας, *BGU* 8.1818.17-18 (Herakleopolites; 60/59): τοῖς τῆς | κόμης φυλακίταις und öfter.

– ἀνεσόβησεν: Auch dies ist ein sehr seltenes Wort. Im LSJ s.v. ἀνασοβέω findet sich die Grundbedeutung „scare and make to start up“. Eine zu unserem Text analoge Konstruktion begegnet in *P.Enteux.* 86.6 (Arsinoites; 221): τοὺς μάρτυράς μου ἀνεσόβησεν πάντας.

– ὦ[στ]ε: Die Lücke ist verhältnismäßig lang, doch muss an dieser Stelle die in den Petitionen geläufige ὥστε καί-Floskel stehen, welche die Folgen der geschilderten Tat verdeutlicht. Vermutlich gehört der am Zeilenende erkennbare Buchstabenrest zu einer auslaufenden ε-Zunge.

8-9 ὦ[στ]ε | καὶ ἀσπορήσαί μου τὴν γῆν. Vgl. *W.Chr.* 11 A 8-9 (Pathyrites; 123): πρὸς τὸ ἀσπορίσαι (sic) τὰ πεδία ἡμῶν und besonders B 7: ὥστε ἀν διὰ ταύτη[ν] τ[ῇ]ν αἰτίαν ἀσπορί[σ]αι (sic) τὴν γῆν.

11 ὑποθεὶς τὴν οἰκίαν μου: Der Nominativ erklärt sich wohl durch die Logik der unmittelbar vorangehenden Konstruktion (Z. 10-11: μέχρι τοῦ με δοῦναι), denn es kann an dieser Stelle nur der Petent gemeint sein.

14-15 Σπαρ|τάκωι τῶι ἐπιμελητῇ: Bislang liegen drei weitere Zeugnisse eines Epimeleten namens Spartakos in edierter Form vor: *P.Hels.* 1.23.15 mit *BL* 11:94 (Herakleopolites; 191/0), *P.Köln* 5.221 C 3 (Arsinoites; ca. 190) sowie *P.Tebt.* 3.2.895 Rekto 122, vgl. Rekto 60 (Tebtynis; 175). Des Weiteren ist wohl auch der in *P.Hels.* 1.4 C 7 (Herakleopolites; nach 168/7) genannte Spartakos Epimelet (vgl. D col. 2.13). Angesichts des nicht eben häufigen Namens sowie der regionalen Eingrenzung der Zeugnisse ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass es sich um ein und dieselbe Person handelt, die zweifelsohne auch in *BGU* 20.2840.[1], 11, 32 sowie in *BGU* 20.2841 col. 2.2 und Verso Z. 14 (beide Herakleopolites; 200 oder 176) gemeint ist. Der dortige Spartakos trägt zwar keine Amtsbezeichnung, doch erscheint er in offiziellem Kontext als Verantwortlicher für die Lohnauszahlung von Soldaten. Mir bekannte Erwähnungen in unpublizierten Texten umfassen etwa *P.Duk.inv.* 690, einen Amtsbrief, in dem auf eine Anweisung des Epimeleten Spartakos verwiesen wird, sowie *P.Duk.inv.* 688, eine Petition über Steuerbelange (?), in der eine Entscheidung des Spartakos erwähnt wird.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *P.Duk.inv.* 690 erwähnt einen Weinberg in der Nähe des Dorfes Psinachis in der Themistu-Meris des Arsinoites und der 19. Pachon des 13. Jahres ist hier sehr wahrscheinlich der 25. Juni 192 (siehe das Folgende zur Datierung der Amtszeiten des Spartakos). *P.Duk.inv.* 688 lässt sich dagegen aufgrund des fragmentarischen Textes nicht eindeutig verorten; das Stück stammt jedoch aus derselben Kartonage wie *P.Duk.inv.* 690. Drei weitere Zeugnisse erwähnen einen Spartakos ohne Amtsbezeichnung und stammen aus dem fraglichen geographischen und chronologischen Umfeld. Es handelt sich um *P.Hels.* 1.3.11 (Arsinoites; Anf. 2. Jh.), *P.Freib.* 3.28 col. 1.2.15 (Arsinoites; 179/8)

Was an diesen Texten auffällt, ist deren unterschiedliche Datierung, wozu ein paar Bemerkungen angebracht sind. In *P.Hels.* 1.23 wird neben Spartakos noch ein gewisser Ornymenes erwähnt, den wir sicher in der Amtszeit unseres Dioiketen Athenodoros verorten können,<sup>52</sup> was bereits die Herausgeber von *P.Mich.* 18.779 veranlasste, den Helsinki-Papyrus in das Jahr 191/0 zu datieren, welcher in der *editio princeps* nach 163 verortet wird.<sup>53</sup> *P.Hels.* 1.23 wird als Teil des sogenannten Ökonomen-Archivs aus dem Herakleopolites angesehen, das als *P.Hels.* 1.4-47 publiziert wurde, doch beruht diese Einordnung einzig auf der gemeinsamen Herkunft der Kartonage aus demselben Mumienkopf. Erja Salmenkivi hat kürzlich gesehen, dass *P.Hels.* 1.4-5 und 22-23 offenbar aus einer anderen Kartonage stammen als der Rest des Ökonomen-Archivs.<sup>54</sup> Diese Beobachtung ermöglicht die unproblematische Übernahme der Neudatierung für *P.Hels.* 1.23 sowie eine frühere Einordnung von *P.Hels.* 1.4.<sup>55</sup> Gleichzeitig bedeutet es aber auch, dass die Provenienz dieser beiden Papyri überdacht werden muss: Im ersten Text wird einerseits das Dorf Athribis im Arsinoites (C 10), andererseits das Dorf Phebichis im Herakleopolites erwähnt (D col. 2.1), daher kann hier keine Entscheidung getroffen werden. Im zweiten Text begegnen wir dagegen dem Verweis auf Ornymenes, der – wie aus I hervorgeht – im Arsinoites wirkte; daher erscheint in diesem Falle trotz des unklaren Kontextes eine arsinoitische Herkunft plausibel.

Es ergeben sich nun sowohl ein zeitliches als auch ein räumliches Problem bei der „Ein-Spartakos-Hypothese“. Zum einen bleibt offen, wie die Nennung des Epimeleten Spartakos in *P.Tebt.* 3.2.895 zu erklären ist, denn dieser Papyrus ist durch die Nennung des Epistrategen Hippalos sicher in das Jahr 175 zu datieren, was derart weit von unserem Text entfernt ist, dass eine so ausgedehnte Amtszeit des Spartakos kaum denkbar erscheint, obgleich

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sowie *BGU* 6.1272.23 (Arsinoites; 173). Im erst- wie im letztgenannten Fall lässt sich keinerlei Hinweis auf eine amtliche Funktion des Betreffenden erkennen. Lediglich in *P.Freib.* 3.28 col. 1.2.15 wäre eine Ergänzung Σπαρτάκωι τ[ὼι ἐπιμελητῇ] prinzipiell denkbar; diese Hypothese scheitert allerdings wohl daran, dass in Z. 11-12 zweifellos Σπαρ[τ]άκου zu rekonstruieren ist und somit der Name bereits zuvor genannt wurde – und zwar ohne Funktionsbezeichnung.

<sup>52</sup> I, Komm. Z. 35.

<sup>53</sup> *P.Mich.* 18, S. 95, Anm. 13. Der dortige Verweis auf *P.Hels.* 1.25 statt *P.Hels.* 1.23 ist offensichtlich ein Versehen; auf S. 160 sind dagegen die Zeilennummern falsch zitiert.

<sup>54</sup> *BGU* 20, S. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Wenn man *P.Hels.* 1.4 konsequenterweise näher an die Zeit des Athenodoros datieren möchte, wie es wohl geboten ist, so ergibt das dort genannte dritte Jahr bei einer Zählung nach Epiphanes das Jahr 203/2 und nach Philometor 179/8. Diese Angabe bezieht sich jedoch explizit auf eine bereits zurückliegende Zeit und ist demnach für die Verortung des im Text genannten Spartakos nur bedingt wertvoll.

prinzipiell Epimeleten belegt sind, deren Amtszeit sich offenbar über mehrere Jahre erstreckte.<sup>56</sup> Ferner stammen *P.Tebt.* 3.2.895, *P.Köln* 5.221 und – wie oben dargelegt – vermutlich auch *P.Hels.* 1.23 aus dem Arsinoites, *BGU* 20.2840-2841 dagegen aus dem Herakleopolites, während die Herkunft von *P.Hels.* 1.4, wie gesagt, unsicher ist. Auch in unserem Text hat Spartakos eindeutig einen herakleopolitischen Amtsbereich inne, denn er fungiert als Zwischenebene zwischen dem Dioiketen Athenodoros und dem Dorf-Epistaten Ammonios.

Erja Salmenkivi sah diese Probleme bereits anhand von *BGU* 20.2840-2841 und bietet zwei mögliche Lösungen an:<sup>57</sup> Entweder war Spartakos sowohl für den Herakleopolites als auch für den Arsinoites verantwortlich und seine Amtszeit betrug mindestens 26 bzw. 18 Jahre (201/0 bzw. 193/2-176/5)<sup>58</sup> oder er amtierte zuerst im Herakleopolites und anschließend im Arsinoites. Die zweite Möglichkeit ist meines Erachtens unwahrscheinlich, da wir mit **3** jetzt ein sicheres Zeugnis aus dem Jahr 191/0 für den Herakleopolites besitzen. Denn zum einen liegt unser Text zeitlich sehr nahe am sicher verorteten *P.Köln* 5.221 und zum anderen stammt er aus demselben Jahr wie der oben neu in den Arsinoites verortete *P.Hels.* 1.23. Nimmt man vielmehr beide Gae als Amtsbereich an, setzt aber *BGU* 20.2840-2841 in das Jahr 176, so bietet sich stattdessen die Möglichkeit, dass Spartakos zweimal nur wenige Jahre amtierte – denn dann lägen unsere Zeugnisse in den Jahren 193/2-191/0 und 177/6-176/5.<sup>59</sup> Diese Hypothese erscheint auch deswegen plausibel, da bei der Besetzung von Ämtern unterhalb der höchsten hierarchischen Ebenen eher auf das Prinzip der Rotation zurückgegriffen worden sein dürfte, als dass man Amtszeiten von 18 oder mehr Jahren ermöglicht hätte.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Dazu *P.Heid.* 6, S. 8-9.

<sup>57</sup> *BGU* 20, S. 6-7 mit kleineren Verwirrungen bezüglich der ägyptischen bzw. julianischen Jahre.

<sup>58</sup> In der ersten Variante bildet die Frühdatierung von *BGU* 20.2840 (29. Juli 200) den Beginn, in der zweiten wird die Spätdatierung angenommen, womit dann *P.Duk. inv.* 690 (25. Juni 192) den frühesten Beleg darstellt; in beiden Fällen ist *P.Tebt.* 3.2.895 mit dem dort genannten sechsten Jahr (176/5) das späteste Zeugnis.

<sup>59</sup> Nicht auszuschließen, aber rein hypothetisch ist der Gedanke, dass der Amtsbereich des Spartakos nicht die beiden kompletten Gae umfasste, sondern ein gauübergreifendes Gebiet im südöstlichen Arsinoites und nördlichen Herakleopolites. Vgl. zur Frage des Amtsbereiches des Epimeleten auch McGing (Anm. 43) 52, u. a. mit dem Hinweis auf *UPZ* 1.110.193 (Memphis?, 164): Θέωνι ἐπιμελητῇ τῶν κάτω {1} τόπων τοῦ Σαίτου.

<sup>60</sup> Einen ähnlichen Befund bietet der Fall des Protarchos. Ein Epimelet dieses Namens tritt in *P.Stras.* 2.104.5-6 (Herakleopolites; 210) sowie in *P.Mich.* 18.774.1 (Arsinoites; 194/3) auf. W. Clarysse, E. Lanciers, „Currency and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri“, *Anc.Soc.* 20 (1989) 127-132 plädierten für eine Datierung von *P.Stras.* 2.104 in das Jahr

19 πεισθεὶς ὁ [Ἀμ]μόνιος: Es ist mir nicht recht klar, wie man diese Stelle zu verstehen hat. Bezieht sich das Partizip auf die (zunächst) willige Übernahme des Befehls durch Ammonios oder soll angedeutet werden, dass dieser sich später hatte überreden lassen, die Anordnung nicht auszuführen? Der Gebrauch des anaphorischen Artikels wiederum scheint sicher, da der Schreiber diesen auch sonst konsequent verwendet.<sup>61</sup>

– ὁ [μετ]αλαβών: Vom ersten α ist nur der Auslaufstrich sichtbar. In Anbetracht des Schriftbildes der Zeile füllt [μετ]α jedoch den Raum gut aus. Die eigenartig eckige Form des ο an dieser Stelle findet ihre Parallele im so gleich folgenden οὐκ. Für die elliptische Verwendung von μεταλαμβάνω in der Amtssprache vgl. *UPZ* 1.37.2-4: μεταλαβὼν Δωρίων | ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς ἀνενήνοχεν | καθότι ὑπόκειται.

21-22 πᾶσιν ἀπορ|νέμει καὶ τὰ δίκαια: Für diesen Ausdruck gibt es drei weitere ptolemäische Zeugnisse, in denen die Konstruktion allerdings variiert: *P.Ryl.* 4.668 Fr. 2.2 (Herkunft unbekannt; Mitte 2. Jh.): [±? τὸ] δίκαιον ἀπονέμ[ειν ±?]; *P.Mert.* 1.5.29-30 (Ptolemais; 149-137): ἐπειδὴ ἀεὶ | διατελεῖς πᾶσι τὸ δίκαιον ἀπονέμων; *OGIS* 90a.19 (Rosetta; 196): ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον πᾶσιν ἀπένειμεν.

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211/0; anders zuvor T. Reekmans, „Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri“, in (ohne Hg.), *Ptolemaica* (Studia Hellenistica 5; Löwen 1948) 28, der sich für das Jahr 194/3 ausgesprochen hatte. Beide Hypothesen beruhen auf einem Preis- bzw. Lohnvergleich. Aufgrund des Zusammenhangs des Straßburger Textes mit *P.Köln* 11.448 (Herakleopolites; 211 oder 210) erscheint jetzt die Frühdatierung plausibler. *P.Mich.* 18.774 gehört dagegen dem Dossier des Goldschmieds Menches an, dessen Datierung aufgrund der Nennung des Dioiketen Athenodoros in *P.Mich.* 18.778.1 gesichert ist (siehe zum Kontext *P.Mich.* 18, S. 93-94 sowie auch S. 112-113). Die große Zeitspanne lässt sich nun auf zweierlei Weise erklären: Entweder handelt es sich bei den ‚Protarchoi‘ um zwei verschiedene Personen – so tritt der Name in den Papyri auch wesentlich häufiger auf als „Spartakos“ – oder aber derselbe Mann bekleidete zweimal den Posten eines Epimeleten, zunächst im Herakleopolites, später im Arsinoites bzw. in beiden Fällen ein diese Gaue überschneidendes Gebiet (siehe Anm. 59). Mit beiden Erklärungen fiel die lange Amtsdauer des Protarchos von acht Jahren fort und die Hypothese einer mehrmaligen Ausübung des Amtes des örtlichen Epimeleten durch Spartakos würde noch ein Stück wahrscheinlicher.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. die jeweils ersten und folgenden Erwähnungen der Individuen Herieus (Z. 6, 18, 24), Spartakos (Z. 14-16) und eben Ammonios (Z. 17, 19). Siehe dazu Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.2 § 55.





- 6 [πόλει] ἔως Ἐπειφ ᾧ. Διὸ καλῶς ποιήσεις προνοηθεὶς π[ε]ρὶ . . . α  
 7 [5-6] . ἵν' ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐπεσταλμ[έ]νο[ι]ς. Γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ  
 8 [Ἀπολλ]ωνίῳ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ καὶ Πετοσίρῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ γραμματ[ε]ῖ  
 9 [περὶ τ]ῶν αὐτῶν. Διασάφει δ' ἡμῖν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ε . [5-6] .  
 10 ἐμβληθῇ καὶ ἡ ἂν ἡμέραι γεμίσης τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ[ε]ρ[7-8]

11 ὅπως εἰδῶμεν. Ἑρρωσο. (Ἔτους) ις Ἐπεφ[ι]φ 1-2]

*Verso*

→ 12 (2. Hand?) ] . χ . . [

4 l. γεμίζόμενα 11 L *pap.*

Fr. 3

- ↓ 1 (1. Hand) ] . ἵν' Ἀθην[ο]δορ-?  
 2 ] α τοῦ βασιλ[  
 3 τήν] ταχίστη[ν  
 4 ] πρὸς τήν . [ . . . ] . [ .  
 5 ] . οὗς με . . . [

Fr. 4

- ↓ 1 ] χοσ . [ .  
 2 ] εξ[

„[---] (Z. 3) die Verladung geschieht mittels zahlreicher Helfer [---] die beladenen (sc. Schiffe) unverzüglich fortgeschickt werden, da das gesamte erhobene (sc. Getreide) bis zum 30. Epeiph in der Stadt sein soll. Trage daher bitte Sorge für [---] entsprechend der Anordnungen. Wir haben sowohl dem Ökonomen Apollonios als auch dem Königlichen Schreiber Petosiris in dieser Angelegenheit geschrieben. Gib uns also bekannt, sorgfältig und [---] geladen wird und am selben Tag, da du füllst die Menge [---] damit wir Bescheid wissen. Leb wohl. 16. Jahr, x. Epeiph.“

Der Schreiber dieses Briefes mahnt die Notwendigkeit an, dass eine Ladung die Gauhauptstadt erreicht, und trägt dem Adressaten auf, ebendies zu gewährleisten und Informationen über den Umfang des Verladenen an den Absender zurückzuleiten. Des Weiteren werden sowohl der Gauökonom als auch der Königliche Schreiber über die Angelegenheit in Kenntnis gesetzt. Es besteht ferner die Möglichkeit, dass es sich bei Fr. 1+2 nur um ein weitergeleitetes Schreiben handelt und Fr. 3 die eigentliche Mitteilung enthält. Unklar bleibt, in welchem Kontext der beschriebene Transport erfolgt.

Die Zugehörigkeit des Stückes zum Archiv des Demetrios lässt sich nicht beweisen, jedoch erscheint eine solche Vermutung durchaus plausibel. Das Schriftstück legt bereits durch Format und Schrift einen amtlichen Ursprung nahe und der hohe Rang der im Text genannten Beamten – der Ökonom und

der Königliche Schreiber – verdeutlicht das staatliche Interesse an besagtem Transport, bei dem es sich nur die Verladung der Getreideabgabe handeln kann. Der Adressat des Briefes dürfte somit in der gleichen Verantwortung angeschrieben sein wie die als οἱ παρὰ Ν.Ν. τοῦ διοικητοῦ titulierten Beamten Pamphilos (*W.Chr.* 159), Achilleus (*BGU* 18.1.2739), Apion (*BGU* 14.2422) und Demetrios (2; siehe den dortigen Kommentar). Überdies könnte die in Fr. 3.1 genannte Person gerade der dem Demetrios vorgesetzte Dioiket Athenodoros sein. Das Schriftbild passt gut in die fragliche Zeit und das genannte 16. Jahr schließt überdies eine spätere Zeit als die des Epiphanes aus.<sup>62</sup> Akzeptiert man die Ergänzung von Fr. 3.1, so würde eine Datierung nach Philopator ausscheiden, denn zu jener Zeit kann Athenodoros noch nicht im Amt gewesen sein. Das unter dieser Annahme in Frage kommende Datum läge zwischen dem 5. August und dem 3. September 189 und damit nur wenige Wochen vor dem 25. September 189, für den Bakchon, der Nachfolger des Athenodoros, zum ersten Mal als Dioiket bezeugt ist (siehe Anm. 6).

4 [3-4 τ]ᾶ: Zu Beginn ist die obere Lage des Papyrus weggebrochen. Denkbar wären Ergänzungen wie καί oder ὥστε.

5 ὁ διαγεγραμμ[έ]νος: Zur Bedeutung an dieser Stelle vgl. *P.Tebt.* 3.1.703.184-188 (Tebtynis; 210): καὶ τῇ[v] πλείστην σπουδὴν ποιοῦν ὅπως ὅτε σῆτος ἐν αὐτοῖς παρε[σχη]μένος | ἡ[τ]ι μέχρη τῶν χλωρῶ[v], καὶ εἰς [τ]οὺς μόσχους | ἀναλίσκῃται ὁ διαγ[ε]γραμμένος καθ' ἡ[μ]έραν.

5-6 ἐν τῇι | [πόλει]. In Anbetracht des Kontextes erscheint mir nur diese Konjektur denkbar, die zugleich mit den Platzverhältnissen harmoniert. Dabei kann Alexandria oder aber die Gauhauptstadt gemeint sein, wobei letztere eigentlich nicht den Status einer πόλις besitzt, jedoch trotzdem oft einfach als solche bezeichnet wird. Im Zweifelsfall möchte ich für den lokalen Rahmen der Angelegenheit plädieren und hier die Gauhauptstadt sehen.

6-7 προνοηθεῖς π[ε]ρὶ . . . α | [5-6] . ιν: Die Konstruktion erscheint ungewöhnlich, aber π, ρ und ι sind wohl sicher; Parallelen finden sich in *P.Diosk.* 6.4-5 (Herakleopolites; 146): προνοηθῆναι (l. προνοηθῆναι) | περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ δεδομένων (l. δεδομένων) und wohl auch in *P.Sijp.* 57.13 (Arsinoites; 3.-2. Jh.): προν[ο]ησ . . . περὶ τοῦ ὑπάρ[χ]οντος(?) ±?). Man denkt bei der folgenden Wortgruppe aufgrund der Kürze zuerst an eine Floskel wie περὶ τῶν δεόντων, doch dürften ιν und α, das in unserem Text einen sehr charakteristischen Zug besitzt, sicher sein. Sowohl π als auch ιν scheinen über notdürftig getilgtem Text geschrieben worden zu sein; der Rest des Passus ist zu stark abgewaschen, so dass sich dies hier nicht mehr feststellen lässt.

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. die Einleitung mit Anm. 9.

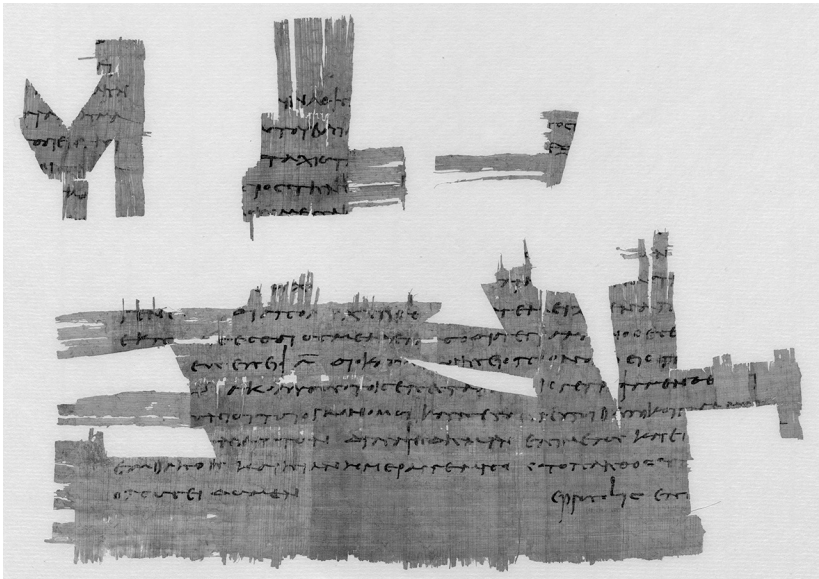


Abb. 5: 4. Amtliche Anweisung bezüglich eines Getreidetransports

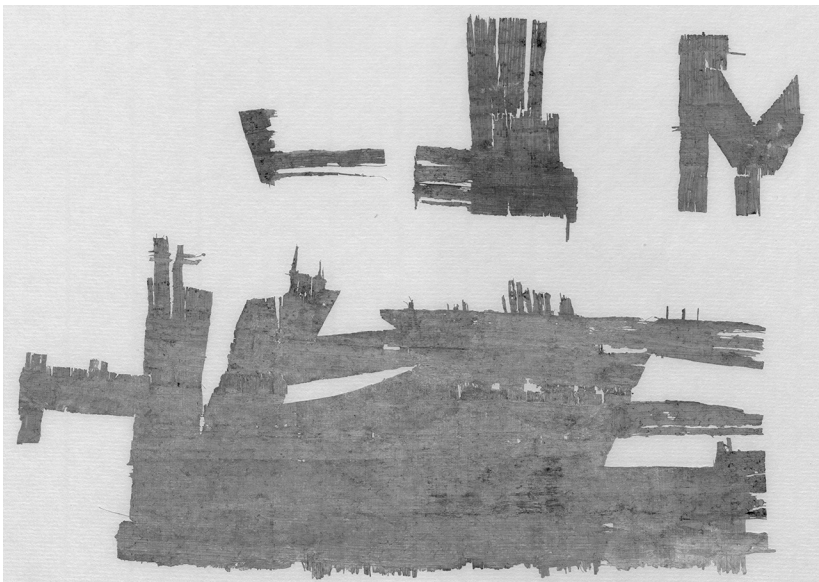


Abb. 6: 4. Vermerk auf dem Verso

8 [Ἀπολλ]ωνίωι τῶι οἰκονόμωι: Die Rekonstruktion ergibt sich aus der Länge des verlorenen Textes, da [Ἀμμ]ωνίωι zu kurz ist und [Ποσειδ]ωνίωι als zu lang erscheint. Dies ist weniger der Größe der Buchstaben als deren Anzahl geschuldet, da gerade die Zwischenräume in unserem Text in der Regel verhältnismäßig breit sind, insbesondere zu Beginn der Zeilen. Aufgrund der Häufigkeit des Namens ist an eine sichere Identifikation nicht zu denken, allerdings ist in *P.Yale* 1.36 (Arsinoites; 190) ein Schreiben des Dioiketen Athenodoros an einen Apollonios erhalten, das dieser wiederum an den Toparchen Leon weiterleitet. Der Text betrifft die Vorbereitungen der jährlichen Aussaat; möglicherweise handelt es sich bei unserem Apollonios also um denselben Beamten. Ein ebenfalls in öffentlicher Funktion unter dem Epimeleten Spartakos agierender Apollonios ist ferner in *P.Duk.inv.* 690 (Arsinoites; 192) bezeugt.<sup>63</sup> In *P.Tebt.* 3.2.893.7 (Tebtynis; 2. Jh.) begegnet zudem ein explizit als Ökonom betitelter Mann dieses Namens.

– Πετοσίρει τῶι βασιλικῶι γραμματ[εῖ]: Ein königlicher Schreiber dieses Namens ist nun in *P.Tarich.* 7.[28],37 und 11.1-2 aus dem Arsinoites für die Jahre 185 und 184 belegt, allerdings ist der Name Petosiris zu häufig, um eine Identifikation zu sichern.

9 ε . [5-6] . : Zu Beginn deutet alles auf εἰ und damit wohl εἰς hin. Da der Verlauf der umliegenden Zeilen leicht ansteigt, erscheint am Zeilenende ε wahrscheinlich, doch auch die Überstreichung einer Zahl ist denkbar.

10 ἐμβληθῆ: Nach dem Wort ist im Grunde noch Platz für ein ι, allerdings lassen sich auf dem Original keine Spuren erkennen. Außerdem ist ein weiterer Buchstabe in Anbetracht der relativ in die Breite gezogenen Buchstaben nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Kleinere *spatia* sind im restlichen Text nichts Ungewöhnliches; ein solches findet sich z. B. inmitten von εἰδῶμεν (Z. 11).

– γεμίσης: Auch hier müsste plötzlich sehr eng geschrieben worden sein, um ein ι zu platzieren. Zudem deutet das spitze ζ, das in diesem Text immer hinter η und ω gesetzt wird, eher auf das Fehlen des ι hin; nach einem solchen setzt der Schreiber sonst stets ein rundes ζ.

Fr. 3 1 ] . ιν: Der unmittelbar hinter der Lacuna noch sichtbare Auslaufstrich gehört entweder zu einem λ oder zu einem α, wie sie für die erste Hand charakteristisch sind.

– Ἀθην[οδωρ-?]: Das ν erscheint sicher. Zur hypothetischen Rekonstruktion siehe die Einleitung zum Text.

<sup>63</sup> Siehe Anm. 51.

2 ]α τοῦ βασιλ[: Zu Beginn ist ein Auslaufstrich ganz ähnlich jenem aus Z. 1 zu erkennen, wobei λ im vorliegenden Fall wohl ausgeschlossen werden kann.

4 τῇν] ταχίστη[ν: Diese Rekonstruktion scheint ohne Alternative zu sein, verwundert jedoch aufgrund der Ausführung von σ, die dem Stil unseres Textes sonst gänzlich fremd ist; vgl. etwa in Z. 5 πρὸς τήν mit der Verbindung von ς und τ. Die Lesung τάχιστᾱ ist aufgrund der deutlich sichtbaren Vertikalhaste am Ende ausgeschlossen.

## Three Unpublished von Scherling Texts in the McGill University Library

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Brice C. Jones *University of Louisiana at Monroe*

### Abstract

Edition of three Greek texts once belonging to the collection of Erik von Scherling that now reside in the McGill University Library.

In the fall of 2013, during a scheduled field trip with my students to see a variety of Greco-Roman artifacts in the McGill University Library, Montreal (MUL), an ostrakon that I had not seen before caught my attention. The inventory card associated with this item indicated that it was from Erik von Scherling's collection, which piqued my curiosity.<sup>1</sup> To my surprise, I learned during a subsequent visit that this was one of more than eighty items purchased in the 1930s from von Scherling's private manuscript catalogue *Rotulus*. The majority of these artifacts – which include clay tablets, mummy portraits, an Ethiopic Psalter, Egyptian scarabs, mummy masks, papyri of the Book of the Dead, mummy cartonnage, Indian and Persian miniatures, and Coptic figurines – have not been properly studied. A good portion of these items was at some point transferred from the MUL to the Redpath Museum, just across the street. In this article, I present three missing von Scherling items that are kept in the MUL Rare Books and Special Collections: a Ptolemaic tax receipt on pottery, a papyrus letter, and a mummy label.

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<sup>1</sup> I knew already of one von Scherling item in the MUL collection, which I published in 2013; see Brice C. Jones, "A New Coptic Fragment of 2 Samuel 10:13-14, 17-18: McGill MS NO Coptic 2," *ZPE* 184 (2013) 126-130. The fragment is part of a larger codex that is presently housed in the Montserrat Abbey and published as *P.Monts.Roca* 2.4 by Sofia Torallas-Tovar. The circumstances leading to the separation of the McGill fragment from the larger codex remain a mystery. On items once belonging to the von Scherling collection, see especially Marja Bakker, Alette Bakkers, and Klaas A. Worp, "Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection. Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota," *BASP* 44 (2007) 41-73; Klaas A. Worp and Renate Dekker, "Missing Papyri: The Greek and Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection," *BASP* 49 (2012) 175-208.



1. *Ptolemaic Tax Receipt*

MUL MS Greek 20  
von Scherling number ?

W x H = 10 x 7.6 cm

22 July 98 BCE  
Thebes

This document is a complete receipt on a reddish-brown ostrakon. The inventory card claims that this is von Scherling #1509 (“A Greek ostrakon written on a fragment of rubbed red pottery. 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century”), but that is not the case, since #1509, now housed in Minnesota, was published in this journal by Klaas A. Worp in 2007.<sup>2</sup> This enigma can be explained with the help of McGill’s order documentation from 1933, which are kept on file in MUL’s Rare Books and Special Collections:

March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1933

Dear Sir [von Scherling]:

We have made the following selection from the October 1932 number of ROTULUS, all of which we trust you can supply. If, however, certain items have already been sold, we should be glad if you could substitute others in their place at the same prices, notifying us of this fact by letter, or upon your invoice.

Worp reports that #1509 “was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling on 6 January 1933,” and McGill’s order is dated “March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1933,” three months after #1509 had been sold to Minnesota. Thus, at McGill’s suggestion, von Scherling most likely substituted this (uncatalogued) ostrakon in lieu of #1509. When it was received across the Atlantic, it was apparently mistaken as #1509, perhaps because it was not clarified that a substitution had been made.

The receipt documents large sums (totalling 90 talents), and so it undoubtedly refers to payments by one or more tax farmers to the bank for the ἐγκύκλιον tax, a kind of transfer tax on the sale of real estate.<sup>3</sup> The provenance of the sherd is secure (Thebes) and is dated to July 22, 98 BCE. For parallel texts with similar formulae, see *O.Bodl.* 1.92 (104 BCE), *P.Vars.* 51 and 52 (92

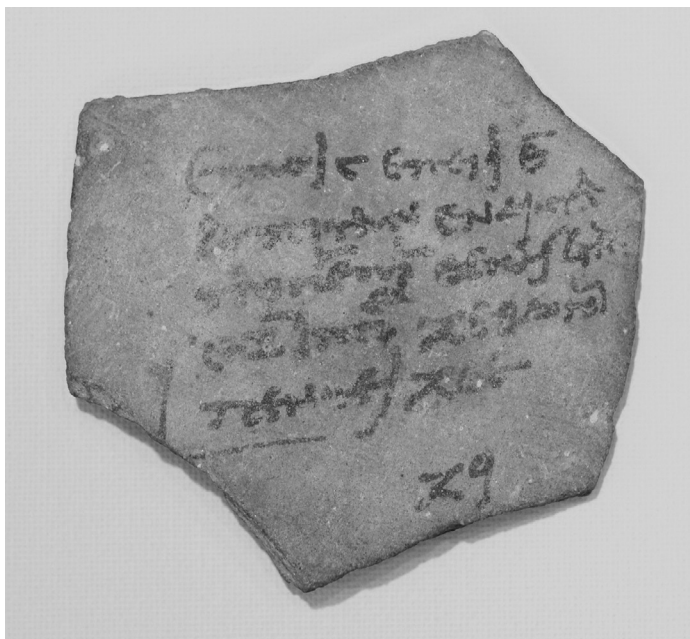
<sup>2</sup> Bakker, Bakkers, and Worp, “Back to Oegstgeest,” 72-73.

<sup>3</sup> P.W. Pestman, “L’impôt ἐγκύκλιον à Pathyris et à Krokodilopolis,” in E. Boswinkel and P.W. Pestman, *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues* (Leiden 1978) 214-222; Mark Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Turnhout 2000), 60-62; C. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Ägypten. Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus* (Paderborn 2012) 223-225. On taxes and taxation in early Ptolemaic Thebes, see Brian P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Chicago 2005).

BCE), *O.Heid.* 9 (91 BCE), and the comments by James M.S. Cowey in *ZPE* 151 (2005) 159-162. The scribe of MUL MS Greek 20 also wrote *BGU* 6.1338, a tax receipt for wine dated precisely one month after our receipt was written (21 August 98 BCE).<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Ἔτους ις Ἐπειφ θ  
 τέ(τακται) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Διὸς πόλ(ει)  
 τῇ με(γάλη) τρά(πεζαν) θέμα (δεκάτης) ἐγκυ(κλίου)  
 ἐξ( ) . . . . ( ) (τάλαντα) ἑβδομή(κοντα)  
 5 πέντε (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) οὐ  
 (τάλαντα) ο

“Year 16, Epeiph 9 [= July 22, 98 BCE], ... has paid to the bank in Diospolis Magna, as deposit for the ten percent sales tax, seventy-five talents, totaling 75 tal. (Including extra charges:) 90 tal.”



1 Ἔτους ις Ἐπειφ θ: Taking into account the rate of the tax on sale (δεκάτης or 10%), year 16 must refer to year 16 of Ptolemy X and Cleopatra Berenike (= 99/98 BCE); see note to ll. 4-6 below.

<sup>4</sup> Image at: <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?TM=4646>.

2-3 ἐπὶ ... τρά(πεζαν): The public bank in Diospolis Magna is usually referred to by this formula; see *O.Bodl.* 1.80.1-2 (129), *BGU* 6.1336.1-2 (129-121), *SB* 16.12349.1-2 (126), 12350.2 and 12351.1-2 (125). In these examples, as in our ostrakon, the banker is not mentioned. In other ἐγκύκλιον tax receipts from Thebes, however, the banker's name is given, e.g., in *O.Bodl.* 1.92.7 (104): Κέφα(λος) τρά(πεζίτης). On banks and bankers at Diospolis Magna, see especially Raymond Bogaert, "Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *ZPE* 120 (1998) 165-202, at 187-192; see also Katelijn Vandorpe and Willy Clarysse, "Egyptian Bankers and Bank Receipts in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt," in *Pistoi dia tèn technèn – Bankers, Loans and Archives in the Ancient World*, ed. Koenraad Verboven, Katelijn Vandorpe, and Véronique Chankowski (Leuven 2008) 153-168.

3 θέμα: On this term ("deposit"), see the section "Le θέμα et le payement de l'ἐγκύκλιον" in *P.Batav.*, pp. 217-219.

– On the abbreviation of ἐγκυ(κλίου), cf. the image of *O.Heid.* 9 in *ZPE* 151 (2005) 160.

4 εζ(): The first half of this line is difficult to read because of the fading of the ink. At this point in the receipt, we expect the name of the taxpayer. The first two letters look like εζ (followed by an abbreviation stroke), but a search in the Trismegistos People database reveals only Semitic names starting in εζ that are attested centuries later and mainly in Coptic documents. So, the reading is suspect. What follows these uncertain letters is also problematic. An abbreviation stroke is clearly visible, and so it is possible that we have the phrase καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι) ("and his companions"), as in parallel texts (e.g., *O.Bodl.* 1.92). The large sums indicated in the following lines would lend support to a reading involving multiple tax payers responsible for levying a very large sum of money.

4-6 The sum in l. 6 (90 talents) is 20% greater than the sum in ll. 4-5 (75 talents), which is the standard increase in additional charges. The additional charge or *agio* "was often made in order to make up for payments in bronze from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. until the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC."<sup>5</sup> Cf. Klaus Maresch, *Bronze und Silber* (Opladen 1996) 93-95, 210-216. The transfer tax εικοστή τοῦ ἐγκυκλίου = 1/20 or 5% of the total amount in the early second century BCE. After August 137 BCE, the percentage was doubled = 1/10 or 10%.

<sup>5</sup> Charikleia A. Armoni, James M.S. Cowey, Dieter Hagedorn (eds.), *Die griechischen Ostraka der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* (Heidelberg 2005) 11.

2. *Fragment of a Letter(?)*

MUL MS Greek 17  
von Scherling #2008

W x H = 10 x 8.9 cm

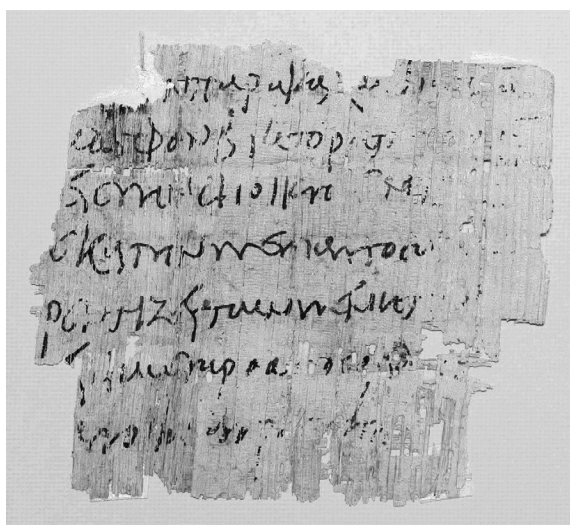
IV CE  
Provenance unknown

A papyrus sheet in poor condition, broken on all sides except perhaps the right, where part of the margin seems to be preserved. Vertical and horizontal folds are visible. It is written in a cursive script against the fibers (↓); the back (→) is blank. The back holds strips of adhesive, and in the top left corner on the front side portions of inscribed papyrus have torn away, leaving only the adhesive strip visible. It is a letter or request in which the writer seems to be asking someone to care for the poor, perhaps Victor named in l. 2.

↓ -----  
1 χαί]ρ[ει]ν παρακαλῶ σε . . .  
] ἀδελφὸν Βίκτορα τ . . . .  
] εἰς τὴν διοίκη[σι]ν . [ . . . ]  
]ς καὶ τὴν πενίαν τοσα[ύτην]  
5 φ]ροντίζει τῶν πενητῶν  
]εἰ ἡμῶ(ν) γὰρ αα . . ο . . . .  
] ἀπὸ πάντος . . . [

-----

“Greetings. I ask you ... brother Victor ... into the administration...  
and such great poverty ... care for the poor ... for our ... always...”



1 χαί]ρ[ει]ν: The *nu* may be the ending of χαίρειν, a reading that is further supported by the descending stroke near the beginning of this line that is likely *rho*. παρακαλῶ often follows χαίρειν; see *O.Krok.* 1.93, *P.Flor.* 3.303, *P.Giss.* 65a, *P.Giss.Apoll.* 40, *P.Oxy.Hels.* 47a, c. There are faint traces of ink at the end of this line (and the next). Lines 1 and 2 appear to end with a supralinear stroke.

2 Βίκορα: This Victor may not be the recipient but the person for whom the petition was written. Perhaps something like, “I ask you to (help?) brother Victor ...”

4 τὴν πενίαν τοσα[ύτην]: Given l. 2, this could be a reference to Victor’s state of poverty; see l. 5 below.

5 φ]ποντίζει τῶν πενητῶν: The phrase is found only here in the papyri, but it occurs in several Christian literary texts (e.g., John Chrysostom, *Hom. Tit.* 6; PG 62.698), as giving to the poor was very much a Christian virtue (cf. Mt 19:21). Since Christians used sibling language to address each other, it is possible that ἀδελφὸν Βίκορα in l. 2 is a Christian designation, although it could just as well be a “pagan” friend or an actual sibling; ἀδελφὸν Βίκορα in *P.Mich.* 13.660 + SB 16.12542 refers to the actual sibling of Theodoros.

### 3. Mummy Label

MUL MS Greek 19

W x H = 22.8 x 12.6

II-IV CE

von Scherling number ?

Panopolitan nome

This mummy label is not from *Rotulus* but apparently from one of von Scherling’s “supplements.” Interestingly, a separate mummy label sold in one of these supplements bears the same name as the deceased in our label; see Worp and Dekker, *BASP* 49 (2012) 190. The order from 26 May 1939 indicates that the new label was from “Cat. #22, item #74.” The text contains the name of the deceased, her father, and a toponym on a dark piece of wood in the shape of a *tabula ansata*, with holes on both ends. The text was written with ink in uncial letters and then engraved in the wood after the ink was applied. There is a crack running through the middle of the wooden slab but it is kept together by reinforcement on the backside. As a general rule, mummy labels in the shape of a *tabula ansata* are not inscribed on the back, which is the case here. The type of wood used (plane, sycamore, acacia, pine, etc.) is not immediately discernible and would require lab tests, which were not possible. For a general introduction to mummy labels, see Jan Quaegebeur, *P.Batav.*, Appendix F (“Mummy

Labels: An Orientation”) and A. Bataille, “A propos d’une étiquette de momie inédite,” *Revue Archéologique* 25 (1946) 43-56.

- 1 Σαρέμηφις
- 2 Ἡρώνας
- 3 Πανοπολίτις

“Saaremêphis, daughter of Hêron, from the Panopolite nome”



1 Σαρέμηφις: The name is so far unattested. The initial letter on the slab is clearly *sigma*, but we would expect the common feminine theophoric prefix Τα- (“she who belongs to”); there are many female names beginning Τααρ- but not Σααρ-. The most likely interpretation is that it is a misspelling of the Egyptian name Σεναρέμηφις (see TM/People name ID 13690), with loss of intervocalic *nu*; see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:111-118. As mentioned above, this name is attested in another von Scherling mummy label (*BASP* 49 [2012] 190). There, we find Σεναρσημφις (*l.* Σεναρέμηφις) as one who had erected a gravestone for her mother. The origin and translation of the Egyptian name Σεναρέμηφις has been a point of contention. It occurs in two Greek-Demotic mummy labels (*P.Batav.* 40a and b) studied by Jan Quaegebeur, who argues that Ἀρέμηφις must be interpreted as *Hr-iwn-mw.t=f*, “Horus pillar of his mother” (*P.Batav.* 40, p. 165). Several variants of the name are attested in the papyri: Σεναρεμίφιος (*P.Princ.* 2.52), Σεναρεμήφιος (*SB* 1.1202), Σεναρήμηφις (Paris, Louvre 619), Θιναρέμηφις (*P.Bingen* 96). Cf. *Demotisches Namenbuch*, p. 1130, s.v. Senaremêphis.

3 Many mummy labels stem from the Panopolite nome; see, e.g., *P.Coll. Youtie* 2.97-120, and *P.Batav.* 40, 41. In some cases, the embalmer (νεκροτάφος) in the Panopolite nome is mentioned, e.g., Πανεχάτης in *SB* 1.5767.



## New von Scherling Papyri in Uppsala<sup>1</sup>

Klaas A. Worp *Leiden University*

### Abstract

Edition of ten miscellaneous papyri in Uppsala, acquired from the Swedish-Dutch manuscript dealer Erik von Scherling. The Coptic papyrus appears in an appendix courtesy Renate Dekker.

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<sup>1</sup> See also K.A. Worp, "Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection," *BASP* 44 (2007) 39-47; K.A. Worp and R. Dekker, "Missing Papyri: Greek and Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection," *BASP* 49 (2012) 175-208; and K.A. Worp, "Greek von Scherling Papyri in Leiden," *BASP* 50 (2013) 15-38. Two other papyri resurfaced recently: *Rotulus* 4 (1937) #1885 (Homer, *Il.* 21.567-581) is recorded as LDAB 118717, and *Rotulus* 3 (1933) #1696 (a Coptic fragment) recently appeared on eBay (see the website <http://bricejones.weebly.com/blog>). For more von Scherling papyri among the so-called Robinson papyri (acquired by D.M. Robinson in the 1940s, bequeathed to W.H. Willis, who gave some of them to Duke University), see *BASP* 25 (1988) 99; the von Scherling papyrus published there (pp. 113-114) is now SB 20.14290. Kim Ryholt (Copenhagen) recently informed me that he had found *Rotulus* 7 (1954) #2523 (see *BASP* 49 [2012] 187), now P.Haun inv. 408.

I am greatly indebted not only to my colleague Todd Hickey, but also to Dr. Marco Perale who investigated the von Scherling family in Rotterdam. Erik Edzard Floris Folkard von Scherling was born there on May 20, 1907. At some point the family returned to Sweden. Erik's brother Frithjof obtained his BA at Uppsala University in 1917 and became a judge and chairman of the court of Värnamo (see *Svensk biografisk handbok*, s.v. Folkard von Scherling, Frithjof). Erik returned to the Netherlands and married a Dutch woman, Tia Hartlief (1911-1990). He died in 1956.

See now also P.J. Buijnsters, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse antiquariaat* (Nijmegen 2007) 185, 426, and Id., "The Antiquarian Book Trade in the Netherlands during the Second World War," *Quaerendo* 36.4 (2006) 251-292 (42): "But this takes us a long way past the nineteen-thirties, when Horodisch, Junk, Rosenthal and Gumbert all still had to find their footing in their new homeland. Nor were all emigrés of Jewish origin. One particular case was that of the highly gifted Erik von Scherling (1907-56), a Swedish homosexual who moved to Leiden in 1927 to escape persecution in his own country. In Leiden he opened a highly specialized private bookshop concentrating on old manuscripts. Later the shop was moved to Oegstgeest. His catalogues and magazine *Rotulus*, a *Bulletin for Manuscript-Collectors* (1931-54, 7 vols.) are still a marvel of erudition today. Among his circle of friends was the young Johan Polak (later on to become well-known as erudite bibliophile, collector and publisher), who claimed to have been taught cuneiform script by von Scherling." That claim cannot be substantiated by me.

Todd Hickey pointed out to me that a small batch of papyri bought from Erik von Scherling more than half a century ago are now in the university library at Uppsala. They are kept there in the Manuscript and Music Department, in the Collection of Per Edward Gustafsson, under call number Y 6:46.<sup>2</sup> They are numbered 2-10, which I retain here. No. 1 was left open. I have not been able to study the papyri *in situ*, and so I have relied on the descriptions of the papyri in *Rotulus*.

## 2. List of Names

von Scherling G. 109 = “List 9,” #3 = *BASP* 49 (2012) 191.

A much damaged fragment of a list of names (ca. 35 lines). Several entries mention Heron, Didymus, and Irenaeus. A complete transcript is not possible. The dimensions given by von Scherling are clearly wrong. The date given by him (2nd century BCE) is presumably a misprint for the 2nd century AD. A date in the 3rd century AD cannot be excluded. I give here the transcription of a few lines only.

- 7           ] . . ιος Εἰρηναίου τοῦ Δια . [  
 8           ] . . . ἀδελ(φός) μητ(ρός) τῆς αὐτῆς [  
 9   Εἰρ]ηναῖος Ἡρωῦ[τ]ος τοῦ Α[  
  
 11           ]ον δουλ( ) Ζωσίμου [  
 12           ] traces μη(τρός) Ἰσαροῦτ(ος)

---

Many rumors concerning the enigmatic personality of Erik von Scherling are based upon speculation (e.g. that he would have had a quarrel with his father who would have refused to give a regular allowance to his son after he had started life as a student in Leiden University, and thereafter Erik would have been forced to fend for himself and make his own living in the antiquarian book trade).

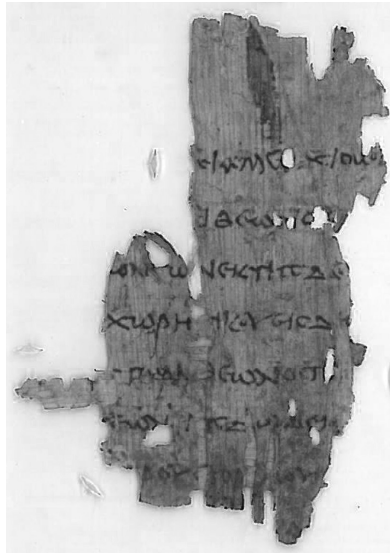
<sup>2</sup> A special word of thanks goes to the directors of Uppsala University Library and its Manuscript and Music Department and to Mr. H. Hallberg, who kindly provided me with information on how these papyri entered the Uppsala University Library. They were donated in 1966 by Mr. Per Edward Gustafsson, a Swedish collector from Vänersborg, who had apparently purchased them from Erik von Scherling. Mr. Hallberg also provided me with scans of the papyri (published here with the restriction “Copyright Uppsala University Library”) and with information about Erik von Scherling’s family (still living in Uppsala). He also helped identify the author of the English handwriting in the description accompanying some of the texts (see especially 8 below).

3. *Cession of Ownership Rights*

von Scherling G. 145 (apparently not mentioned in any *Rotulus* volume; see *BASP* 44 [2007] 45)

The *verso* contains a *parachoresis* (= a cession of ownership rights), possibly from Oxyrhynchos, written across the fibres. For this type of document, see *P.Mich.* 18.784, *P.NYU* 2.15a, and *PSI* 15.1533. Only small portions of the text can be read relatively securely. It is impossible to reconstruct the original text of this papyrus document in full (probably it was a fairly large document). On the basis of palaeographical criteria it can be dated to the 1st century BCE.

- margin
- 1 ]σιαιται ε . χις . . [
  - 2 ] . . Θεωνος [
  - 3 Μακε]δόν[ι] τῶν ἐκ τῆς δε[κátης ἱπαρχίας κα(τοίκων) ἱπ(πέων)
  - 4 παρα]χωρητικοῦ εἰς δη[μοσίων δαπάνην
  - 5 ]ς παρὰ Θεωνος τοῦ [
  - 6 ] . εων . ης Διοκλῆι . [
  - 7 κ]λήρου . . . . . ου [
- 



3 For the restoration of this line, see *P.Oxy.* 49.3482.3. δε[υτέρως] cannot be excluded.

4 Cf. *P.Mich.* 18.784, Fr. B, ll. 3-4: παρὰ τῶν παραχω[ρου]μένων παρ[α]-  
χωρητικοῦ εἰς δημοσίων δ[απάνη]ν.

The *recto* features the remains of two columns in another hand, written along the fibres, the first consisting of the endings of two or three lines, the second consisting of the beginnings of two lines. There is no publishable text.

#### 4. Private Letter

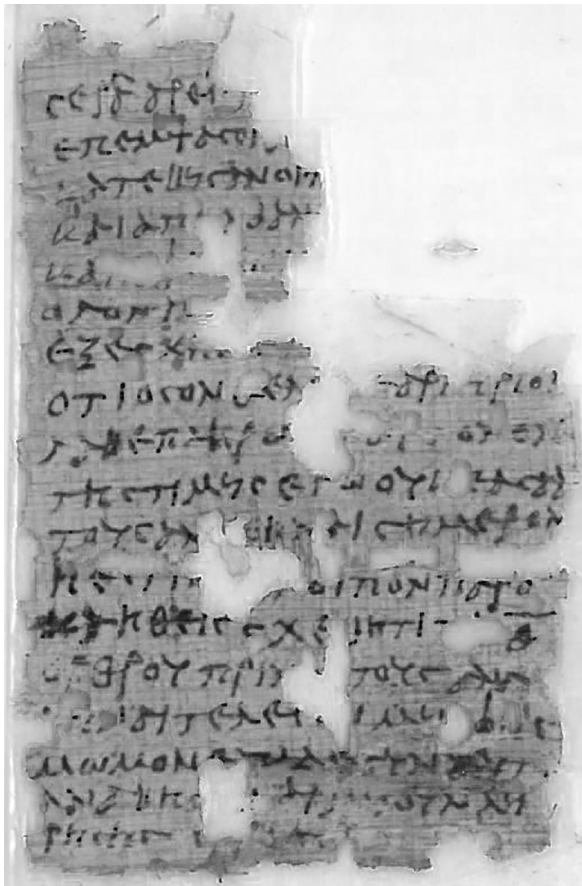
von Scherling G. 39 = *Rotulus* 5 (1949) #2195 = *BASP* 49 (2012) 184

I do not think that the date given in the description of this private letter in *Rotulus* ("first cent. CE") is necessarily correct; the handwriting is compatible also with the 2nd cent. CE. The text on the *recto* is written along the fibers. The *verso* is now invisible, because the papyrus was pasted on a piece of paper.

- |    |                                   |                                                       |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Σεραπ(ίων) Ἀρεῖστ[ωνι χα(ίρειν).] | Serapion to Ariston, greetings.                       |
| 2  | Ἔπεμψά σοι . [ . . . . . ]        | I've sent to you ...                                  |
| 3  | κατέβησαν οἱ τ[ . . . . . ]       | the ... came down river ...                           |
| 4  | καὶ ἀπῆλθαν [ . . . . . ]         | and they went away ...                                |
| 5  | καὶ . . . . . [ . . . . . ]       | and ...                                               |
| 6  | ὅλον τὸ [ . . . . . δραχμάς?]     | the complete ...                                      |
| 7  | ἔξ ἔσχηκ[ότες καὶ λέγοντες]       | having received six drachmas (?),<br>and saying:      |
| 8  | ὅτι· ὅσον θέλε[ις ἀργυρίου]       | "Take in silver as much as you like.                  |
| 9  | λαβέ. Πληρώ[σω] σοι τὸ <ὅ>λον     | I shall pay off the rest of the price<br>completely." |
| 10 | τῆς τιμῆς. Ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐάσα α[ὐ-]     | I did not allow them                                  |
| 11 | τοὺς ἀν[α]βῆναι σήμερον.          | to travel up into the country today,                  |
| 12 | ἣ ἔστιν [θ], λοιπὸν παρα-         | which is the 9th, because I had<br>been encouraged,   |
| 13 | κληθεὶς ἔχειν τῇ θ                | that I would have the rest com-<br>pletely on the 9th |
| 14 | ὄρθρου πρὶν α[ὐ]τοὺς ἀνα-         | in the early morning before their<br>departure.       |
| 15 | βῆναι τελείον. Μὴ [ᾗ]ψης          | Do not reproach me,                                   |
| 16 | μῶμον. Ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς          | as I shall accompany them                             |
| 17 | ἀναβήσ[ο]μαι. Μὴ οὖν λη-          | on an inland journey. And stop<br>talking nonsense!   |
| 18 | ρήσης. Ἐρρωσο.                    | Farewell!                                             |

1 Ἀρείστ[ων: this iotacistic variant of TM/\_nameID no. 2299 appears to be fairly uncommon. It is found as a father's name in SB 24.16329.22 (Arsin., 165 CE). There is no reason to think that the same person is involved here. Iotacistic spellings of other personal names such as Aristophanes or Aristoteles cannot be excluded.

4-7 It seems inescapable to take the letters εξ as the numeral ἕξ = six. It seems attractive to restore, after the plural ἀπῆλθαν, something like (an object in the plural) ἕξ ἐσχηκ[ότες καὶ λέγοντες] “after they had received six ... and saying ...” Moreover, the context suggests that money is involved, hence the restoration of δραχμαῖς in l. 6; the average number of letters per line is 20, and the restoration [ότες καὶ λέγοντες] with 15 letters is stretching it, but I do not see an alternative; εἰπόντες would not be shorter than λέγοντες.



## 5. Two (?) Private Letters

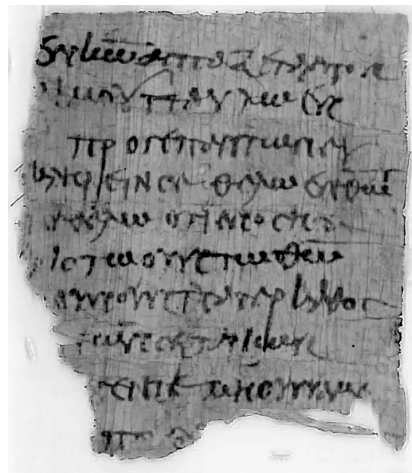
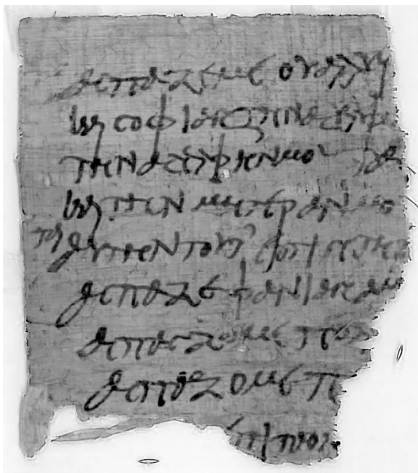
von Scherling G. 19 = *Rotulus* 5 (1949) #2204 = *BASP* 49 (2012) 185

This papyrus was written in the 4th century CE, possibly by one and the same elegant hand. The *recto*, written along the fibres, consists of greetings to various family members. The *verso*, written across the fibres, is the beginning of a Christian letter, in which the author thanks the Lord and seems to mention the price of 15 breads. The relation between the texts on the *recto* and *verso* is unclear. Was the text on the *verso* a continuation of the text on the *recto*? The scribe's command of the Greek language is not flawless; see the critical apparatus for *recto* ll. 1, 7, 8, and 9 and *verso* ll. 7 and 8.

*Recto*

- 1 ἀσπάζεμε Οὐαλλέρ[ιον ca. 5 ]
- 2 καὶ Σοφίαν τὴν ἀδελφή[ν μου καὶ]
- 3 τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου Ἀφ[ροδίτην?]
- 4 καὶ τὴν μητέρα μου [καὶ ἀσπάζε-]
- 5 \ται/ αὐτὴν τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὴν [ ca. 8 ]
- 6 ἄσπαζε Φανίαν ἀμ . [ ca. 8 ]
- 7 ἀσπάζομε πολλ[ ca. 10 ]
- 8 ἀσπάζομε π . [ ca. 10 ]
- 9 [ ca. 5 ] ἔπειτα οἱ[ ca. 10 ]

1, 7, 8 l. ἀσπάζομαι 1 l. Οὐαλέριον 4 l. μητέρα 5 l. τοῦτ' παρ. 6 l. ἄσπασαι? 9 l. ἔπειτα οἱ ἐπὶ τά?



“I greet Valerius ... and my sister Sophia and my sister Aphrodite and my mother and N.N. greets her, that is the ... greet Phantias ... I greet many times ... I greet ... and thereafter(?) ...”

1 For the double λ in Οὐαλλέρ[ιον, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:155.

3 The personal name Aphrodite and its derivatives Aphroditous and Aphroditarion are quite common.

6 ἄσπαζε looks like a misspelling for the aorist imperative ἄσπασαι; for interchanges of ζ/σ and αι/ε in one verb form, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:120, 192. One could also read ἀσπάζ<ομ>ε for ἀσπάζομαι; for the syncopation of a syllable, see Gignac 1:312-313.

– For the Greek masculine name Phantias, see Trismegistos People, Name\_ID no. 3175.

7 Restore something like πολλ[άκις / Πολλ[ίαν vel sim.

9 ἐπιτα: probably ἔπειτα rather than ἐπὶ τά.

#### Verso

- 1 [ ca. 5 ] ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ ἀσπάζεται υἱὸν
- 2 [τῷ πατ]ρί μου Παύλῳ ἐν
- 3 [ ca. 5 ] Πρό γε πάντων εὐ
- 4 [ ca. 3 ὁλ]οκληρεῖν σε θέλω ἐν θ(ε)ῷ.
- 5 [?Γινώσκει]γ σε θέλω ὅτι ἐνόησα
- 6 [ἐγώ. Εὐχ]αριστῶ οὖν τῷ θ(ε)ῷ
- 7 [ ca. 5 Εὐ]θὺν οὖν, πάτερ, καθος
- 8 [?τὴν τιμὴ]γ τῶν σειταρίων
- 9 [ ca. 5 δέκ]α πέντε. Μὴ οὖν ἀμε-
- 10 [λήσης κ]αὶ τοῦ ἀδ[ελφοῦ ]

-----

1 κῶ 4, 6 ῶ 7 l. Εὐθύ; τ'τατερ *pap. habere videtur*; l. κάθεσ? 8 l. σιταρίων

“N.N. in the Lord greets ... to my father Paul in ... Before all I want you to prosper well in the Lord. I want you to know that I fell ill. Therefore I am grateful to God ... Drop forthwith [the price?] of the fifteen ... breads. Don't be neglectful and of my brother ...”

1-3 A normal letter opening has A to B χαίρειν or something similar such as B to A ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν. Here I take “my father Paul” in l. 2 as the addressee of the letter. The combination ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν is quite common (40 hits in the DDBDP), but the DDBDP does not produce a parallel for the wording ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ ἀσπάζεται. Reading τόν instead of υἱόν in l. 1 is conceivable. But the correct supplement in l. 2 is hardly facilitated by this alternative.



One would have to correct the reading of l. 2 to *πατέρα μου Παῦλον*, but the datives are quite clear.

3-4 *Πρό γε πάντων*: this wording is found also in *PFuad Univ.* 6.2 + *εὔχομαι σε ὁλοκληρεῖν*; *POxy.* 20.2273.3 + [*εὔχομαι ὑμᾶς ὑγιαίνειν*] *εἰν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιξενοῦμαι θ[εοῖς]*; 2275.2 + *εὔχο[μαι τοῖς θ[εοῖς] τὰ ἐν βίῳ κάλλιστα σοι ὑπαρχθῆναι*; 55.3816.3 + *εὐχόμεαι τῷ θεῷ ὅπως ὁλόκληρόν σε ἀπολάβω*; and 56.3860.2 + *εὔχομε (l. εὔχομαι) τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ ὅπως ὑγιένοντά (l. ὑγιαίνοντά) σε καὶ εὐθυμοῦντα ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα*. It stands to reason that the letters *ευ* in l. 3 in our text are the beginning of some form of the verb *εὔχομαι* (participle or indicative present). But one may also accentuate *εὔ* and take this as an adverb going with *ὁλ[ο]κληρεῖν*, although I know of no parallel for this word combination. I also did not find a parallel for the wording *εὔ[χο]μενος ὁλ[ο]κληρεῖν σε θέλω*. And *θέλω* twice in ll. 4 and 5 is in itself awkward. For the wording *ὁλοκληρεῖν σε θέλω*, compare *PHarr.* 2.335.2.

5 Or read [*εἰδέν*]*αι*.

7 The reading of this line is difficult. *εὐθυνοῦν* cannot here be an infinitive depending on *εὐχαριστῶ* in l. 6. The DDBDP does produce an instance of the participle *εὐθυνοῦντι* in *PAbinn.* 10.7. I thought of *εὐθυνοῦντ\| τὰ γάρ*, but *πάτερ* is more likely, especially if the stroke to the upper right of the supposed *τ* of *εὐθυνοῦντ* is a figment of my imagination. It is unlikely that the author intended to state that God is directly responsible for and regulating (note the various meanings of *εὐθυνέω* given by LSJ) the price of fifteen loaves of bread.<sup>3</sup> The scribe committed several errors here, in that (a) he inserted a superfluous final -v in *εὐθύν* for *εὐθύ* (for this redundant additional v, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:113, 2.d.) and (b) the form *καθος* at the end of the line cannot but be a misspelling. Instead of *καθώς*, which makes no sense in the context, *κάθες*, the imperative aorist of *καθίμι* (in documentary papyri the interchange of *ε/ο* is well attested; see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:290-291), makes more sense. This verb is rather uncommon, but the many attestations of *πάρες*, the imperative aorist of *παρίμι*, are comparable.

8-9 The five “artakan” mentioned in the description of this text in *Rotulus* is a misreading of the Greek term *σειταρίων* in l. 8; the numeral five is found in l. 9, *πέντε*, but the number of items involved is fifteen, not five.

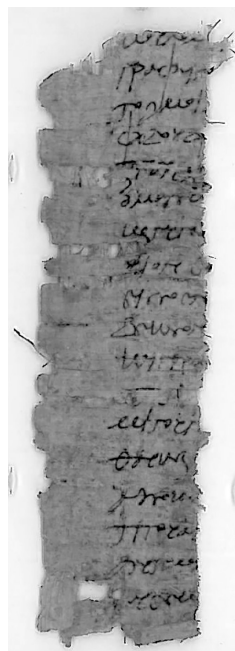
<sup>3</sup> One may wish to compare *PAbinn.* 10.5ff: *εὐχόμενος τῇ θεῇ προνοίᾳ ὑγιαίνοντί σοι καὶ εὐθυνοῦντι ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα*. There one should construe: *εὐχόμενος τῇ θεῇ προνοίᾳ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα ἀποδοθῆναι σοι ὑγιαίνοντι καὶ εὐθυνοῦντι*, hence the masculine participle does not go with the divine providence (feminine), but with the masculine addressee *σοι*.

## 6. Census Declaration from Oxyrhynchus

von Scherling G. 135 = *Rotulus* 7 (1954) #2526 = *BASP* 49 (2012) 188

The description in *Rotulus* reads: "Census declaration 11.5 x 3.8 cm. Beginnings of 18 incomplete lines, from Oxyrhynchus, dated in the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius = 131/2, or 145/6 A.D.) (G.135)." In fact, Hadrian is also possible: 131/2 = year 16 Hadrian, while 145/6 = year 11 Antoninus Pius. On this type of document see R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994, rev.ed. 2006), and recently published new texts from Oxyrhynchus such as *P.Bagnall* 38 (174 CE); *P.Oxy.* 73.4956 (146/7 CE); 73.4957 (146/7 CE); 74.4989 (175 CE), 4990 (188/9 CE), 4991 (216/7 CE); *SB* 20.14310 (188/189); 24.16011 (111/12 CE). *P.Oxy.* 2.349 (159) is an excellent parallel for this census declaration.

- 
- 1 βούλομαι [ ἀνα-]
  - 2 γραφήν[αι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχον-]
  - 3 τός μοι [μέρους οἰκίας ἐπ' ἅμ-]
  - 4 φόδου Δρ[όμου Θοήριδος]
  - 5 τὸν Σαβε[ίνου . . . τοῦ]
  - 6 ὁμοπα[τρίου ἀδελφοῦ]
  - 7 καὶ γυναι[κὸς Ν.Ν.]
  - 8 υἱὸν . . [ Ν. Ν. ὄντα]
  - 9 εἰς τὸ ἐν[εστος (ἔτος) ι . . . ( . . . )]
  - 10 δέκατον [Αὐτοκράτορος]
  - 11 Καίσαρος [ ]
  - 12 τοῦ [κυρίου ἐτῶν *n*. Διὸ ἐπιδίδω-]
  - 13 μι τὸ ὑπ[όμνημα ὡς κα-]
  - 14 θήκει. [ Ἔτους *n* ]
  - 15 Αὐτοκρ[άτορος Καίσαρος]
  - 16 Τίτου Αἰ[λίου Ἀδριανοῦ]
  - 17 Ἀντων[είνου Σεβ(αστοῦ)]
  - 18 Εὐσεβ[οῦς month, day. Διὸ ἐπιδωμι.]
- 



4 For the *amphodon* see S. Daris, "I quartieri di Ossirinco: materiali e note," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 211-221.

9-10 The regnal year numeral of the current year may be supplied as: ια, ἐν[ ]δέκατον, ιβ, δω[ ]δέκατον, or ις, ἑκκα[ ]δέκατον, i.e regnal years 11, 12, or 16.

11 Supply either [Ἀδριανοῦ] or [Ἀντωνείνου].

12 The reading at the beginning of this line is complicated. Above line level a dash is visible, as if this were a numeral marker. But at this point in the text I do not expect a numeral marker, and taking the dash as the top of τ of the expected article seems inescapable; thereafter I see traces of letters that I take as part of an ο and the top of a υ forked at its top.

### 7. Receipt and List of Taxpayers (?)

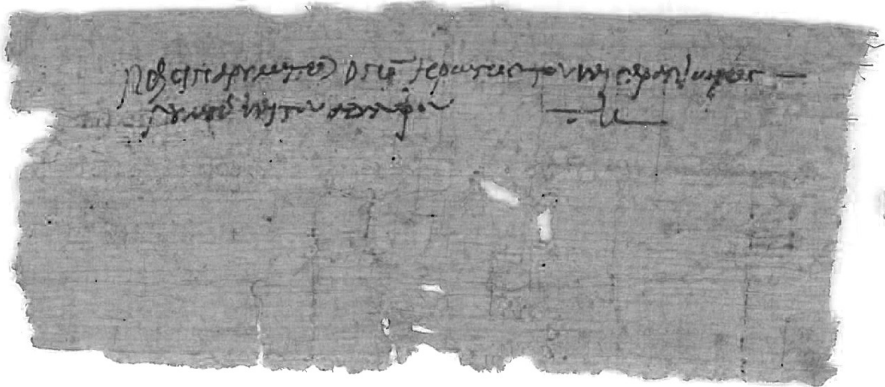
von Scherling G. 21

Remarkably enough, there does not seem to be an entry for this relatively small strip of papyrus in any *Rotulus* volume.

The text on the back is written parallel with the fibers. There seem to be traces of earlier writing across the fibers. The hand of the two lines transcribed below is a fluent 2nd-century CE hand.

1 Πρά(κτορσι) Σιναρυ μητροπ(ολιτικῶν) ὀνόμ(ατος) Ἡρώνος τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος

2 γυμνα(σιάρχ ) καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β.



“(Paid) to the *praktores* (= tax collectors) of Sinary, for metropolitan taxes in the name of Heron alias Sarapion the (ex-)gymnasiarch and his brother, 2 *artabai*.”

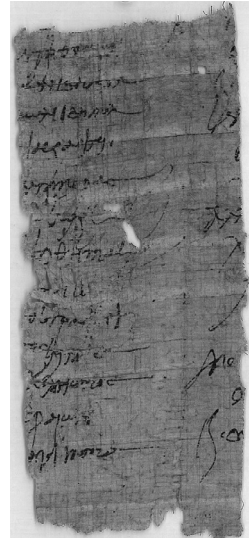
1 A gymnasiarch Ἡρώων ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων appears to be unattested in second century documents from Oxyrhynchus. It cannot be decided whether in the present text Heron is an active gymnasiarch or an ex-gymnasiarch (note the difference in abbreviating γυμνασ(ιάρχου) and γυμνασι(αρχήσαντος)).

– The village of Sinary (cf. TM/Places Geo\_ID # 2899) is located in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

2 “Metropolitan” taxes are taxes to be paid by inhabitants of the *metropolis* of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

The front of the papyrus features a *kollesis* and contains a list, each line representing about half of the original entry. The first column is broken off to the left, the second column is broken off to the right. The handwriting again points to a second-century date. The transcript below is not truly satisfactory; especially the reading of ll. 5-7 is problematical. It is of some interest to find in ll. 12-13 a centurion of a legion, more specifically of the *Cohors Tertia Ituraeorum*, for which see the note ad loc.

- |    |                                 |
|----|---------------------------------|
| 1  | traces                          |
| 2  | ]αγ( ) Ἀφθονίω                  |
| 3  | Σι]λβανῶ Ἀπολ( )                |
| 4  | Λ]εωνίδη Ἀπολ( )                |
| 5  | ] . τια . ασιτης                |
| 6  | ]λαγ Εὐποράς                    |
| 7  | ] . (ἀρουρ.) . . .              |
| 8  | ] (ἀρουρ.) ο θηβ( ) Πακού(σιος) |
| 9  | ] ἀπὸ λῖβ(δος)                  |
| 10 | ] . θ (ἀρουρ.) γραφη            |
| 11 | ]ος καὶ Παῦσις                  |
| 12 | ] (ἐκατοντάρχ ) λεγιῶνος        |
| 13 | σπείρης τρίτης Ἴτουραίων        |
| 14 | ]αι( ) φυν τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ)          |



2 For the Greek personal name Aphthonios, see Trismegistos/People, Name\_ID 8915. It is found relatively frequently in papyri from the Oxyrhynchite nome, or in texts from the Panopolite nome.

12-13 Cf. R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London 1995) 180; the third cohort of the Ituraeans is also mentioned in *P.Mich.* 9.568/569.5-6 (Arsin., 90 CE): Μ]ά[ρ]κωι Ἀνθεσίω Γεμ[έλλω στρατιώτῃ σπείρης τρίτης Ἴτουραίων ἐκατ]ονταρχίας Τιτίου, and in *P.Oxy.* 7.1022 = *ChLA* 3. 215.27-31 (Oxy., 103 CE): *Avidius Arrian cornicular(ius) | coh(ortis) ii[i] It[ura]eorum | scripsi authenticam | epistulam in tabulario | cohortis esse*. The provenance and the early 2nd-century date of the latter papyrus are compatible with my

dating of the other side of 7. The combination of a *centurio legionis* and a cohort in 7 does not need to surprise us, but the question remains which legion was meant. If 7 was written before the reign of Trajan, the *Legio II Traiana* would be ruled out, and the *legio XXII Deiotariana* would be meant. But we cannot be certain. See also Alston, *loc.cit.*, pp. 166-168.

### 8. Declaration of Death from Soknopaïou Nesos

The G number is lacking, so the item cannot be identified with an entry in *Rotulus*. The text is part of a declaration to the royal scribe of the Herakleides district in the Arsinoite nome concerning the death of a certain Stotoetis son of Satabous. For this type of document, see R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 381. The papyrus is accompanied by a first transcript of the Greek text plus a few notes; most probably this is the work of Ms. Eefje Prankje Wegener from Leiden University, who is known to have assisted von Scherling and to have owned a few texts she acquired from him. See *BASP* 49 (2012) 176, n. 7.

For the personal names in ll. 3 and 7-8 of this text, see *SPP* 22. 52.11 and 15 (third century CE): Pakysis, son of Apynchis, and Stotoëtis, son of Satabous. In our papyrus τοῦ αὐτοῦ in l. 9 probably indicates a mutual family relationship like “his uncle” or “his nephew.”

For parallels for this death certificate, see *C.Pap.Gr.* 2.1, in particular no. 80 (= *SB* 1.5176), but see also no. 10 (= *P.Lond.* 2.281, pp. 65-66) and no. 59 (= *P.Petaus* 3). The hand points to the second or the first half of the 3rd century CE.

- 1 Βασιλικ[ῶ γρ(αμματεῖ) Ἀ]ρ[σι(νοΐτου) Ἡρακλ(εΐδου) μερίδος]
- 2 παρὰ traces [ Πακύσεως ?]
- 3 Ἀπύγχεως [τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης Σοκνοπαίου]
- 4 Νήσου τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος. Ἔτε-]
- 5 λεύτησε[ν] τ . . [
- 6 μην[ὸς . . .] ὦ[ ἔτους]
- 7 τῇ τοῦ Αὐτοκ[ράτορος Στοτο-]
- 8 ἡτις Σαταβο[ῦ]τ[ος]
- 9 τοῦ αὐτοῦ [
- 10 μενοι αὐ . [
- 11 [ . . . . . ] β . [



“To the royal scribe of the Arsinoite nome, the Herakleides district, from (N.N. son of) Pakysis (?) son of Apynchis ... from the village of Soknopaïou

Nesos of the Herakleides district. On the *n*th day of the month ... in the 18th year of the emperor N.N. Stotoetis son of Satabous died ... of the same ...”

1 For royal scribes of the Herakleides district whose name might be restored here, see J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*<sup>2</sup> (Firenze 2006) 128.

3-4 The restorations in both lines are for ca. 20 letters.

5-7 Normally in a text as this, the verb ἐτελεύτησε is immediately connected with a dating formula: τῇ (numeral) τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς name τοῦ ὄντος / ἐνεστῶτος / διεληλυθότος ἔτους year *n* τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος + emperor’s name, or possibly: τῷ μηνὶ + name.

There are four Egyptian month names featuring an *omega* (e.g., Pachon, Phaophi), but the reading of the *omega* here is very uncertain, and the ink traces might be part of a final *theta* (as in Thoth and Phamenoth, the two other month names featuring an *omega*). For the reason given earlier in this note  $\overline{\eta}$  in l. 7 does not seem to represent the day numeral going with τῇ. An 18th regnal year between the years 100-250 might be Trajan = 114/5, Hadrian = 133/4, Antoninus Pius = 154/5, Marcus Aurelius = 177/8, or Septimius Severus = 209/10.

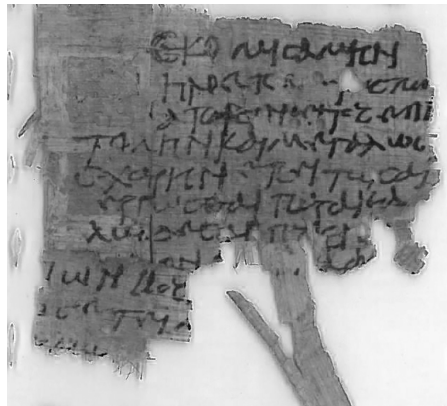
#### 9. Private Letter

von Scherling G. 214.

Remarkably enough, no *Rotulus* entry reports G. 214. It is a fragment of a private letter, mentioning another letter sent by the author to an addressee residing somewhere in the Arsinoite nome. The palaeography points to a date in the Roman period (I-III AD).

The fragment with ll. 9-11 is misplaced and currently covers the beginning of l. 8. It should be moved to the right.

- 1 Ἐκομισάμην
- 2 ἣν ἔπεμψάς μοι
- 3 ἀπ’ Ἀρσινοείτου ἐπι[σ-]
- 4 τολήν καὶ μεγάλως
- 5 ἐχάρην ἔπειτα καὶ
- 6 ἐρρῶσθαι παρακα-
- 7 λῶ δέ σαι πυκνό-
- 8 τερον ἐ[μο]ί γράφ[ειν]
- 9 [πε]ρὶ ὧν βούλ[ει] ]
- 10 ὥς εἶπε[ν]
- 11 ... [



## 7 l. σε

“I received the letter which you had sent to me from the Arsinoite (nome) and I rejoiced very much thereafter, and to be strong (I pray) and I invite you to write to me more frequently concerning your wishes ... so to speak ...”

1-4 No margin above l. 1 is visible and apparently the author starts his message right away. This practice seems to be uncommon. It is conceivable that the papyrus has been mounted incorrectly and that the uninscribed margin before ll. 1-3 is due to incorrect mounting. On the other hand, on the scan I think I see part of the second diagonal of the *lambda* of *τολὴν* in l. 4 crossing over the vertical crack in the papyrus. The same goes for the *alpha* of *ἐχάρην* in l. 5.

4-5 For a parallel, see *P.Oxy.* 14.1676:4 ἐχάρην μεγάλως κομισάμε|νός σου ἐπιστολήν.

6-8 Invitations to do something more frequently are an epistolary topos. For a parallel wording, see *P.Lond.* 6.1929.6: παρακαλῶ σὺν πυκνο[τέ]ρως ἡμῶν μνήσθη[τι]. It looks as if the author of our letter forgot to write a verb like εὐχομαι with ἐρωῶσθαι.

10 Four parallels of the wording ὥς εἰπεῖν are found in *CPR* 7.20.18; *P.Flor.* 1.33.12; *P.Oxy.* 33.2664.7; and *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.7.12.

### 10. Two Christian (?) Literary Texts

von Scherling G. 110+111 = *Rotulus* 7 (1954) #2598 = *BASP* 49 (2012) 189

The frame contains two small fragments, here labeled A and B. A is from an early Christian codex, perhaps from the 7th century, as indicated in *Rotulus*. Whether B is Christian remains to be seen.

#### A front

-----  
 1 traces  
 2 [ . ]εν η[  
 3 βια την[  
 4 αορατον [  
 5 αγαπης ημ  
 6 ημας .[  
 -----





A back

-----  
 1       ]και[ . . . . ]  
 2       ] . ον εν[ . . . ]  
 3       ] . λουτρον.  
 4   ]ν και επι τοι[ . ]  
 5       ] οντας  
 6       ]εα[ . . ]  
 -----



I have not been able to identify the author of the text on the back, because a search in the TLG for λουτρον (l. 3) in combination with και επι (l. 4) produced only authors such as Iamblichus Phil., *De vita Pythagorica* 5.21.11 (10) ἀμεριμνοῦντι παρέχοι, προσκαλεσάμενος μετὰ τὸ λουτρον τὸν νεανίαν ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτάρκη αὐτῷ ἐφόδια εἰς τὴν τῆς σωμασκίας ὑποτροφὴν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν διηνεκῶς παρέξειν κτλ. The other authors are:

- (1) Origenes Theol., *Commentarii in Ev. Joannis* 32.2.14.2
- (2) Oribasius Med., *Collectiones medicae (libri incerti)* 38.8.2
- (4) Epiphanius, *Panarion* (= *Adversus haereses*) 2.385.2
- (5) Basilius Caesariensis, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam [Dub.]* 1.44.8
- (6) Ephraem Syrus Theol., *Sermo in eos, qui in Christo obdormierunt* 117.3
- (7) Joannes Chrysostomus Scr. Eccl., *In Epist. ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–30)* 61.551.9

These texts are not obvious candidates for identification. I also searched the TLG for a Christian author featuring λουτρον and αορατ- in vain.

4   ]αορατοικ [ is also possible.

B likewise features (a) literary text(s). There are slight remains of two columns on the front. The hand seems the same on the front and the back and is compatible with the 4th-century date given in *Rotulus*.

B front col. 1

- 1 ] .  
2 ] .  
3 ]ων  
4 ]πε  
5 ]ει  
6 ] . αι  
7 ]εκ  
8 ] .  
9 ] .  
10 ]  
11 ] .  
12 ]ν  
-----



B back

- 1 ] . ου . [  
2 ] . κ ητ[  
3 ] . ρωμα[  
4 ] ηνο . δ[  
5 ]ητελειο[  
6 ] . ιλοπ . [  
7 ]ετο αιμ[  
8 ] . . λλυ[  
9 ]μα[ι]ν . [  
10 ]λιω[  
11 ] . [  
-----



2 ἡ pap.

*Appendix: Coptic Letter*

von Scherling C. 117 = *Rotulus* 5 (1949) #2248 = in *BASP* 49 (2012) 202

The upper right corner of a Coptic letter. The upper layer of the papyrus has become detached along the right edge and partly broken off. It is unknown whether the other side of the papyrus (with the fibers running vertically) contains any writing, such as an address. It is likely that Apa Paulus in l. 1 is the addressee of the letter. At the end of l. 2. the author of the letter dipped his pen into the inkwell, and his writing became more crude. He made some ink stains.

The references in the text to “the mount” and the “brethren” in l. 3 seem to indicate a monastic background (cf. *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 27-28). This is not remarkable, because a few papyri from the von Scherling collection were connected with the Monastery of Apa Apollo in Bawit (compare *P.Mon.Apollo* 6 = C. 27; 40 = C. 44; 61 = C. 20, pp. 13-14), the Monastery of Apa Apollo near Apollonopolis Parva/Sbeht (= Dayr al-Balaizah; *P.Bal.* 1, p. 15, n. 5), and the Monastery of Apa Thomas in Wadi Sarga (see the oracle question C. 17 + 49 discussed in *BASP* 49 [2012] 205).

Individuals named Paul appear in several Coptic papyri belonging to the former von Scherling collection (cf. *BASP* 49 [2012] 205-206):

C. 7 an account featuring a priest Paul, Antonius and others

C. 13 a letter to Apa Paul about money

C. 17 + 49 an oracle question of Paul, a monk of the Monastery of Apa Thomas

C. 50 a letter from Paul to his beloved father John about a vineyard

C. 74 an agreement between monks involving the son of Chares, the monk Paul, Apollo and Apa Noumenios.

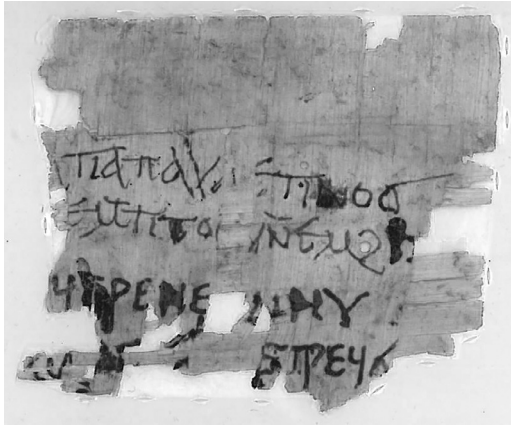
Middle Egypt

ca. 8 x 10 cm

Seventh/eighth century

1	] ἀπα παύλε πνοϑ
2 [N-	]ε μπτοοϋ νεμζη
3	α]ϥτρε νε[ϭ]νηϥ
4 [ε-	] . . α . . [ . . ] ετρεϭε[Μ]-

1	] Apa Paule, the great
2	] of the mountain of Emhe (?)
3	] he let the brethren
4	] in order that he would find



1-2 ἀπα παύλε πνοσ [N-]. The title can be restored in five different ways:

- πνοσ [ΝΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ], “the great archimandrite,” the head of a monastery (*P.Bal.* 395, and p. 33)
- πνοσ [ΝΡΩΜΕ], “the great man,” the head of a monastery (*P.Bal.* 129, 186, 203, 267, 291, 303B, 312, 317, and p. 33)
- πνοσ [ΝΙΩΤ], “the great father” or monastic superior (*P.Mon.Apollo* 45, and p. 29)
- πνοσ [ΝCON], “the great brother” or senior monk (*P.Mon.Apollo* 2, 25 en p. 29; *P.Bal.* 152, and pp. 34-35)
- πνοσ [ΝΩΗΡΕ], “the great son,” which is probably equivalent to the previous title (*P.Bal.* 103, and p. 35)

Apa Paul surely was an important person at the monastery. Either he was the head of the monastery or a senior monk who could act as “intermediary for a monk who wishes to communicate with the *dikaion* of the monastery via its head” (*P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 29).

The title πνοσ ΝΡΩΜΕ appears in: *P.Bal.* 291.2: Apa Petrus, πνοσ ΝΡΩΜΕ; *P.Bal.* 303B.6: Αρ[α - - - , πνο]σ ΝΡΩΜΕ; and *P.Bal.* 317.4: Apa Elias, πνοσ ΝΡΩΜΕ.

2 ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΜΖΗ: The toponym perhaps continued in l. 3. A search in *P.Mon.Apollo*, *P.Bawit Clackson*, *P.Bal.*, and S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* (vol. 2), has not been productive.

4 ΕΤΡΕΘ[Μ]-: at the end of the line there is space for just one letter.

## Labor Contracts from the Harthotes Archive<sup>1</sup>

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W. Graham Claytor *Universität Basel*,  
Nikos Litinas *University of Crete*, and  
Elizabeth Nabney *University of Michigan*

### Abstract

Edition of four labor contracts from the Harthotes archive from Theadelphia ranging in date from 20/19 BCE to 10 CE. They shed light on the socio-economic status of the family and the role of child labor in early Roman Egypt.

The four contracts published here continue the recent and ongoing publication of material from the family archive of Harthotes, a public farmer and priest from Theadelphia who lived in the time of Augustus.<sup>2</sup> Of particular interest is a series of *paramone*, or service, contracts, which involve the indentured labor of young family members. Most striking is the case of a young girl named Tahaunes, who was sent to the village of Philagris to work in an imperial oil mill for two years by her father Harthotes, an arrangement subsequently renewed for a further two and a half years (3 and 4, 7 and 10 CE). This was not an isolated incident in the family's history: much earlier Harthotes and his mother

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<sup>1</sup> Claytor prepared the introduction and appendix and edited texts 1 and 3, while Litinas edited 2, and Nabney edited 4. We have all contributed to each section, however, and are jointly responsible for the whole work. For comments on the manuscript and discussion of the issues raised we are grateful to Paul Heilporn, Sabine Huebner, Anastasia Maravela, David Ratzan, Ville Vuolanto, and the anonymous readers. Claytor and Nabney first presented these papyri as part of the ASP's panel at the Society for Classical Studies annual meeting in New Orleans, January, 2015, and Claytor presented them to papyrological seminars in Strasbourg and Oslo. We take this opportunity to thank our hosts and all the audience members for their feedback.

<sup>2</sup> See W.G. Claytor and R.S. Bagnall, "The Beginnings of the Roman Provincial Census: A New Declaration from 3 BCE," *GRBS* 55 (2015) 637-653, along with W.G. Claytor, R. Wurga, and Z. Smith, "Four Poll-Tax Receipts on Papyrus from the Early-Roman Fayum" (this issue, pp. 121-144), texts 3 and 4. For the remaining unpublished papyri, see the Appendix.

had put Harthotes' younger brother Marsisouchos to work in the household of a fellow villager for four years (1, 20/19 BCE); and later, when Tahaunes was a grown woman with a son, she repaid a debt likewise contracted on the basis of *paramone* labor (*P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.7, 38 CE). Coming in the midst of a surge of interest in the ancient family and childhood experience, these contracts from early Roman Egypt provide welcome new evidence for non-elite strategies for organizing family labor in order to raise cash and fend off insolvency.<sup>3</sup> Tahaunes' service contracts, moreover, add to the limited evidence for free-born females working under contract outside the household.

Besides the three *paramone* contracts, we also publish here another type of labor contract from the archive. In 2 (11/10 BCE), Harthotes acts as foreman for a group of ten harvest laborers by acknowledging receipt of wages in advance, promising to set them to work for two days when notified.

### *The Archive of Harthotes and His Descendents*

With these additions and documents still unpublished, the archive now totals 41 texts.<sup>4</sup> The find circumstances are unknown, but they almost certainly stem from a clandestine dig at Theadelphia, the family's home village, which was the source of thousands of papyri that came on the market in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Acquisition records indicate that the Harthotes papyri were purchased over the course of a decade, between 1921 and 1931, with the largest share going to the Anglo-American consortium headed by Harold Idris Bell between the years 1921 and 1926.<sup>5</sup> Independently, Milan's Università Cattolica acquired a group of 12 well-preserved papyri sometime before 1928, and one document reached Yale University as late as 1931. When the source is known, all papyri can be traced back to the well-known dealers

<sup>3</sup> For the state of family and childhood studies, see the overviews in B. Rawson (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Chichester and Malden, MA 2011) and J.E. Grubbs and T. Parkin (edd.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford 2013). Recent monographs include C. Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire: Outsiders Within* (Cambridge 2011) and S.R. Huebner, *The Family in Roman Egypt: a Comparative Approach to Intergenerational Solidarity and Conflict* (Cambridge 2013).

<sup>4</sup> The following overview supersedes K. Geens, "Harthotes and his brother Marsisouchos, public farmers," Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Version 2 (2013), <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/99.pdf>, printed in K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse, and H. Verreth (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum* (Leuven 2015) 158-161.

<sup>5</sup> For other archives acquired through this consortium, see Vandorpe, Clarysse, and Verreth (n. 4) 29-30.

David Askren and Maurice Nahman. Today the archive is spread over nine institutions, and four documents are even split between collections.

The archive spans an eighty-year period, from 20/19 BCE to 60/61 CE, and documents the activities of a Theadelpheian family over five generations. Its contents are varied, with 14 state-issued receipts (for taxes and the dike *corvée*), 14 contracts, ten petitions (including copies), and three declarations to the state. Most of the contracts, including the four published here, entered the archive because they were returned to the family for cancellation upon fulfillment of the obligations.<sup>6</sup> The declarations made to the state were registered by the presiding authorities and returned to the family, while the petitions were either copies kept by the family as a record of their legal activity, or else drafts.<sup>7</sup> Chronologically, the documents can be divided into two main groups, with a twelve year gap between them: (1) those from Harthotes' lifetime, dating to the period 20/19 BCE - 26 CE; (2) those produced for his descendents, from 38 to 60/61 CE. The first group is twice as large as the second (27 versus 14 texts), and its contents are much more varied. The smaller second group is dominated by receipts, with the last document of another type, a contract, dating to 48 CE.

The documents of the first group generally involve Harthotes himself, sometimes in conjunction with other family members, such as his younger brother Marsisouchos.<sup>8</sup> Their mother Esersythis is actively involved only in the earliest document in the archive (1, 20/19 BCE), although she lived at least another 30 years (SB 20.14440, 12 CE). The second group opens with a loan repayment made by Harthotes' daughter Tahaunes, in which her son Haunes<sup>9</sup> acts as legal guardian, marking the latter's first appearance in the archive (P.Mil.

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<sup>6</sup> Three were not cancelled. P.Mil. 1<sup>2</sup>.6 is a *hypomnema* to an imperial estate official, which contains a promise to uphold the terms of a papyrus concession. This is presumably a copy of the submitted *hypomnema*. SB 14.11279 is a lease of private land and was not cancelled, while P.Mil. 1<sup>2</sup>.8 is an advance sale of barley, which was nullified through the personal acknowledgment of the lender at the bottom, rather than through cancellation.

<sup>7</sup> In at least one case, substantially the same complaint was addressed to two different officials (P.Col. 8.209 and P.Mert. 1.8 + P.Mil. 2.43), while fragmentary copies or versions of other complaints are also preserved.

<sup>8</sup> Four documents of this period do not directly concern Harthotes: Marsisouchos' petition of 3 CE, preserved in three copies (#12-14 in the appendix); an advance sale of wheat made by Marsisouchos and his wife Tephorsais (P.Mil. 1<sup>2</sup>.5, 8/9 CE); a *syn-taximon* receipt issued to Marsisouchos (P.Mich. inv. 4187: Claytor, Warga, and Smith, this issue, pp. 121-144, document 3); and the notice of Marsisouchos' death submitted by Tephorsais (P.Mert. 1.9, 12 CE).

<sup>9</sup> This name is usually written Aunes: for an explanation of our transliteration of the names Tahaunes and Haunes, see below 4.7 n.



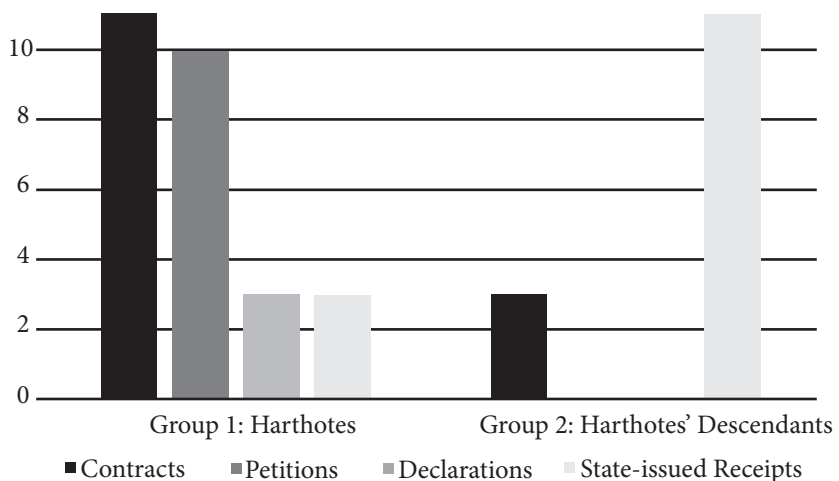


Figure 1: Document types by chronological group in the Harthotes archive

1<sup>2</sup>.7, 38 CE). Haunes, in fact, is the most prominent figure in the second group, although others of his generation appear, and one *penthemeros* certificate was issued to his son Harpatothoes (*P.Mich.* 12.654, 57/58 CE).

Besides Tahaunes' loan repayment *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.7, only one other text records the active involvement of the generation between Harthotes and his grandson Haunes.<sup>10</sup> This is likely the result of Harthotes' long life and the relatively early death of his only known son, Harpatothoes (see below). Haunes effectively became Harthotes' heir and took over his grandfather's papers via his mother Tahaunes. Why both Tahaunes and Haunes retained the old contracts and petitions belonging to Harthotes, some going back over a half century and with no conceivable contemporary legal value, is unclear.<sup>11</sup> Finally, at some point in the 60s CE or later, we may imagine that Haunes (or a descendant of his) threw out or left behind all of these old papers, along with some of the more recent tax receipts. Since contributions to the archive were made after Harthotes' death, it would be most fitting to refer to it as the "archive of Harthotes and his descendants," although "the Harthotes archive" may be retained as a convenient shorthand, as we have done in this article.

<sup>10</sup> The unpublished *P.Mich.* inv. 4319 (25 CE) is a loan of money made to Harthotes and his two children Harpatothoes and Tahaunes.

<sup>11</sup> No documents were reused in later periods. Perhaps the documents were retained simply through inertia; in other words, for a long time there was no reason to throw them away. Otherwise, the contracts and petitions might have served as exemplars or points of reference for new legal documents.

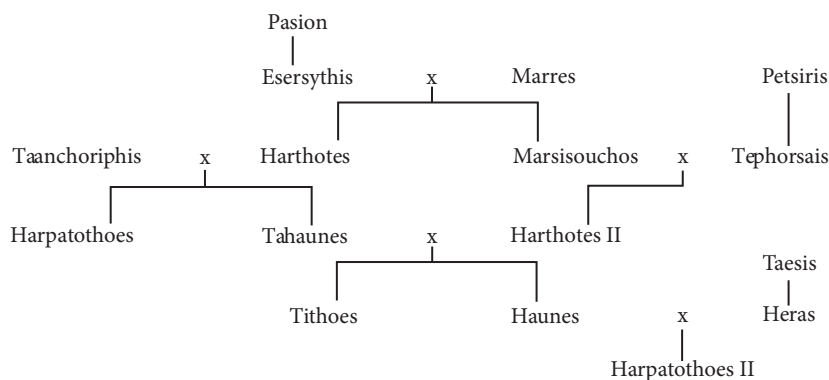


Figure 2: The family of Harthotes

### *Life Cycles of an Egyptian Family*

The archive affords an opportunity to follow the life cycles of an Egyptian family in the early Roman Empire over five generations.<sup>12</sup> Although we only get snapshots of the family at different stages, rather than a continuous picture, they are sufficient to show how the high mortality regime of the ancient world shaped the family's organization. Children were frequently bereft of one parent: Marres, the father of Harthotes and Marsisouchos, plays no active role in the archive; Harthotes' wife Taanchoriphis was deceased or divorced when their children were still young; and his daughter Tahaunes was widowed by her late 30s. Despite these potential fissures, family continuity was guaranteed through the long lives of Esersythis, who lived from the dynastic turmoil of the early 50s BCE to the very end of Augustus' long reign, and of her son Harthotes, whose coming of age coincided with the regime change of 30 BCE, and who was still actively involved in business and family affairs in the mid-20s CE, when he was nearing the age of 70.

We first encounter the family in **1**, a service contract dating to 20/19 BCE, in which Harthotes and his mother Esersythis jointly arrange to have the young Marsisouchos work in the house of a fellow villager for four years in exchange for an interest-free loan. At this time, a mere decade after the establishment of Roman rule in Egypt, Harthotes was a young man of 24 years of age, while

<sup>12</sup> The concept of the "family cycle" was pioneered by the Russian economist and sociologist A. Chayanov, a foundational thinker in the modern field of Peasant Studies: *The Theory of Peasant Economy* (Homewood, IL 1966) 254-256. Cf. S. Dixon, *The Roman Family* (Baltimore 1992) 6, and for household life cycles as observed in the census declarations of Roman Egypt, see Huebner (n. 3) 47.

his brother was about 16, and their mother about 38.<sup>13</sup> The absence of Marres in this contract and elsewhere in the archive suggests that he was already deceased, leaving Esersythis widowed and the young men fatherless, a situation doomed to repeat itself later in the family's history.<sup>14</sup>

In the recently published census declaration of 3 BCE, Harthotes is living in his own house with two other people, one of whom may have been his wife Taanchoriphis (P.Mich. inv. 4406a = Claytor and Bagnall [n. 2]). By 3 CE, in any case, both Harthotes and his younger brother Marsisouchos were married with children, as can be inferred from later documents. Marsisouchos named his son after his older brother,<sup>15</sup> while Harthotes named his son Harpatothoes, perhaps as a devotional act to the god Tutu, whose cult he served as priest for some length of time.<sup>16</sup>

From the census declaration of 12 CE, we can see that Harthotes' wife Taanchoriphis was deceased or at least no longer in the picture, because she is not mentioned as living with the family. Harthotes lists only his elderly mother Esersythis and his nine-year-old son Harpatothoes. The absence of Tahaunes was once thought to be due to her early marriage and relocation to her hus-

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<sup>13</sup> Harthotes' year of birth has been calculated to be 44/43 BCE on the basis of the agreement in ages between P.Mich. inv. 4406a = Claytor and Bagnall (n. 2) (3 BCE) and SB 20.14440 (12 CE). The only indication of Marsisouchos' age is *P.Oslo* 2.32 (1 CE), in which he is listed as 35 years old; since age-rounding is evident in this text (Harthotes is listed as 40 when he was actually four years older), it is not certain how accurate this figure is. Esersythis' age is calculated from SB 20.14440, where she is said to be 70. All ages are calculated on the basis of inclusive reckoning, on which see N. Kruit, "Age Reckoning in Hellenistic Egypt. The Evidence of Declarations of Birth, Excerpts from the Ephebe Registers, and Census Returns," in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman* (Leiden 1998) 37-58.

<sup>14</sup> On the subject of fatherlessness, see S.R. Huebner and D.M. Ratzan, *Growing Up Fatherless in Antiquity* (Cambridge 2011). If Marres and Esersythis were simply divorced, one would expect the children to have been living with him and for him to have been the one to make arrangements for Marsisouchos' *paramone*.

<sup>15</sup> On familial homonymy in Roman Egypt, see now Y. Broux, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt* (Leuven 2015) 64-70, who argues that "a much higher number of people were named after a close relative, not necessarily a grandparent, than is visible in our documentation" (68).

<sup>16</sup> Harthotes is identified as a priest of Tutu (Tothoes) in the census declaration SB 20.14440 (12 CE) and in a group of four petitions which date to sometime between 1 and 11 CE (#7-10 in the Appendix). Notably, he is not identified as a priest in the census declaration of 3 BCE, nor in the petition *P.Princ.* 2.23 of 13 CE. He was probably priest for a relatively short period of time. Claytor will further explore this issue in a future publication.

band's household,<sup>17</sup> but we now know from 4 that she was living and working on the estate of Livia and Germanicus in Philagris at that time and thus was presumably recorded in her employer's household (if at all).

After her work on the imperial estate, Tahaunes came home to marry her cousin Harthotes, by whom she bore a son around 17/18 CE when she was in her late teens.<sup>18</sup> Her father Harthotes was still alive in 26 CE, as we know from his lease of the papyrus concession from a contractor on the same estate to which he had sent his daughter (*PMil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.6). Thereafter follows the archive's largest gap, and we next hear from the family in 38 CE, when Tahaunes pays back two loans which she made "with her brother Harpatothoes, who has died" (*PMil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.7.14-15). She acts with her son Haunes as her legal guardian, which is suggestive of her family situation at the time. Not only had her brother died, as the document states, but her husband/cousin likely had too, since he would have been expected to fulfill the role of guardian. Her father Harthotes, who would have been in his early 80s, had presumably passed away in the intervening period as well.

Interestingly, one of Tahaunes' debts is described as stemming from a service contract:<sup>19</sup> we can well imagine that it was one of her sons, Haunes or Tithoes (on whom see below), who had been sent out of the house to work in return for ready cash, as both Tahaunes herself and her uncle Marsisouchos had been previously. In any case, by 38 CE the family had come full circle (Fig. 3). As a single mother with no male ascendants, Tahaunes faced the same challenge as her grandmother Esersythis about 60 years prior and resorted to the same tactics in order to save her family from insolvency.<sup>20</sup> The fact that Tahaunes was able to repay the loans contracted with her late brother is a sign that she was able to successfully navigate these challenges, yet we hear no more of her thereafter.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> R.S. Bagnall, "The Beginnings of the Roman Census in Egypt," *GRBS* 32 (1991) 255-265 at 257.

<sup>18</sup> See n. 35 on the calculation of Tahaunes' age.

<sup>19</sup> *PMil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.7.17-18: κατὰ συγγραφὰς δύο, μίαν μὲν | παραμονῆς δραχμῶν ἐξήκοντα.

<sup>20</sup> Both Esersythis and Harthotes' *paramone* for Marsisouchos (1) and the one Tahaunes contracted were loans whose principal had to be repaid, while Harthotes' *paramone* contracts for Tahaunes allowed him to retain the principal (3 and 4).

<sup>21</sup> It should be pointed out that the archive from this point on consists primarily of *penthmeros* certificates and poll-tax receipts, which stem from state obligations that fell upon men only.

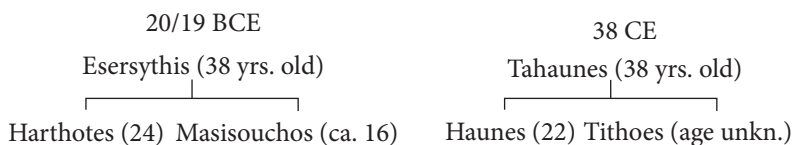


Fig. 3: Comparison of the family in 20/19 BCE and 38 CE

Afterwards, her son Haunes becomes the most visible figure in the archive, although his activities cannot be tracked as closely as his grandfather's. He married a woman named Heras (*SB* 22.15761, 54 CE) and had at least one son, Harpatothoes (*P.Mich.* 12.654, 57-58 CE), whom he presumably named after the uncle who pre-deceased his mother. An unpublished *penthemeros* certificate shows that Haunes also had a brother named Tithoes.<sup>22</sup> Both of these names, Harpatothoes and Tithoes, perpetuated the family's traditional connection to the god Tutu. In one text, Haunes leases private land, a seemingly new development for the family (*SB* 14.11279, 44 CE), and in a *penthemeros* certificate recently connected to the archive he is given the title *dekanos* (*P.Princ.* 2.40, 49 CE),<sup>23</sup> perhaps indicating some kind of leadership role similar to Harthotes' organization of ten harvest laborers in 2.<sup>24</sup> These few indications suggest that Haunes may have been as economically versatile as his grandfather Harthotes. Thereafter, the curtain falls, and the family disappears from view in the midst of Nero's reign.

### *Social and Economic Status of the Family*

Harthotes' family was part of the broad base of non-privileged Egyptians who populated the towns and villages of the new province of Egypt. Although all documents in the archive are in Greek, the family's nomenclature and Harthotes' service to the god Tutu place them squarely in the Egyptian cultural milieu. For a time, Harthotes even resided within one of Theadelphia's temple precincts, although his priesthood seems to have been of a relatively short duration (*SB* 20.14440, 12 CE; cf. n. 16 above). He and his brother Marsisouchos

<sup>22</sup> *P.Mich.* inv. 4415c, issued at the same time as Haunes' certificate *P.Princ.* 2.40 (16 Jul., 49 CE). Tithoes' mother is not recorded in the certificate, but is presumed to be Tahaunes.

<sup>23</sup> The new reading accepted in papyri.info has Αὐνῆς Ἀρθώτου in l. 3 in place of Ἀθρής Ἀρθωνίου.

<sup>24</sup> The term *dekanos* covers a wide variety of activities: see now H. Cuvigny, "Décanies et Dekanoi," *O.Did.*, pp. 57-67.

paid the poll tax at the full rate and are consistently identified as public farmers from Theadelphia.

The limited previous scholarship on the archive has generally characterized the economic situation of the family in negative terms.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, nearly every contract in the archive revolves around the advance of cash to the family in exchange for future goods or services, either in the form of advance crop sales or *paramone* contracts.<sup>26</sup> Yet recurrent debt was a structural feature of the economy of Greco-Roman Egypt and not limited to poor or middling families. Rowlandson has pointed out that the family was able to repay all of their loans, while leasing fairly substantial tracts of land and engaging in a variety of economic ventures.<sup>27</sup> In a petition of 3 CE, Marsisouchos relates that he was ceded 24 arouras of public land, more than enough for his own family. Such a large plot could have generated income from the type of advance crop sales found in the archive and probably other activities that have left no documentation, such as market sales of grain.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the family pursued numerous legal claims through petitions and even had multiple copies or versions of these petitions drawn up, an activity not likely to be associated with the most destitute, as Kelly has recently underlined.<sup>29</sup> These legal pursuits and the relative large holdings of public land distinguish them from the majority of their fellow villagers.

Another distinguishing feature of the family is Harthotes' economic versatility and a social network with numerous links outside his home village. At various times, he is found organizing labor for the harvest (2, 12/11 BCE),

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<sup>25</sup> "Financially the family seems to have been badly off" S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *P.Oslo* 2.32, p. 72; "Certamente le condizioni economiche della famiglia, che apparteneva al ceto sociale indigeno e più umile ... non erano molto prospere," G. Casanova, "Theadelphia e l'archivio di Harthotes," *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 130; "die teilweise sehr schlechte Wirtschaftslage," B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten* (1.-2. Jh. n. Chr.) (St. Katharinen 1993) 200. J.R. Rea, in his review of *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>, offered a more neutral characterization: "in these documents written for [the family] we find them in business in a small way" (*CR* 19.1 [1969] 94-96 at 95).

<sup>26</sup> Advance crop sales: *P.Gen.* 2.89 (5 BCE), *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.4 (2 BCE), *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.5 (8/9 CE). In *P.Oslo* 2.32 (1 CE) Harthotes and Marsisouchos concede rights to six arouras of land in exchange for an advance payment of 200 drachmas. Among the unpublished papyri, there is a loan or advance sale of wine (*P.Mich. inv.* 4421a, ca. 5 BCE – 9 CE) and a cash loan made to Harthotes and his children (*P.Mich. inv.* 4319, 25 CE).

<sup>27</sup> J. Rowlandson, "The Organisation of Public Land in Roman Egypt," *CRIPEL* 25 (2005) 189.

<sup>28</sup> The petition is preserved in two nearly identical versions addressed to the two different officials (*P.Mert.* 1.8 + *P.Mil.* 2.43 and *P.Col.* 8.209), along with a very fragmentary third exemplar (*P.Mich. inv.* 4437c).

<sup>29</sup> B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2011) 123.

serving as a priest of Tutu (ca. 1-11 CE: see n. 16), and collecting papyrus to produce baskets for sale (*P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.6, 26 CE). Harthotes entered into contracts not only in his home village of Theadelphia, but also in neighboring Apias and Philagris. His papyrus concession granted him cutting rights from Theoxenis to Philoteris, and he could sell his finished products in any Fayum village. Harthotes cannot be defined by a single economic pursuit, nor were his activities confined to his home village; he was rather an opportunist who drew on a relatively wide and diverse social network to support himself and his family.

### *Children, Family, and Labor: Three New Service Contracts*

This picture is complicated, however, by the *paramone* contracts published below, which demonstrate how precarious the social and economic life of even a moderately prosperous village family could be. At various times across three generations the family resorted to the indentured labor of young family members in order to raise sometimes paltry amounts of cash.<sup>30</sup> In the most egregious example, Harthotes and his mother Esersythis agree to forfeit four years of Marsisouchos' labor in exchange for an interest-free loan of 48 drachmas. From the point of view of the borrowers, this is probably the least favorable *paramone* contract from Greco-Roman Egypt.<sup>31</sup> We may compare *P.Mich.* 10.587 (Tebtynis, ca. 24/25 CE), in which a father receives an interest-free loan of the same amount (48 drachmas), but against only one year of his daughter's labor. The interest that would have accrued over the course of the four-year contract is worth calculating, if only to demonstrate how little was saved through Marsisouchos' labor. Assuming a standard interest rate of 12%, a 48 drachma loan would have accrued only 5.76 drachmas of interest per annum, which comes to a little over 23 drachmas for the four years of our

<sup>30</sup> The key works on *paramone* contracts are W.L. Westermann, "The Paramone as General Service Contract," *JJP* 2 (1948) 9-50; B. Adams, *Paramone und verwandte Texte: Studien zum Dienstvertrag im Rechte der Papyri* (Berlin 1964); A.E. Samuel, "The Role of the Paramone Clause in Ancient Documents," *JJP* 15 (1965) 221-311 at 299-306; J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri bis Diokletian* (Bonn 1972) 9-34; and A. Jördens, *P.Heid.* 5, pp. 285-295. For the various forms of contractual child labor in the context of family resource management, see V. Vuolanto, "Children and Work. Family Strategies and Socialisation in the Roman and Late Antique Egypt," in K. Mustakallio and J. Hanska (edd.) *Agents and Objects. Children in Pre-Modern Europe* (Rome 2015) 97-111. We thank the author for providing us with a draft in advance of publication.

<sup>31</sup> For a list of such loan contracts with *paramone*, see U. Yiftach-Firanko, "P.Col. inv. 131 Recto: A Loan Contract with *Paramonê* Provision from Mid-First-Century CE Theadelphia," *JJP* 40 (2010) 267-282 at 275-276.



contract. This would of course be meager compensation for the young man's labor, since the average unskilled worker could make this amount in about a month's time – if indeed work was available.

Such calculations, however, assume Eserhythis, Harthotes, and Marsisouchos had options. They may not have. The immediate use of the 48 drachma principal may have been so urgent that the family was forced to leverage the body of one of their own. Direct comparison to wage labor is misleading, moreover, because such work was only available in any abundance during particular times of the year, such as the harvest.<sup>32</sup> Another important consideration for the family must have been the long-term savings on food and clothing for Marsisouchos. By offloading the costs of his maintenance, which wage labor did not offer, the family would have been relieved of expenses equivalent to some 500 drachmas over the course of the contract.<sup>33</sup> Such considerable savings may have in fact been the family's primary motivation. Additionally, we should consider a relatively humane element of the contract, namely that it seems to call for Marsisouchos' work to be limited to the family's home village (ll. 13-14), meaning that the family could more easily stay connected than if he were working elsewhere.

In contrast, Marsisouchos' niece Tahaunes would later spend part of her childhood working under *paramone* in another village (3 and 4, 7 and 10 CE). Her experience ranks among the most remarkable examples of child labor in antiquity.<sup>34</sup> Called κοράσιον on the back of 4, Tahaunes was perhaps only six years old<sup>35</sup> when she was first sent out of the house by her father Harthotes to work as an olive feeder (παρεμβάλλουσα)<sup>36</sup> at an imperial oil mill in Philagris and to live with the mill's foreman, one Theon, son of Patermouthis, as his personal servant. The amount of money Harthotes received is lost in 3, but in 4 it is 80 drachmas. Unlike the earlier arrangement with Marsisouchos, these

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<sup>32</sup> For the seasonality and low wages of casual labor, see D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991) 155-166.

<sup>33</sup> See the annual maintenance estimates at Huebner (n. 3) 61, Table 3.1.

<sup>34</sup> The seminal work is K.R. Bradley, "Child Labor in the Roman World," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques* 12.2 (1985) 311-330 (= K.R. Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family: Studies in Roman Social History* [Oxford 1991] 103-124), although Laes (n. 3) 148-221 is now the most detailed treatment and a convenient starting point (see 148, n. 1 for further bibliography).

<sup>35</sup> Her age is calculated from *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.7 (38 CE), in which she is said to be 38 years old. On inclusive reckoning (see Kruit [n. 13]), this would place her birth in 1 CE. Although age-rounding is not evident in this document, allowance must be made for the imprecision of ancient age calculations. Tahaunes could hardly have been any younger, but she may have been a few years older than the Milan papyrus indicates.

<sup>36</sup> For our interpretation of this term, see below 4.10 n.

contracts allowed him to retain the monies received instead of returning them at the conclusion of the contract. They were essentially advance payments.

The contracts call for Tahaunes to “stay and do everything ordered of her,” never leaving the house of Theon except in his presence, and following him wherever he might travel in the nome (3.16-18; 4.11-13, 30-33). As in Marsisouchos’ *paramone* contract, Tahaunes is to be fed and clothed by her employer, again sparing the family the cost of maintenance and, in this case, the inconvenience of sending her supplies to another village (Philagris was about 10 km distant from Theadelphia: 4.2 n.). The penalty clause of 4 stipulates the usual fine of one drachma per day’s absence and anticipates potential infractions, such as abscondment and theft, before abruptly ending mid-sentence (3 contains even less of the body contract). Despite their imperfections, both instruments were registered by the *grapheion* notary of Philagris and, upon fulfillment of their obligations, returned to Harthotes and cancelled by cross-hatching (see further below).

In his survey of child workers in antiquity, Bradley notes that “it is only freeborn girls who do not clearly emerge in work contexts.”<sup>37</sup> His use of papyrological evidence, however, was limited to apprenticeship contracts, and there are indications in accounts that girls were hired for day labor, although not as frequently as boys, and for different tasks.<sup>38</sup> Within the realm of apprenticeship contracts, van Minnen was later able to cite three examples involving freeborn girls,<sup>39</sup> and we can now add *P.Oxy.* 67.4596 (264 [?] CE). When we expand the survey to *paramone* arrangements, moreover, we can see that it was not in fact unusual for freeborn girls to work outside the home.<sup>40</sup> What is most remarkable about the present case is Tahaunes’ youth, since the age of ten was generally thought to mark the onset of productive work.<sup>41</sup> Young workers can be found down to the age of five, although they are generally slave boys.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Bradley (n. 34) 326. Cf. M. Mirković, “Child Labor and Taxes in the Agriculture of Roman Egypt: *παῖς* and *ἀφῆλιξ*,” *Scripta Classica Israelica* 24 (2005) 139-149 at 146: “(*P. Fay.* 102) is a unique testimony referring to girls working outside the home.”

<sup>38</sup> *P.Fay.* 102 (Euhemereia, ca. 105 CE) and *BGU* 3.894 (Arsinoite, 109 CE).

<sup>39</sup> P. van Minnen, “Did Ancient Women Learn a Trade Outside the Home?” *ZPE* 123 (1998) 201-203.

<sup>40</sup> Vuolanto (n. 30) 106 with n. 54.

<sup>41</sup> V. Vuolanto, “Selling a Freeborn Child: Rhetoric and Social Realities in the Late Roman World,” *Ancient Society* 33 (2003) 169-207 at 198, n. 86. The age of young workers is usually not mentioned, but cf. the loan repayment *P.Oxy.* 78.5169 (18 BCE), which records an underage girl (οὐδέπω οὔσης ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ll. 11-12) who had worked under *paramone*. The original contract is not preserved, so the exact terms of the agreement are unknown, but since the lender was a woman, the young girl presumably worked as a domestic servant.

<sup>42</sup> Bradley (n. 34) 325.

The best parallel for Tahaunes' working experience comes from *P.Ryl.* 2.128, a petition from Euhemereia dating to 30 CE, which documents the breakdown of the type of contractual relationship found in 3 and 4. An oil-maker complains to a police official that Soueris, a girl working for him as a *παρεμβάλλουσα* under *paramone*, stole money and a cloak and abandoned his mill. All this was done under the influence of her father, who, he claims, "disregarded the debt which he and his wife owe me in accordance with a contract of service."<sup>43</sup> A more favorable interpretation of the girl's behavior would see the cloak and money (40 drachmas, in this case) as the compensation that she and her father felt were due to her in accordance with the *paramone* contract. In any case, this episode shows that there was real potential for conflict stemming from such labor arrangements, in which parents must forego the usual custody and control over their children.

Another good parallel, particularly for the terms of the agreements, is the *paramone* contract *P.Mich.* 10.587, written in Tebtynis around 24/25 CE. In return for interest on a 48-drachma loan, a 40-year-old man sends his daughter Kolleuthis to another's man house to work for one year. The conditions of service are similar to Tahaunes' arrangement, except no specific task is mentioned. While Kolleuthis' age is not recorded, her father was 40, so it is unlikely that she was older than her late teens, and she was perhaps considerably younger.<sup>44</sup> Since this papyrus does not come from a known archive and the individuals are not otherwise attested, we cannot say whether this contract was part of a longer-term arrangement between the men.

A deep-rooted fear for parents who indentured their children – girl or boy – must have been the thought of not being able to redeem them, either due to poverty or the caprice of the employer. *BGU* 4.1154 (Alexandria, 10 BCE) records the repayment of a *paramone* loan seven years after it was drawn up, thereby allowing two parents to finally release their son from service. A contemporary petition relates the plight of parents whose daughter was seized despite fulfillment of the terms of a *paramone* contract.<sup>45</sup> Vulanto has stressed the legal and conceptual overlap between selling, leasing, and pawn-ing children;<sup>46</sup> if a debt remained unpaid or the creditor/employer unilaterally

<sup>43</sup> *P.Ryl.* 2.128.17-20: μή στο|χασάμενος (l. -μένου) ὧν ὀφείλει μοι | σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ | κατὰ παραμονήν.

<sup>44</sup> The average age at first marriage for men in Roman Egypt was about 25 years old: R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 2006) 116. Harthotes was already in his 40s when Tahaunes was born.

<sup>45</sup> *BGU* 4.1139 (Alexandria, 5 BCE), with O. Montevecchi, "BGU IV 1139: *paramone* e trophitis," *BASP* 22 (1985) 231-241.

<sup>46</sup> Vulanto (n. 41) 189-197.

detained the child, a *paramone* could easily lead to a lengthy or permanent separation of parent and child. In the Euhemereia petition mentioned above, we should remember that we only hear the creditor's story; perhaps, the father and daughter felt compelled to take drastic steps before the arrangement became inextricable.

In Tahaunes' case, fortunately, her extended service away from home did not lead to permanent separation from her family, and the arrangement was suitable enough (in her father's eyes) to renew for an additional period. We cannot of course know what Tahaunes thought of the matter at the time, but we later find her involved in the same type of labor arrangement, presumably for a younger family member, as discussed above. In any case, after her employment in Philagris, she eventually rejoined the family in Theadelphia, where she was later married to her cousin. This sequence of events may lead one to wonder whether there was a link between Tahaunes' *paramone*, which brought in over 80 drachmas of cash, and the dowry needed for her marriage. Marrying in the family was no excuse for not providing a dowry – even brother-sister marriages included them.<sup>47</sup> Over a hundred dowry figures are preserved from the first-century Arsinoite nome, the lowest being 16 drachmas, but most being at least in the 60-80 drachma range.<sup>48</sup> This point must remain open because we cannot demonstrate any connection between Tahaunes' *paramone* contract and her subsequent marriage.

We should also consider more intangible elements of the relationship between Harthotes and Theon, the imperial oilmaker in Philagris. That the *paramone* was renewed on essentially the same terms suggests that both sides were satisfied with the arrangement and a certain degree of trust had developed between them. Dixon has suggested that lower-class apprenticeships likely operated in a similar fashion to the elite practice of pairing youths with respected older men, which “represented a long-term investment in delayed exchange.”<sup>49</sup> The practice of weavers apprenticing their sons to colleagues among the weaving families of Oxyrhynchus is suggestive of such a system of exchange, although other factors may have been involved. In our case, Harthotes and Theon were not equals, but one wonders if Harthotes was hoping to gain “access” or some kind of preferential treatment through this manager

<sup>47</sup> See *P.Kron.* 52 (Tebtynis, 138 CE).

<sup>48</sup> See U. Yiftach-Firanko, *Marriage and Marital Arrangements: A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt, 4th century BCE – 4th century CE* (München 2003) 284-289, Appendix 1, Table 4c.

<sup>49</sup> S. Dixon, “The Circulation of Children in Roman Society,” in M. Corbier (ed.), *Adoption et fosterage. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 4 et 5 juin 1993* (Paris 1999) 217-230 at 222.

of an imperial oil mill. It is worth noting that later in life Harthotes became a concessionaire of the same estate of Livia and Germanicus. Did his earlier relationship with Theon pay off?

These brief considerations suggest how complex the decision-making process could have been for non-elite families who needed to raise cash. It is difficult with the evidence at hand to decide whether, as Vuolanto believes, such *paramone*-loan arrangements were generally acts of desperation, “the last attempt to cope with difficulties at hand, as the parents were unable to bring the children up.”<sup>50</sup> Given the pattern of such arrangements in Harthotes’ family over three generations, and considering the savings on maintenance and perhaps access to a certain degree of social capital, we prefer to see these contracts as part of a family strategy for dealing with persistent cash flow problems, rather than responses to crises.

### *Form of the Contracts*

The four contracts published below are early-Roman notarial contracts drawn up through village *grapheia*.<sup>51</sup> 1 and 2 were perhaps written in the *grapheion* of the family’s home village of Theadelpheia, while 3 and 4 were written in Philagris. Such contracts normally consist of the following elements:

- (1) an objective body contract
- (2) a subjective subscription written by, or on behalf of, the party under obligation
- (3) a registration docket

In the Augustan period, in contrast to earlier and later practice, the registration docket is normally written above the subscription, as is the case in the contracts published below. A more significant diplomatic feature of this period is the frequent omission or abbreviation of the body of registered contracts, which is also featured in the below documents.

In the short body contract of 2, the opening date and location formula is omitted, as is the penalty clause found in the subscription. It reads more like an abstract rather than a regular body contract. The bodies of 3 and 4 both end mid-sentence, although the writer of 4 reached the 17th line before abandoning the project, while the writer of 3 was content with just six lines. 1

<sup>50</sup> Vuolanto (n. 41) 194.

<sup>51</sup> H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats, II: Organisation und Kontrolle des privaten Rechtsverkehrs* (Munich 1978) 83-91.

is broken above the registration docket, but it too was probably of this type. Despite their obvious imperfections, all the contracts were registered by the presiding notary. This act and the cross-hatching after fulfilment of the obligations clearly indicate the validity of these contracts in the eyes of the local notaries and the contracting parties. The registration of incomplete contracts can be traced back to the late Ptolemaic *grapheia*, but is most apparent in the early Roman period until around 10 CE, when the practice was put to a halt.<sup>52</sup>

### 1. Service Contract for Marsisouchos

P.Mich. inv. 4299

17.5 x 10 cm

Written: Theadelphia (?)

Acquired 1925<sup>53</sup>

Found: Theadelphia

20/19 BCE

Medium-brown papyrus broken at the top and right. The alignment of the text slopes towards the left edge (Maas' law), so the left margin is 2 cm at l. 3, but only 1 cm at the last line. The bottom margin is 2.3 cm. The 2 cm space above the first line of text, the registration docket, is probably not a top margin, but rather a blank space between the lost body contract and the docket. If we assume an original height of 30 cm, there would be only 12.5 cm for the body contract, so perhaps it was abbreviated or not written at all like other Augustan-era *grapheion* contracts. The papyrus was folded vertically twice and horizontally at least three times. It broke along the middle vertical fold with the loss of about half the text (19-24 letters). The hand is an ungainly cursive, with distinctive *taus* and *upsilons* adorned with a small foot at their base jutting out to the right. *Alphas* generally feature an angular belly. The writer was also bothered by a split in his reed pen, which manifests itself in "hollow" strokes with bare papyrus peeping through.

This contract survives only as a subscription, along with part of the *grapheion's* registration docket above it. Esersythis and her son Harthotes acknowledge receipt of a 48 drachma loan from one Soterichos, son of Dionysios, and in lieu of interest arrange for Marsisouchos, Esersythis' other son and Harthotes' younger brother, to work for the lender Soterichos for four years in a *paramone* arrangement. Soterichos must provide food and clothing for Marsisouchos, who is to do everything ordered of him, including, it seems,

<sup>52</sup> For a discussion and list of such incomplete registered contracts, see W.G. Claytor, "Rogue Notaries? Two Unusual Double Documents from the Late Ptolemaic Fayum," *JJP* 44 (2014) 85-106. Cf. *PLips*. 2.129 (Kerkeesis, 8 CE), introduction.

<sup>53</sup> Part of a group of "miscellaneous purchases" made by David Askren and Arthur Boak, which reached Bell in July 1925. 2 and 3 were also part of this group.

following Soterichos wherever he might need to go in the village. The terms of the agreement were evidently satisfied, since the contract was cancelled with cross strokes and returned to Harthotes' family.

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*vacat*

ἔτους ια Καί[σαρος ]

- Ἐσέρσυ[θις] Π[ας]ί[ω]νος Περσίνη μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑμαντῆς]  
 υἱοῦ Ἀρθώτου τοῦ Μ[α]ρρήους [καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀρθώτης Πέρσης τῆς]  
 ἐπιγονῆς ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀμφώτεροι ἔχειν παρὰ Σωτηρίχου]  
 5 τοῦ Διονυσίου παραχμῆμα ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου δραχμᾶς]  
 τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ καὶ ἅ[ν]τι τῶν τούτων τόκων καὶ δεόν-]  
 των καὶ ἱματ[ε]ισ[μο]υ παρέξε[σθαι τὸν Μαρρήους καὶ Ἐσερσύ-]  
 θεως ἕτερον υἱὸν Μαρσί[σ]ουχον τὸν τοῦ Ἀρθώτου ἀδελ-]  
 φὸν παραμένοντα τῷ Σω[τηρίχ]ω καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ]  
 10 ἐφ' ἔτη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ μην[ος] ... τοῦ ... -δεκά-]  
 του ἔτους Καίσαρος διαδρίβον[τα καὶ ποιῶντα τὰ ἐπι-]  
 τασσόμενα ἀν[τ]ι . [ ca. 13 κατὰ τὴν]  
 κόμην καὶ συνακολουθοῦ[ντα τῷ Σωτηρίχ]ω καὶ οὐ]  
 γινόμενον ἀπόκοιτον ο[ὐδ'] ἀφήμερον ἀπὸ τῆς]  
 15 τοῦ Σωτηρίχου οἰκίας ἂν[ε]υ τῆς τοῦ Σωτηρίχου γνώμης]  
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν χ[ρ]όνον ἀποδώ[σομεν οἱ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰς τοῦ]  
 ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς τεσσαρά[κοντα ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας]  
 ἥς ἂν ἀτακτήσῃ κ . ι . . [ ca. 14 ἐκτίσο-]  
 μεν ἀργυρίου δραχμὴν μί[α]ν ca. 14 ἀλλή-]  
 20 λων ἔγγυοι εἰς ἔκ[τισ]ειν . [ ca. 20 ]  
 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ[ν] Τε[ ... τοῦ δεῖνα]  
 ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν διὰ τ[ὸ] φάσκειν αὐτοὺς μὴ εἰδέ-]  
 ναι γράμμ[ατα].

4 l. ἀμφότεροι 5 l. παραχρήμα 7 l. ἱματισμοῦ 8 Μαρσί[σ]ουχον]:  
 μ corr. ex π? 11 l. διατρίβοντα 11-12 l. ἐπιτασσόμενα 14 l. γινόμενον  
 20 l. ἔκτισιν 22 l. ἀξιωθεὶς

Body contract: [missing]

Registration docket: "Year 11 of Caesar [ ... ]"

Subscription: "I, Esersythis, daughter of Pasion, [Persian, with my] son  
 Harthotes, son of Marres, [as legal guardian, and I myself, Harthotes, Persian



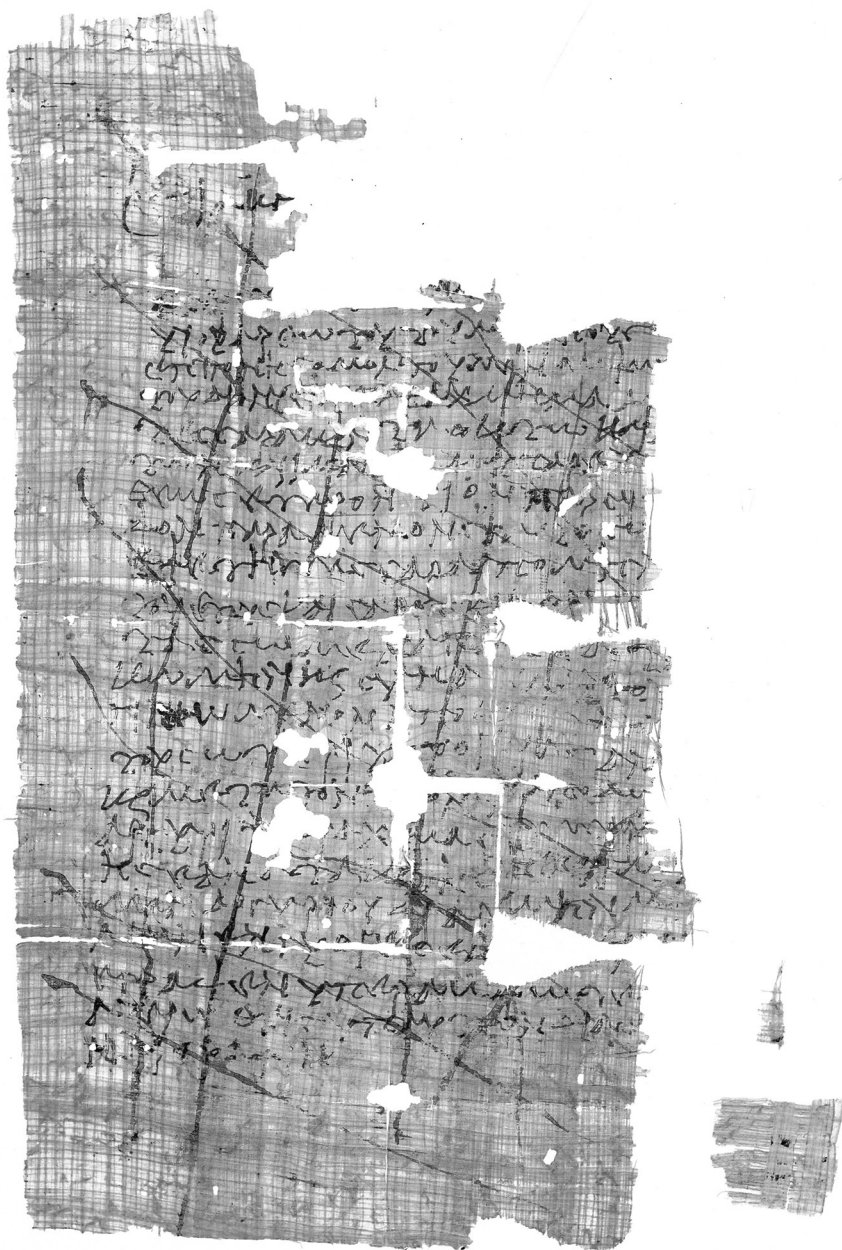
of the] *epigone*, we both acknowledge [that we have received] forthwith [from Soterichos] son of Dionysios forty-eight [drachmas] of [minted] silver and that, [in lieu of interest and in consideration of] necessities and clothing, we shall hand over the other son [of Marres and Esersythis,] Marsisouchos, the brother [of Harthotes,] to remain with Soterichos [and his representatives] for four years from the month of [...] of the [...] year of Caesar, staying [and doing] everything ordered [...] throughout the] village and accompanying [Soterichos and not] being absent by night [or day from] Soterichos' house without [Soterichos' consent.] After the period (of the contract), we, [the acknowledging parties,] will pay back [the] forty-[eight] drachmas of silver [and for each day] on which he does not perform his duty [...] we will pay one drachma of silver [...] we being mutual sureties for full repayment [...]. Te-, son of NN, has written on their behalf since [they say that they do not] know letters.”

1 ἔτους ια Καί[σαρος]: This is the beginning of the registration docket, which is commonly written above the subscription during Augustus' reign, as it is in all such examples from the Harthotes archive: cf. 2.8, 3.7, 4.20, *P.Gen.* 2.89.1, *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.4.1-3, *P.Oslo* 2.32.4,<sup>54</sup> and *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.5.1-3. Below this line there are scant traces of ink before the papyrus breaks off at the right. If they are remains of an indented second line, which is not at all certain, there could have stood here a title of the contract as in *P.Oslo* 2.32.5: ὁμο(λογία) χρωρ(ῶν) (*l. χλωρ(ῶν)*) χορτο(σπορίας) ἄρου(ρῶν) ἐξ περὶ Θεαδέλ(φειαν).

2 Ἐσέρσυ[θις] Π[ας]ί[ω]ς: This reading is reinforced by the next line, where the genitive υἱοῦ Ἀρθώτου can only be understood as part of a *kyrios* clause, and l. 9, where the end of Esersythis' name is preserved. She was previously known only from the census declaration SB 20.14440 (12 CE), living then in her old age with Harthotes. Since Esersythis is said to be 70 in that declaration, she should be about 38 at the time of this contract.

3-4 [καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀρθώτης Πέρσης τῆς] | ἐπιγονῆς: The identification of the male joint contractor as Harthotes is confirmed by the later double identification of Marsisouchos as Esersythis' son and Harthotes' brother (ll. 7-9). The emphatic αὐτός is supplied for reasons of space and in consideration of contemporary examples, such as the Alexandrian *synchoresis* BGU 4.1145.2-4 (5 BCE): καὶ παρὰ Λύκας τῆς | Ζωΐλου [Π]ερσεΐνης μετὰ κ[υρίου τοῦ ἀνδρός] Διο[νυσίου τοῦ Πτολε]μαίου Πέρσου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς [καὶ] αὐτοῦ Διονυσίου.

<sup>54</sup> With *BL* 2.2:91 and 3:121, this line can be read as: ἔτους λ Καίσαρος Μεσο(ρὴ) λ ἀνα(γέγραπται) διὰ Πνε(φερωτος) (?) νομ(ογράφου) Ἀπιάδος.



1. P.Mich. inv. 4299. Image published courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection

4-5 [Σωτηρίχου] | τοῦ Διονυσίου: The name of the lender is restored from l. 15. The name Soterichos is found in the archive as Marsisouchos' antagonist in *P.Col.* 8.209 and *P.Mert.* 1.8 + *P.Mil.* 2.43 (3 CE), in the unpublished petition *P.Mich. inv.* 4438f (14-37 CE), and finally as the tax collector in *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.10 (45 CE), but none can be identified with this son of Dionysios.

5 [ἐπισήμου]: κεφαλαίου could also be supplied.

6 ἄ[ντι τῶν τούτων τόκων]: Supplied in reference to l. 16, which requires Esersythis and Harthotes to return the principal upon completion of the contract.

7 ἱμα[εισ]μοῦ: The iotacistic spelling is supplied for reasons of space.

8 Μαρσί[σ]ουχον: A superfluous stroke was written before the *iota*, making it look prong-shaped (cf. the more horizontal stroke before the *iota* of υἱοῦ, l. 3). Marsisouchos' precise age cannot be determined. *P.Oslo* 2.32.2 lists him as 35 in 1 CE, which would make him about 16 years old here, although allowance should be made for age rounding in the Oslo papyrus.

– After the month name we expect ἐνεστῶτος or εἰσιόντος, along with the corresponding year, either ἑνδεκάτου or δωδεκάτου.

11-12 διαδρίβ[ο]ντα (l. διατρίβοντα) καὶ ποιῶντα τὰ ἐπ[ι]τασσόμενα (l. ἐπιτασσόμενα): This pair of stipulations is commonly found in early Roman service and apprenticeship contracts: 3.16-17 (Theadelphia, 7 CE); 4.11 and 30 (Theadelphia, 9 CE); *P.Mich.* 10.587.12 (Tebtynis, ca. 24/25 CE); *P.Mich.* 5.355.2 (copy: *PSI* 8.902, Tebtynis, ca. 48-56 CE).

12 πάντα τ. [ ... ]: πάντα τὰ is possible, but this would be unexpected after [τὰ ἐπ[ι]τασσόμενα. In *P.Mich.* 5.355.2, mentioned in the previous note, καὶ ὑφαίνοντα comes in this position, so perhaps some other task besides general service was specified (cf. next note).

12-13 [κατὰ τὴν] κόμην καὶ συνακολουθοῦ[ν]τα: The order of these elements is reversed elsewhere: συνακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῶι | πανταχῇ κατὰ τὸν ὑ[ο]μόν (4.12-13); ἀλλὰ καὶ συνακ[λ]ουθοῦσα αὐτῶι | πανταχῇ κατ' [A]ἴγυπτον (*P.Mich.* 10.587.15-16, Tebtynis, ca. 24/25 CE); συν[α]κολουθοῦντα αὐτῶ κατὰ τὸν | νομόν (*P.Oslo* 3.141.10-11 with *BL* 3:127, Karanis, 50 CE); ἀλλὰ καὶ συνακολουθῶν αὐτῶι κατὰ τὸν νομόν πανταχῇ (*P.Mich.* 5.355.11 with *BL* 3:115 and 9:160 [copy: *PSI* 8.902], Tebtynis, ca. 48-56 CE). The lacuna may have contained a verb with similar meaning to συνακολουθεῖν or a specific task that was to be performed κατὰ τὴν κόμην.

13-14 [καὶ οὐ] | γινώμενον ἀπόκοιτον ο[ὐδ' ἀφήμερον]: A correction was attempted in γινώμενον, perhaps by writing an *omicron* over the first *nu*. The end of the line is effaced and the reading uncertain. ἀπόκοιτον μη[δ' ...] can also be considered, as a reader has suggested.

17-18 [καὶ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας] | ἦς ἐὰν ἀτακτῆσι κς . ι . . [ca. 14]: The letter after *iota* at the end of the line looks most like *mu*. Parallel passages either list other possible reasons for missing work (e.g. ἀτακτῆσι ἢ ἀρρωστίῃ, SB 22.15538.8, Alexandria, 13 BCE) or go on to stipulate that the missed days are to be made up for at the end of the contract (e.g. ὅσας δ' ἂν ὁ παῖς ἀτακτῆσι ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὰς ἴσας αὐτὸν παρέξεται ..., P.Oxy.Hels. 29.33-34, Oxyrhynchus, 54 CE).

19-20 [... ἀλλή]λων ἔνγυοι εἰς ἔκ[τισ]ειν: The lacuna before ἀλλήλων contains space for about 14 letters; ὄντες or καὶ ἐσμεν should probably be supplied, but neither completely fills the lacuna. Normally the reference to mutual surety comes immediately after the identification of the two or more borrowers, but cf. SB 14.11933.40 (Tebtynis, 27 BCE), P.Tebt. 2.384.12 (Tebtynis, 10 CE), SB 10.10222.15 (Oxyrhynchus, 20 CE), SB 20.14394.13 (Hermopolis, 23 CE), and SB 14.11491.19 (Oxyrhynchus, 59 CE).

20 A *praxis* clause perhaps concluded this line.

21 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ(ν) Τε[ ...]: αὐτῶν is required, but the shape of the *upsilon* would be unusual for this hand. For the *tau* of Τε[ ...], cf. ἀτακτῆσι, l. 18.

## 2. Work Contract

P.Mich. inv. 4436g+4344	Fr. 1: 7.5 x 10 cm	Written: Theadelphia (?)
Acquired in 1925 <sup>55</sup>	Fr. 2: 17.5 x 10.3 cm	Found: Theadelphia 12/11 BCE

Two fragments of medium-brown papyrus, one broken off at the bottom and one at the top and right. They belong to the same document, but they do not physically join and should be placed one above the other. The amount lost between them is not certain. The writing in the left quarter of the upper fragment is effaced. The fragments preserve the body contract, part of the registration docket, and the subscription to a contract. The upper and the left margins are ca. 1 cm. The text is written on the upper half of the writing surface, leaving

<sup>55</sup> Both fragments come from the same miscellaneous group of purchases as 1 and 3: see n. 53.



νος διὰ τὸ μὴ <εἰ>δέναι αὐτὸν γράμ[ματα.]

=

2 ηρακλειδ<sup>η</sup>, ηρακλειδο<sup>η</sup> pap. 4-5 l. ὀπηνίκα 5 ηρακλει<sup>δ</sup> pap. 7 ιθ L pap. 12 l. θεριῶ ὀπηνίκα, παραγγέλλη 13 l. ἡμερῶν, τοῦ 15 l. ἐκτίσω 16 l. δραχμὴν, καθότι 17 l. αὐτοῦ 18 διατομηδεναι pap.

Body contract: “Harthotes son of Marres, Persian of the *epigone*, [ ... ] to Herakleides, son of Herakleides that he has received from him the salaries for reaping for ten workers, whom he will put to work reaping whenever Herakleides orders him [for] two days of the present 19th year of Caesar.”

Registration docket: “[Year 19] of Caesar [ ... ]”

Subscription: “I, Harthotes son of Marres, Persian of the [*epigone*], acknowledge that I have received from Herakletes, [son of Herakleides,] the salaries for reaping for ten workers, whom I will put to work reaping whenever he orders me [for] two days of the present nineteenth year of Caesar. If I do not do this, I will pay for each worker one drachma, as written above. Pe[ ... ], son of [ ... ]n, has written on his behalf since he does not know letters.”

1 . . . [ ... ]: One expects the verb ὁμολογεῖ here, but neither the space (even though an abbreviated form of the verb such as ὁμολ(ογεῖ) is possible) nor the surviving traces of letters provide any certainty about this reading.

3-4 θερισμοῦ | ἐργαζῶν δέκα: Cf. *P.Coll.Youtie* 1.24.29 (121/122? CE): θερισ[μ]οῦ ἐργ(άταις). Seven workers working in reaping are mentioned in *P.Sarap.* 79.2.10 (90-133 CE), eleven in *P.Mil.Vogl.* 6.277.15-18 (Tebtynis, II CE), seven and nineteen in *P.Mil.Vogl.* 7.305.113-115 (II CE), and two to ten in *SB* 12.10922 (169-170 CE). For the organization of harvest labor in mid-third-century Theadelphia, see Rathbone (n. 32) 155-165.

4 οὓς καὶ θεριεῖ: Cf. ll. 11-12: οὐ[ς καὶ] | θεριῶν. The future tense of the verb θερίζω, “reap,” is θεριῶ. In l. 4 the third person future indicative is used, while in l. 12 the form θεριῶν is not the participle, but a mistake for θεριῶ, first person indicative. For the volitive use of the future tense in agreements see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, 186-187, and for the future indicative in the relative clauses to express the terms of an action see id., 195. For the addition of a superfluous final *nu* (cf. the same feature in the following word ὀπηνίκαν) see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:113. The literal translation of the phrase ἐργάτας ... οὓς καὶ θεριεῖ is “workers... whom he will reap,” but actually what the scribe wants to declare is “workers ... whom he will put to work reaping” or “workers ... who will reap.” Either θεριεῖ is used as a causative active or there is inverse



attraction of the relative pronoun and third person singular instead of the third person plural (instead of οἱ καὶ θεριοῦσι).

4-5 ὀπη|νίκαν ἑάν: Cf. l. 12. The word division and interpretation can be either ὀπηνίκα {ν} ἑάν or ὀπηνίκ' {ᾶν} ἑάν.

6 Only the lower parts of two broad or three narrower (or condensed) letters are preserved. In l. 12 the expected word is lost at the end of the line and there the space should accommodate about three letters as well. The two best proposals that can be supported by the traces of letters are either διὰ ἡμερῶν δύο (“for two days”) (cf. διὰ ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων in *BGU* 4.1107.28 [13 BCE], δι' ἡμερῶν ε in *P.Petr.* 2.4 (6).8 and ποτιεῖν δι' ἡμερῶν τριῶν in *P.Tebt.* 3.787.26 [ca. 138 BCE]) or ἕως ἡμερῶν δύο (“until two days”) (cf. *O.Heid.* 3.256.14 [II BCE]). Other proposals such as ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν δύο (cf. *P.Lips.* 1.107.5, 253 CE), εἴσω ἡμερῶν δύο (cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.282 [300 CE] and ἵσω γὰρ ἡμέρας α in *P.Harr.* 2.210.5 [307 CE]), ὥς ἡμερῶν δύο (“as long as two days”), and ἐφ' ἡμερῶν (“for two days”, a mistake instead of ἐφ' ἡμέραις) are not possible readings because the length of these restored words does not fit. Since reaping takes place in April-May, one should expect that these two days were in the month Παχών.

8 ἕ[τους ιθ Καί]σαρος [ ... ]: At the beginning of the line, which is indented relative to the rest of the document, there are two strokes that we take as part of a stylized capital *epsilon*.

10 Ἡρακλήτου τ[οῦ Ἡρακλείδ(ου)]: The form Ἡρακλήτου is either a phonetic variant of Ἡρακλείδου or a mistake for the genitive Ἡρακλήτος. The father's name is probably abbreviated to be accommodated at the end of the line.

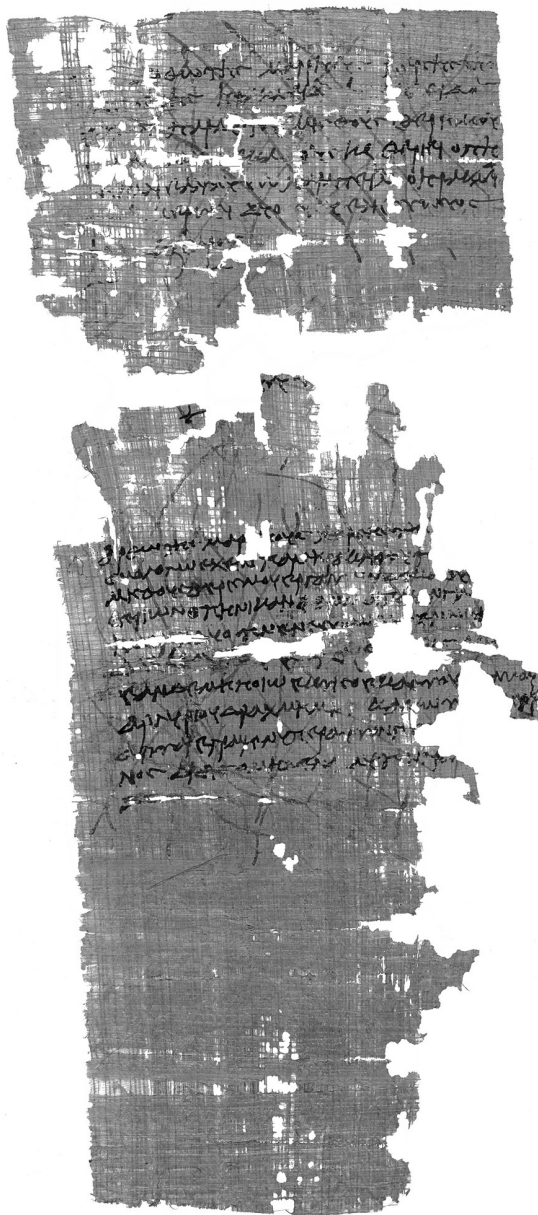
12-13 There is space for about 3 letters at the end of l. 12. Cf. l. 6 n.

14 δεκάτου ἔτους [Κ]αίσαρος: The letters are larger than elsewhere in the subscription, and thus these three words fill the whole line.

15-17 For the penalty clause, see A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig-Berlin 1911) 166-167.

15 ἐκάστου ἐ[ργ]άτου: The use of the simple genitive to denote distribution instead of a prepositional phrase, e.g. κατὰ + accusative (see Smyth, *Grammar*, 380, par. 1690, 2c) or ἀνά + accusative (see Smyth, *Grammar*, 372, par. 1682, 2c), is attested in penalty clauses: cf. *BGU* 4.1121.33 (5 BCE), *P.Fay.* 89.16-17 (Euhemereia, 9 CE), *BGU* 3.710.19 (Arsinoite nome, 146 CE).





2. P.Mich. inv. 4436g+4344. Image published courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection

17-18 The name of the person who signs starts with Πε- (e.g. Πετ[εῦς]) and the genitive of the name of his father ends in -voς (e.g. [ῥΗρω]voς).

18 διὰ τὸ μὴ <εἰ>δέναι: Cf. *P.Vind.Tand.* 24.5 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 45 CE); *BGU* 4.1037 (Karanis, 48 CE); *P.Mich.* 5.306.18 (Kronion archive from Tebtynis, early I CE.); *PSI* 13.1320.23 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 82-88 CE); cf. also *SB* 14.12192.10-11 (= *P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.*, 92-108 CE): ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ψενκῆβικς ὁ υἱὸς διὰ τὸ μὴ δὲν αὐτὸν γράμματα.

### 3. Service Contract for Tahaunes

P.Mich. inv. 4346+4446f

21 x 7.5 cm

Written: Philagris

Acquired in 1925<sup>56</sup>

Found: Theadelphia

15 (or 17) October, 7 CE

Two fragments of medium brown papyrus. The original sheet was folded at least 12 times from top to bottom, creating a series of horizontal panels. If our placement of the fragments is correct, the sixth panel from the top is largely missing, with just a few fibers bridging the gap. The top and left edges are preserved, but the papyrus is broken irregularly at the right and bottom. The top margin is 1.3 cm and the left is 0.5 cm. The document is divided into three sections of writing: an incomplete body contract, a registration, and a subscription. There is a large space of 10.5 cm where the rest of the body contract could have been written. An obscure, one-line notation is written in brownish ink in this space. The three sections of writing were crossed out with the same color ink as this notation. The back is blank.

This *grapheion* contract is a near match in form and content with the better-preserved contract 4, drawn up almost two years later, to which the reader is referred for commentary on the shared terms of these agreements. Harthotes here acknowledges the receipt of cash (the amount is lost) and in exchange provides a female laborer (cf. the participles in ll. 15-18) to work for Theon for two years, feeding olives into the oil press on the estate of Livia and Germanicus in Philagris and doing everything she is ordered. The identity of the female laborer is contained in line 13, which is poorly preserved except for the accusative name ending -ην. The shared terms of 3 and 4, along with the name ending and the fact that Tahaunes is Harthotes' only known female dependent, make us confident that she was the object of this contract as well.

As in 4, the body contract of this text cuts off mid-sentence, although here far less is written. Nevertheless, the registration docket and the cross-hatching

<sup>56</sup> From the same group as 1 and 2: see n. 53.

indicate that the contract was considered valid (see “Form of the Contracts” in the introduction).

- (m.2) ἔτους ἐβδόμου καὶ τριακο[σ]τ[οῦ τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως]  
 θεοῦ υἱοῦ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ἐπ[τακαιδεκάτη Φαῶφι ἑπτα-]  
 καιδεκάτη ἐν Φιλαργίδι τῆς Θε[μιστοῦ μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου]  
 νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Ἀρθώτης Μαρρ[ή]ους ca. 17-22 ]  
 5 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Θέωνι Π[ετερμούθιος ἐλαιουργῶ τοῦ ἐν]  
 Φιλαργίδι Λιβίας καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Κ[αίσαρος οὐσίας ἐλαιουργίου]

6a (m.4) one line of uncertain writing

(m.3) ἔτους λζ Καίσαρος Φαῶφι [ιζ ἐν Φιλαργίδι ἀ(να)γράφεται διὰ . . . ρου]

- (m.1) Ἀρθώτης Μαρρήους Πέρσης τῆς ἐ[πιγονῆς ca. 20 ]  
 ὁμολ[ο]γῶ ἔχιν παρὰ Θέωνος Πετ[ερμούθιος ἐλαιουργοῦ τοῦ ἐν Φιλ-]  
 10 αργίδει Λειβίας καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσ[αρος οὐσίας ἐλαιουργίου]  
 ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου κεφα[λ]ί[ο]ν δραχμ[ᾶς ca. 19  
 ]  
 [ . . . ἀντὶ τούτῳ[ν] καὶ δεόντων καὶ εἰμ[ατισμοῦ παρέξομεν τὴν]  
 [θυγατ]έρα μ[ο]ν Ταρα[υν]ῆν παρ[α]μένουσιν τῷ Θέωνι ἐφ’]  
 [ἔ]τη δύο ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀθὺρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐβδόμου καὶ τριακοστοῦ]  
 15 ἔτους Καίσαρος παρενβάλλουσαν [ἐπὶ τοῦ δηλουμένου ἐλαιουρ-]  
 γίου ἅμα δὲ καὶ διατρίβουσα[ν] καὶ π[ρο]ιοῦσαν πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασ-]  
 [σόμεν]α οὐ γινομένη ἀπόκο[ι]τον [οὐδ’ ἀφήμερον ἀλλὰ καὶ]  
 [συνακολ]οῦθουσαν αὐτῷ παν[ταχῇ κατὰ τὸν νομὸν (?)]  
 [ . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . αλ[φ] . . . ] ca. 30 ]  
 20 μετὰ τὸν χρόνον . . . [ ca. 30 ]  
 γὰ τὸν προκείμενον [ ca. 34 ]  
 . . . [ . . . ] . [ ca. 38 ]  
 -----

9 l. ὁμολογῶ, ἔχειν 10 l. Λιβίας 11 l. κεφαλαίου 15 l. παρενβάλλουσαν 15-16 l. ἐλαιουργῶ 16 l. διατρίβουσαν 17 l. γινομένην 19 l. ἱματιζομένην 21 l. προκείμενον

Body contract: “In the thirty-seventh year [of the dominion of Caesar,] son of a god, on the [seventeenth] of the month of Apellaios, [seven]teenth of Phaophi, in Philagris of the Themistos [meris of the Arsinoite] nome. Harthotes, son of Marres [ . . . ] Persian of the *epigone*, acknowledges to Theon, [son of

Petermouthis, oilmaker of the [oil mill on the estate] of Livia and Germanicus [Caesar] in Philagris.”

Registration docket: “Year 37 of Caesar, Phaophi [17, in Philagris. Registered through NN.]”

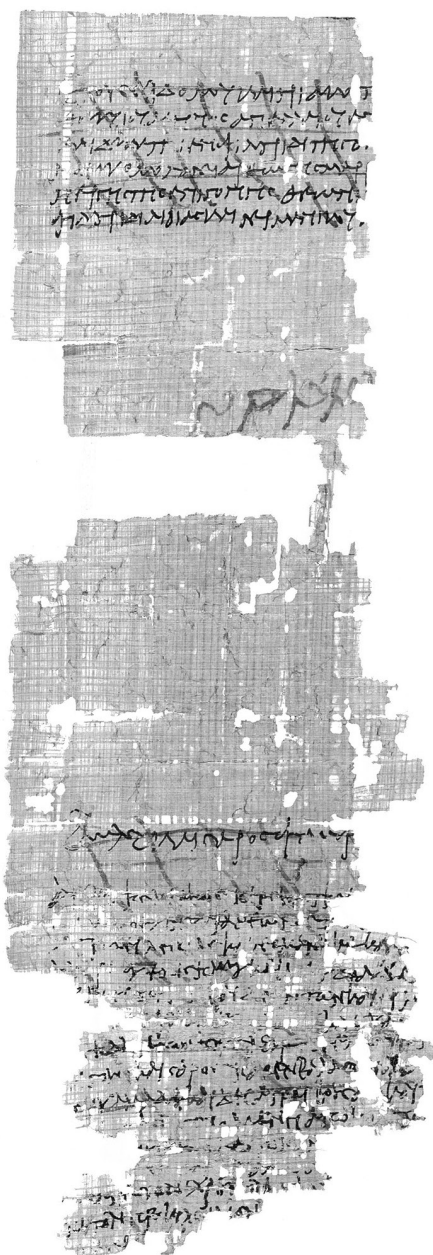
Subscription: “I, Harthotes son of Marres, Persian of the [*epigone* ... ] acknowledge that I have received from Theon, son of Petermouthis, [oilmaker of the oil mill on the estate] of Livia and Germanicus Caesar in Philagris, [ ... ] drachmas of minted silver as a capital sum [ ... ] that in return for these, and for necessities and clothing, [I shall provide my daughter Tahaunes] to remain [with Theon for] two years from the month of Hathyr of the current [thirty-seventh] year of Caesar, feeding olives [at the indicated oil mill,] as well as staying and [doing everything ordered,] not being absent by night [or by day, but following him everywhere throughout the nome (?) ... ] After the period (of the contract) [ ... ] the aforementioned [ ... ]”

2-3 ἐπ[τακαίδεκάτη Φαῶφι ἑπτα]καίδεκάτη: Also possible is ἐν[νεακαίδεκάτη ... ].

4 ὁμολογεῖ Ἀρθώτης Μαρρήους ca. 17-22 ]: One might be tempted to supplement this gap with Harthotes’ age and physical description, but these elements invariably come after the title Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, which appears at the beginning of the next line, and are not usually recorded in early Roman *grapheion* contracts (Wolff [n. 51] 88-90). Further, in the subscription (l. 8), where we would not expect a physical description, there is a space of roughly the same size, this time after Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. Despite the different order, there can be little doubt the same or similar phrases stood in both places. Ideas come to mind – a papponymic, an identification such as δημόσιος γεωργός, a priestly title – but none seems obvious. In parallel positions in 4, there is no such identification.

5-6 These lines are supplemented from 4.4-5.

6a One line containing 4 or 5 crudely-formed letters is written in the blank space between the unfinished body contract and the registration. The ink has a brownish hue, similar to that of the cross-hatching, and thus may have been written at the time of the contract’s cancellation. It is not clear to us which way these letters should be read. If right-side up, a crudely formed Γερμ . [ ... ] comes to mind, perhaps the beginning of Γερμα[νικοῦ οὐσίας]. It seems a bit more convincing to read the letters upside-down compared to the writing of the contract, in which case [ ... ] . . κιδιν can be read, perhaps



3. P.Mich. inv. 4346+4446f. Image published courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection

σακίδιν = σακκίδιον? The spelling σακίδιν is found in *P.land.* 8.148 v° 5 (Arsinoite [?], II CE).

7 The registration is written in the same hand as 4.20 and thus was presumably registered through the same notary. Cf. 4.20 n.

8 Πέρσης τῆς ἐ[πιγονῆς ca. 20 ]: Cf. l. 4 n.

13 [θυγατ]έρᾱ μ[ο]υ Τᾱᾱ[υν]ῆν: The descender of what we take as *rho* is clear, as is the name ending. The reading is largely supposition, however. Harthotes' daughter Tahaunes is known elsewhere from 4 (10 CE) and *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.7 (38 CE), and was as young as six years when this contract was drawn up (see n. 35).

14 [ἔ]τη δύο ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀθύρ: The service was to begin on the first of Hathyr, about two weeks after the contract was drawn up.

15 παρενβάλλουσαν: Cf. 4.10 n.

15-16 [ἐπὶ τοῦ δηλουμένου ἐλαιουρ]|γίον: The body contract of 4 has ἐν τῷ δηλουμένῳ ἐλαιουργίῳ (l. 10), but genitives appear in the subscription, l. 29: [ἐπὶ τοῦ] δηλουμένου ἐλαιουργείῳ. Here and at 4.29 we have supplied a preposition to accord with the genitives.

18 [κατὰ τὸν νομόν (?)]: So in 4.13 and 33, although the present contract may have contained a different stipulation. Cf. 1.12-13: [κατὰ τὴν] | κώμην.

19 With the exception of a clear *alpha*, only vestiges of ink remain. 4.13-14 has τρεφομένη καὶ ἱματιζομένη ὑ[πὸ] | Θέωνος in this position, but the letters αλ may instead be part of ἀπαλλαγῇ (cf. 4.14).

20 μετὰ τὸν χρόνον: This phrase often introduces the return clause in loans, but here the labor is exchanged for the principal (ἀντὶ τούτων, l. 12; cf. 4.7 and 25 and the lack of return clause in that contract) and thus will not be returned. Probably we are dealing with the compensation for missed working days, which in 4 is a fine of one drachma per day, but in other contracts could take the form of compensatory labor at the contract's conclusion: e.g., καὶ ἂς δὲ ἐὰν ἀτακῇσιν ἢ ἀρρωστήσιν, ἀντιπαρέ[ξω σο]ι αὐτὸν παρα[μένον]τα μετὰ τὸν χ[ρόνον ἐπὶ τὰς ἴσας ἡμέρας] (*SB* 22.15538.8-9, apprenticeship contract, Alexandria, 13 BCE).

4. *Service Contract for Tahaunes*P.Mich. inv. 931 + *P.Col.* 10.249     32 x 11.5 cmAcquired in 1922 and 1923<sup>57</sup>

Written: Philagris

Found: Theadelphia

4 April, 10 CE

This medium brown papyrus has parts of the top (1.6 cm), left (1.2 cm) and bottom (2.5 cm) margins intact. No right margin is preserved and a small amount of text is lost at the line endings, but never more than nine characters. A small, rectangular piece broke off from the lower left corner of the sheet, ended up in the Columbia collection, and was published as *P.Col.* 10.249. When the two pieces are combined, the original sheet is nearly complete. A regular pattern of damage is visible near the left and right edges of the upper half of the document, suggesting that the top portion containing the body contract was rolled up at one time. The *recto* contains three sections in three different hands: the incomplete contract body, the one-line registration, and the subscription. There is a space of 8.5 cm between the incomplete body contract and registration. All three hands are proficient cursives: the body hand is small and cramped, with *phi* and *rho* extending far above and below the other letters; the registration is written in a larger hand, with long ascenders and descenders; the subscription hand is medium-sized and heavily ligatured, and similar to that of another text in the archive, *P.Oslo* 2.32 (sublease of public land, 1 CE: the hand of the main body of the contract, designated “1st hand” in the *editio princeps*). All three sections of the contract are cancelled with diagonal cross-hatching, and in several places large ink blots were produced through overly exuberant cross strokes. Almost all other contracts in the archive produced during Harthotes’ lifetime are cancelled, and some evince similar blotting (e.g. *P.Gen.* 2.89, *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.4, and *P.Oslo* 2.32). The *verso* contains a docket outlining the contents of the contract and is written upside down compared to the text on the front. We have not seen the *verso* of *P.Col.* 10.249; the *ed. pr.* reports that “the back is blank, although so much is lost that a docket could originally have stood on the lost part of the back.”

The present contract is drawn up under similar terms to 3, with a start date of Pachon 1, precisely six months after the expiration of the previous contract. Harthotes acknowledges receipt of 80 drachmas from the oilmaker Theon and in exchange offers his daughter Tahaunes, now about eight years old (see n. 35), to work on the imperial estate of Livia and Germanicus for a period of two and a half years. Her principal task is to feed olives into the oil press, but she must

<sup>57</sup> Both fragments were acquired through the Anglo-American consortium, the Michigan fragment in 1922 and the Columbia fragment in 1923.



also do everything ordered of her and follow Theon wherever he might travel in the nome. She is to be provided food and clothing by Theon while living with him in Philagris. The penalty clause beginning in l. 17 breaks off mid-sentence, but we can get an idea of how it would have been completed by comparison with the parallel clause from *P.Mich.* 10.587 (see notes). Despite the state of incompleteness, the contract was marked as registered by the *grapheion* notary (see “Form of the Contracts” in the introduction).

In the transcription below vertical bars mark the break between the Columbia and Michigan fragments in lines 20-37.

- (m.2) [ἔτο]υς ἐνάτου κα[ὶ τριακοστ]ο[ῦ] τῆς Καίσαρ[ο]ς κρατήσεως  
θεοῦ υἱο[ῦ]  
[μηνὸς] Δα[ι]σίου [ἐνάτη] Φαρμοῦθι ἐνάτη ἐν Φιλαγρίδι τῆς Θε-  
μισ[το]υ μερ[ί]δος [τοῦ Ἀρ]σινό[ι]τ[ο]υ νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Ἀρθώτ[η]ς  
[Μα]ρρήους [ . . ] . . . . [ . . ] . [ . . ] . . . . [ . . . Θέ]ωνι  
Πετερμούθιος ἐλα[ιουρ-]  
5 [γῶ]ι τοῦ ἐν Φιλαγρίδι Λιβίας καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος [ο]ύσιας  
ἐλ[αιουργίου]  
[ἔ]χειν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀργυ[ρί]ου ἐπ[ι]σήμου κεφαλίου δραχμὰς  
ὀγδ[οήκοντα]  
καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦτων παρ[έ]ξεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Ταυνὴν  
παραμ[έ-]  
νουν τῷ Θέωνι ἐφ’ [ἔ]τη δύο καὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἀπὸ μηνὸς  
Παχῶν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐνάτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος  
10 παρεμβ[ά]λλουσαν ἐν τῷ δηλουμένῳ ἐλαιουργίῳ ἅμα δὲ κ[αὶ]  
[δι]ατρίβουσαν καὶ ποι[ο]ῦσαν τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα πάντα οὐ  
γινομ[ένην]  
ἀπόκοιτον οὐδ’ ἀφήμερον ἀλλὰ καὶ συνακλουθοῦσαν αὐτῷ  
πανταχῇ κατὰ τὸν ν[ο]μὸν τρεφομένη καὶ ἱματιζομένη ὑπὸ  
Θέωνος. ἐκάστης δὲ ἡμέρας ἥς ἐὰν ἀπαλλαγῇ ἐντὸς τοῦ  
15 χρόνου ἐκτίσι δραχμὴν μίαν. μὴ ἐξέστωι οὖν τῷ Ἀρθώτῃ  
ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόν[ο]υ ἃ[ποσ]πᾶν τὴν θυγατέρα μηδ’ αὐτὴν ἀπαλ[λα-]  
[γῇ]ναι. ἐὰν δ’ ἀποσπᾶσωσι ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ θυγάτηρ ἀπαλλαγῇ ἢ κλέ-  
[π]τουσα ἢ καταβλάπτουσα ἢ νοσφιζομένη ἀλίσκηται τ[ι] τῶν  
[Θ]έωνος

*vacat*

- 20 (m.3) ἔτους λθ Καίσαρ[ο]ς Φαρμοῦθι ἧ ἐν Φιλαγρίδι  
ἀ(ναγέγραπται) διὰ . . . ρου

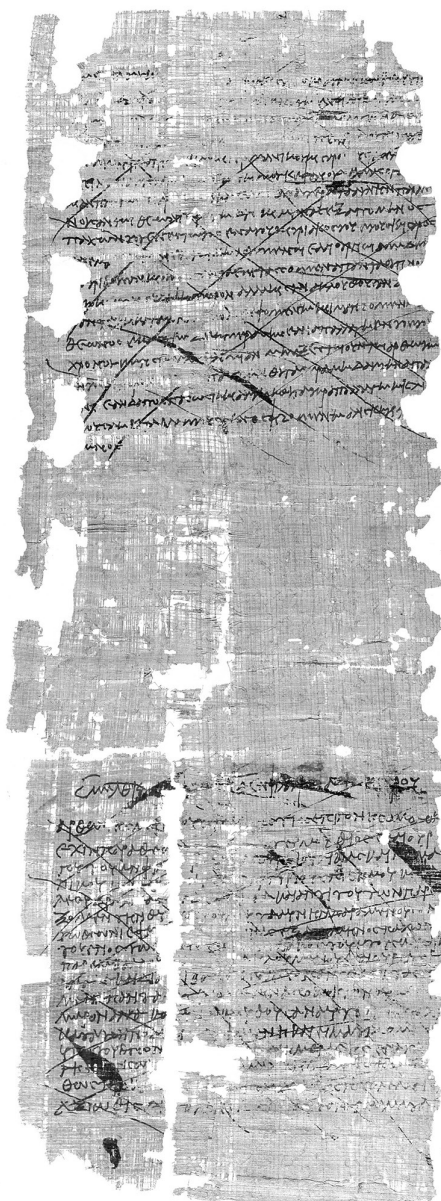
- (m.1) Ἀρθώτης Μαρρή|ους Πέρ[σ]ης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὁμολογῶ  
 ἔχιν παρὰ Θεῶν|υ[ος τοῦ Π]ετερμούθιος ἐλαιοϋρ-  
 γοῦ τοῦ ἐν Φιλ|[αγ]ρ[ί]δι ἐλαιουργίου Λιβίας καὶ Γερμα-  
 νικοῦ Καίσαρος|[ς] οὐσίας ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου κεφα-  
 25 λείου δραχμᾶς | [δ]οσὶ κόντα καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων παρέ-  
 ζομεν τὴν θυ|[γ]ατέρα μου Ταουνὴν παραμένουσαν  
 τῷ Θεῶν ἐφ' ἔτ[η] δύο καὶ μ[ή]νας ἕξ ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παχῶν  
 τοῦ ἐνοστωτ|[ος] ἐνάτ[ο]υ [κα]ὶ τριακοστοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος  
 παρεμβάλλου|[σαν ἐπὶ τοῦ] δηλουμένου ἐλαιουργεῖου,  
 30 ἅμα δὲ καὶ δια|[τρ]ίβου[σ]αν καὶ πυοῦσαν τὰ ἐπιτασ[σ]ό-  
 μενα πάντα | [οὐ] γινομένην ἀπόκοιτον οὐδ' ἀ[φ]ή-  
 μερον ἀλλὰ κα|[ὶ] συνακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῷ πανταχῇ  
 κατὰ τὸν νομ|[δ]ὲν [τρ]ε[φ]ομένη καὶ εἰματιζομένη  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεῶν|[ος, ἐκάστης] δὲ ἡμέρας ἥς ἐὰν ἀπαλ[λα-]  
 35 γῇ ἐκτίσω δι|[ραχμῇ]ν μίαν καὶ τ[ὰ] ἄλλα ποιήσω κ[α]-  
 θὼς πρόκ|[ι]ται. ἔγρ(αψεν) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου  
 ἀξιωθὲς δι|[ὰ] τὸ μὴ εἰδ[έ]ν[αι] αὐτὸν γράμματα.

## Verso

[ὁμολογία] παραμ(ο)νο(ν) κορασί(ου) εἰς (ἔτη) β μ(ήνας) ς Θεῶν[ι]  
 [Πετερμούθιος] ὑ[π]ὸ Ἀρθώτου Μαρρήους.

6 l. κεφαλαίου 12 l. συνακολουθοῦσαν 13 l. τρεφομένην, ἱματιζο-  
 μένην 15 l. ἐκτείσει, ἐξέστω 21 ομολογ<sup>ω</sup> pap. 22 l. ἔχειν 24-25 l.  
 κεφαλαίου 28 l. ἐνεστώτος, καισαρ<sup>ς</sup> pap. 29 l. ἐλαιουργίου 30 l.  
 ποιούσαν 32 l. συνακολουθοῦσαν 33 l. τρεφομένην, ἱματιζομένην 37 l.  
 ἀξιωθεῖς 38 παραμ<sup>ο</sup>, μ<sup>ς</sup> pap.

Body contract: "In the [thirty]-ninth year of the dominion of Caesar, son of a god, [on the ninth of the month] Daisios, ninth of Pharmouthi, in Philagris [of the Themistos meris of the Arsinoite] nome. Harthotes, son of Marres, [Persian of the *epigone* (?)], acknowledges to Theon, son of Petermouthis, oil maker of the oil mill on the estate of Livia and Germanicus Caesar in Philagris, that he has received from him eighty drachmas of minted silver as a capital sum and in return for these he will provide his daughter Tahaunes who will remain with Theon for two years and six months from the month of Pachon of the present thirty-ninth year of Caesar, feeding olives at the indicated oil mill as well as staying and doing everything that is ordered, not being absent by night or by day, but following him everywhere throughout the nome, being fed and clothed by Theon. And for each day on which she is absent within the



4. P.Mich. inv. 931 + P.Col. 10.249. Image published courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection and the Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York

period he will pay one drachma. So it shall not be permissible for Harthotes to remove his daughter within the period nor for her to leave. If they remove her or the daughter herself leaves or she is caught stealing or damaging or removing anything belonging to Theon”

Registration docket: “Year 39 of Caesar, Pharmouthi 9, in Philagris. Registered through NN.”

Subscription: “I, Harthotes, son of Marres, Persian of the *epigone*, acknowledge that I have received from Theon, son of Petermouthis, oil maker of the oil mill on the estate of Livia and Germanicus Caesar in Philagris eighty drachmas of minted silver as a capital sum and in return for these I shall provide my daughter Tahaunes to remain with Theon for two years and six months from the month of Pachon of the present thirty-ninth year of Caesar, feeding olives at the indicated oil mill as well as staying and doing everything that is ordered, [not] being absent by night or by day, but following him everywhere throughout the nome, being fed and clothed by Theon. And for [each] day on which she is absent I shall pay one [drachma] and I shall do the other things as aforesaid. Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, was asked and [wrote for him] because he is illiterate.”

*Verso*: “[Contract] of *paramone* of a girl for two years, six months for Theon [son of Petermouthis] by Harthotes son of Marres.”

2 ἐν Φιλαγρίδι: Philagris (TM, geoID 1766) has been identified with modern day Hamuli. If this identification is correct, Tahaunes was living about 10 km southeast of her home in Theadelphia. For more on Philagris see W. Clarysse and B. Van Beek, “Philagris, Perkethaut and Hermoupolis: Three Villages or One?” *ZPE* 140 (2002) 195-200.

4 [Μα]ρρήους [ . . . ] . . . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . . . . Θέ]ωνι Πετερμούθιος: Only vestigial traces remain of most of this line, with the first thing readable being Theon’s patronymic. At the beginning of the line, Harthotes’ patronymic can be surmised, rather than read, after which there is just about the right amount of space for the expected Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. In neither this contract nor 3 are ages and personal descriptions given: cf. Wolff (n. 51) 88-90.

– [Θέ]ωνι Πετερμούθιος: This individual cannot be identified in other documents besides 3.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The comment at *P.Col.* 10.249.3 n. that a Theon is known from the archive of Harthotes is due to a misreading of Casanova’s table (1975, 142); *P.Fay.* 45 is not in fact part of the Harthotes archive.

5 [Λι]βίας καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος [ο]ύσιας: This jointly owned imperial estate is also attested in *P.NYU* 2.3 (Arsinoite, 5 CE) and *P.Lond.* 2.445 (p. 166) (Bakchias, 14-19 CE), and passed to Germanicus' children after his death in 19 CE: *SB* 20.14314 (Tebtynis, 26 CE), *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.6 (Theadelphia, 26 CE), and *SB* 14.11335 (Philadelphia, 26 CE). See G.M. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (1978) 17. Besides the olive groves implied by the present document, the estate also included acanthus gardens and papyrus marshes, as we learn from the concession granted to Harthotes in *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.6.

7 Ταουνήν: Harthotes' daughter appears elsewhere in **3** and *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.7, as well as in the unpublished contract *P.Mich. inv.* 4319 (25 CE). Her name (spelled Ταφουνής in the Milan papyrus) is an onomastic *unicum*, although the second element is found as the common male name Ἀυνής, which corresponds to Egyptian *Hwn*, "(divine) youth." Tahaunes' name (\**Ta-Hwn*, "the one of the (divine) youth") finds its male counterpart in *Pa-Hwn* from an inscription in the Isis temple of Aswan (*I.Syene* 1.263.1).<sup>59</sup>

10 παρεμβ[ά]λλουσιν ἐν τῷ δηλουμένῳ ἐλαιουργίῳ: Cf. **3**.15-16 and *P.Fay.* 91.15-19 (Euhemereia, 99 CE): ἐπάνα[γ]κον οὖν παρεμβαλεῖν τὴν Θενετκουεῖν ἐν [τ]ῷ ὑ[π]άρχοντι τῷ Λουκίῳ Βελλήνῳ Γεμέλ[λ]φ [ἐν] Εὐημερεῖα ἐλαιουργίῳ | ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας [ἐ]ὰν [α]ὐτῇ παρανγε[ί]λῃ ἐλαϊκούς | καρπούς ἐκπεπτωκότας (*l. ἐκπεπτωκότας*). The precise meaning of the verb παρεμβάλλω is unclear, although we agree with Grenfell and Hunt that it "is clearly a technical term for some process in the manufacture of oil commonly performed by women" (*P.Fay.* 91.6 n.). *P.Fay.* 91 goes on to relate that the woman Thenetkoueis is to be paid the same daily wage as "similar" workers in the village,<sup>60</sup> and the petition from an oil worker *P.Ryl.* 2.128.7-10 refers to a woman or girl under *paramone* as ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ | οὕσα ὑποσύγγραφος Σουήρις | Ἀρσύθμιος παρεμβάλλουσα. A further reference to such a *paramone* arrangement is *P.Mich.* 2.123 r<sup>o</sup> 6.7: ὁμο(λογία) Ταρνῶτος πρὸς(ς) Ψενκῆβ(κιν) παραμονῆ(ς) παρεμβλ( ). As for the meaning of the term παρεμβάλλω, LSJ s.v. offers as a general definition "put in beside or between, insert, interpose." Grenfell and Hunt understood the technical meaning as "to put the olives into the press, to feed the press with olives" (*P.Fay.* 91.6 n., accepted by LSJ s.v. [d.]), but they also translated παρεμβαλεῖν ... [ἐ]λαϊκούς καρπούς ἐκπεπτωκότας quoted above as "carry ... the olive produce," and the participles in ll. 21 and 24

<sup>59</sup> We thank the anonymous reader for drawing our attention to the etymology of the name and Wolfgang Wegner for discussing the names of the archive and supplying us with the reference to *Pa-Hwn*.

<sup>60</sup> *P.Fay.* 91.22-25: λαμβάνουσα παρὰ τοῦ Λουκίου | Βελλήνου τὸν ἡμερήσιον μισθὸν ὡς | ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων παρεμβαλλουσῶν ἐν | τῇ κώμῃ.

as “carrier(s).” The editors of *P.Ryl.* 2.128 offer “olive-carrier” for the participle. Given that the work is said to be performed “in” or “at” the olive press, we have understood the term as “feeding olives into the press.”

11 [δι]ατρίβουσιν καὶ ποι[ο]ῦσιν τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα πάντα: Cf. 1.11-12 n.

11-12 οὐ γινομένην | ἀπόκοιτον οὐδ’ ἀφήμερον: Tahaunes’ residence in Philagris during the period of this contract explains her absence from Harthotes’ census declaration of January, 12 CE (SB 20.14440).

12-13 συνακολουθοῦσαν (l. συνακολουθοῦσαν) α[ὐ]τῶι | πανταχῇ κατὰ τὸν νόμον: “Following him everywhere throughout the nome,” rather than “according to the law” (κατὰ τὸν νόμον), as parallel examples like *P.Mich.* 10.587.15-16 (Tebtynis, ca. 24/25 CE) show: ἀλλὰ καὶ συνακ[λ]ουθοῦσα αὐτῶι | πανταχῇ κατ’ [Α]ἴγυπτον. The phrase has been restored at 3.18. Cf. 1.12-13, which has [κατὰ τὴν] | κόμην, and the further examples cited there. The spelling ἀκολουθ- for ἀκολουθ- (cf. l. 32) is common, as noted in *P.Mich.* 10.587.15 n. and *PSI* 8.901.14 n., but most examples are confined to the first century of Roman rule (29 of 37 in a DDBDP search, 7 June 2016).

17 ἀποσπάσῃσι: The switch to a plural verb perhaps hints that another person went to the *grapheion* with Harthotes. Cf. also the plural παρέξομεν in the subscription (l. 26).

17-18 κλέ[π]τουσα: The *kappa* is formed just like that of ἀλίσκῃται in the next line, and a superfluous ligature connects it to *lambda* (such superfluous strokes are found through the body contract; cf. e.g. χρόνου, l. 15). Just before the break, a vertical stroke and traces of a diagonal can be seen, which are consistent with *epsilon* (cf. ἐκτίσι, l. 15).

17-19 ἐὰν δ’ ἀποσπάσῃσι ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπαλλαγῇ ἢ κλέ[π]τουσα ἢ καταβλάπτουσα ἢ νοσιζομένη ἀλίσκῃται [τῇ τῶν] | [Θ]έωρος: The penalty clause cuts off in the midst of the protasis. Until this point, it closely follows *P.Mich.* 10.587.18-21, which was read as ἐὰν δὲ ἀποσπάσῃσι καὶ αὐτὴ (l. αὐτὴ) ἐκούσα | ἀπαλλαγῇ ἢ ἀλλ[ως] παραβῶσι τι τῶν προγεγραμμέν(ων) | ἢ α . η . . . ου[σ]α ἢ καταβλάπτουσι (l. καταβλάπτουσα) ἢ νοσιζομένη (l. νοσιζομένη) | ἀλίσκῃται τῶν [Α]ρμύσιος ἢ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ . . . For the uncertain word, N. Lewis offered ἀποκλέπτουσα in comparison with ἀπόκλεμμα in l. 29 (*BL* 7:114), but without the benefit of testing his reading against an image. Based on our examination of the papyrus and considering the parallel here, we think that -κλέπτουσα is likely, but there are about 5-6 letters preceding this, with the first being *alpha*.

18-19 ἀλίσκεται τ[ι τῶν] | [Θ]έωνος: *P.Mich.* 10.587.20-21 has simply ἀλίσκεται τῶν [Α]ρμιύσιος, but there is room for the expected object and the following article here.

20 ἀ(να)γράφται διὰ . . . ρου: Abrasion and cross strokes of the later cancellation have obscured the notary's name. The registration is written in the same hand as 3.7 and therefore the two documents were probably drawn up through the same notary.

29 [ἐπὶ τοῦ] δηλουμένου ἐλαιουργείου: The body contract has ἐν τῷ δηλουμένῳ ἐλαιουργίῳ (l. 10). Here we have supplied a preposition to accord with the genitives. Cf. 3.15-16.

34 [ἐκάστης] δὲ ἡμέρας κτλ. introduces the penalty clause, which stipulates the usual fine of one drachma per day of work missed. At this point the wording of the contract diverges from Harthotes and Theon's previous agreement in 7 CE (3), which has the phrase μετὰ τὸν χρόνον around this position, perhaps indicative of a penalty in the form of compensatory labor. Cf. 3.20 n.

38-39 The *verso* contains a two-line docket identifying the contract. We have not seen the *verso* of *P.Col.* 10.249, but it was reported to be so effaced that no writing was visible (see description above).

38 κοράσι(ου): Although here used of a free girl, the term κοράσιον is most often used in the papyri for slave girls up to about the age of 20: so in the slave sales *P.Turner* 22 (142 CE; ten-year-old girl), *BGU* 3.887 (151 CE; 12-year-old girl), and *BGU* 3.913 (206 CE; 20-year-old girl). Among more contemporary documents, the term is likewise used for slave girls in *P.IFAO* 2.24 (30 BCE-14 CE) and *P.Stras.* 1.79 (16-15 BCE), as it was already in the Ptolemaic period (e.g., *P.Hamb.* 4.238.24, 159 BCE). The phrase κοράσιον δουλικόν in *P.Stras.* 1.79, however, shows that slave status was not inherent to the term, and it appears to be used of a free girl in *P.Polit.Iud.* 7.37 (134 BCE).<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, what *P.Polit.Iud.* 7 and the more ambiguous case of the girl Herakleia from the

<sup>61</sup> In this document, Dorotheos petitions the Jewish *archontes* to restore his niece to his household. The background (as told by Dorotheos) is that he brought his sick brother-in-law Seuthes into his house and cared for him at his own expense. Later, Philippa, Seuthes' daughter, was arrested and Dorotheos took her in as well. In order to offset the costs of their maintenance, Seuthes "handed Phillipa over to me to be with me" (ll. 12-13). Understandably, Seuthes' wife did not like this arrangement and took her daughter to a family member in another village. In their fragmentary ruling, the *archontes* appear to judge that Philippa, referred to as a κοράσιον in l. 37, is to be returned to Dorotheos.



Sarapieion archive<sup>62</sup> have in common with the present text is that in all cases the κοράσιον has been put into a relationship of dependence that in many ways resembled slavery.

*Appendix: The Harthotes Archive: List of Texts*<sup>63</sup>

No.	Text	Date (BCE / CE)	Contents
1	1 = P.Mich. inv. 4299	20/19 BCE	Service contract
2	2 = P.Mich. inv. 4436g+4344	12/11 BCE	Receipt of wages in advance
3	P.Mich. inv. 4421a	ca. 5 BCE – 9 CE	Loan / advance sale of wine
4	<i>P.Gen.</i> 2.89	6 Jan., 5 BCE	Advance sale of wheat
5	Claytor and Bagnall (n. 2) = P.Mich. inv. 4406a	26 Jan. – 24 Feb., 3 BCE	Census declaration
6	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .4	24 Jan., 2 BCE	Advance sale of wheat
7	SB 20.14098 + P.Mich. inv. 3483	1-11 CE	Petition addressed to <i>strategos</i>
8	SB 20.14099	1-11	Petition addressed to <i>strategos</i>
9	P.Mich. inv. 4437b+4438g+4436c	1-11	Petition addressed to <i>strategos</i>
10	P.Mich. inv. 4430c	1-11 (?)	Petition fragment
11	<i>P.Oslo</i> 2.32	23 Aug., 1	Sublease of public land
12	<i>P.Col.</i> 8.209	11 Oct., 3	Petition addressed to royal scribe
13	P.Mich. inv. 4437c	11 Oct., 3	Petition, copy of previous

<sup>62</sup> The story of Herakleia is found in *UPZ* 1.4 and 5 (=C.*Ptol.Sklav.* 1.83a and b) and the latest discussion is B. Legras, *Les reclus grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis* (Leuven 2011) 134-140.

<sup>63</sup> Claytor is preparing editions of the remaining unpublished papyri. If not available in APIS, images of all the Michigan papyri listed below can be requested from the University of Michigan Papyrology collection.

No.	Text	Date (BCE / CE)	Contents
14	<i>P.Mert.</i> 1.8 + <i>P.Mil.</i> 2.43	11 Oct., 3	Petition, version of previous two
15	3 = P.Mich. inv. 4346+4446f	15 Oct., 7	Service contract
16	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .5	8/9	Advance sale of wheat
17	4 = P.Mich. inv. 931 + <i>P.Col.</i> 10.249	4 Apr., 10	Service contract
18	Claytor, Smith, Warga (n. 2), text 3 = P.Mich. inv. 4187	10-11	<i>Syntaximon</i> receipt
19	<i>P.Mert.</i> 1.9	14-26 Jan. 12	Death notice
20	<i>SB</i> 20.14440	22 (?) Jan., 12	Census declaration
21	<i>P.Princ.</i> 2.23	after 13 Apr., 13	Petition from Harthotes
22	P.Mich. inv. 4298	after 13 Apr., 13	Version of previous
23	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .9	16 Jun., 14	<i>Syntaximon</i> receipt
24	P.Mich. inv. 4438f	14-37	Petition to <i>hegoumenos</i>
25	Claytor, Smith, and Warga (n. 2), text 4 = P.CtYBR inv. 340	24-25	<i>Syntaximon</i> receipt
26	P.Mich. inv. 4319	6 Jan., 25	Loan of money
27	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .6	18 Jun., 26	Papyrus concession
28	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .7	2 Nov., 38	Loan repayment
29	P.Mich. inv. 4444h + 4443a	25 May, 39	<i>Penthemeros</i> certificate
30	P.Col. inv. 11 + <i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .10	43-50	<i>Syntaximon</i> receipts
31	<i>SB</i> 14.11279	16 Sep., 44	Lease of private land
32	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .8	23 May, 48	Advance sale of barley and receipt
33	<i>P.Princ.</i> 2.40	16 Jul., 49	<i>Penthemeros</i> certificate

No.	Text	Date (BCE / CE)	Contents
34	P.Mich. inv. 4415c	16 (?) Jul., 49	<i>Penthemeros</i> certificate
35	SB 6.9560	52/53	<i>Penthemeros</i> certificate
36	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .12	20 Apr., 53	Tax receipts
37	SB 22.15761	25 Dec., 54	Receipt for pig tax
38	<i>P.Mil.</i> 1 <sup>2</sup> .11	26 Mar., 56	<i>Syntaximon</i> receipt
39	<i>P.Mich.</i> 12.654	57-58	<i>Penthemeros</i> certificate
40	<i>P.Mich.</i> 12.655	57-58	<i>Penthemeros</i> certificate
41	SB 22.15759	60/61	<i>Penthemeros</i> certificate

## Four Poll Tax Receipts on Papyrus from the Early-Roman Fayum<sup>1</sup>

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W. Graham Claytor *Universität Basel*,  
Richard G. Warg *Louisiana State University*, and  
Zachary G. Smith *Yale University*

### Abstract

Edition of four poll tax receipts on papyrus from the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, all from the Arsinoite nome. The small corpus of ten such receipts on papyrus from this period is complemented by the far larger number of receipts written on ostraka, which stem primarily from Karanis in the Arsinoite nome and Thebes in Upper Egypt. Together they provide a basis for studying one aspect of the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule.

Our understanding of the Roman poll tax has been bolstered by A. Monson's recent study in this journal, which presents a strong argument for continuity with Ptolemaic capitation taxes.<sup>2</sup> Building off his study of late Ptolemaic and early Roman ostraka from Karanis,<sup>3</sup> Monson argues that the innovation was not so much the poll tax itself, but rather the manner in which it was levied: under Roman rule, the various Ptolemaic capitation taxes were replaced by a single tax, payments were now made in silver drachmas rather than the old bronze drachmas, and the collection was regularized, with a tendency towards monthly installments, rather than the more frequent and seemingly haphazard

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<sup>1</sup> The authors wish to thank Rodney Ast and the anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful advice on this article. Claytor is responsible for the introduction, texts 1 and 2, and the Appendix, Warg for text 3, and Smith for 4.

<sup>2</sup> A. Monson, "Late Ptolemaic Capitation Taxes and the Poll Tax in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 51 (2014) 127-160. Important earlier works on the poll tax include S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 116-134 and 406-418, D. Rathbone, "Egypt, Augustus and Roman Taxation," *CCG* 4 (1993) 81-112 at 86-99, and P. Heilporn, *O.Stras.* 2, pp. 77-87.

<sup>3</sup> A. Monson, "Receipts for sitôñion, syntaxis, and epistatikon from Karanis: Evidence for Fiscal Reform in Augustan Egypt?" *ZPE* 191 (2014) 207-230.

payments under the old regime. Along with the introduction of the census in 11/10 BCE,<sup>4</sup> this fiscal reform made the extraction of capitation taxes – a potentially explosive issue – a more predictable and transparent process for both the state and the provincial population.

All the receipts published below conform to the new pattern of payments by regular installments of silver drachmas. Text 1 is notable largely because of its date in Augustus' 15th year (16/15 BCE): it is the earliest poll tax receipt on papyrus and shows what appears to be a full year's worth of payments in monthly installments of four drachmas. Texts 3 and 4 belong to the archive of Harthotes, a public farmer and priest from the village of Theadelphia (see further Claytor, Litinas, and Nabney in this issue pp. 79-119), and 4 is of particular interest for the enforcement of the upper age limit of liability for the poll tax.

Further insight on the collection of the poll tax comes from Texts 2 (7 CE) and 3 (10/11 CE), which have prompted a reexamination of *P.Fay.* 45 (10-11 CE) and a new reading of *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9 (13/14 CE), discussed in the Appendix. In these four texts, the local tax collector Heraklas is identified not by the usual title of χειριστής, but by ὁ παρά, followed by the name of his superior (a different individual in each case). The two titles are equivalent (both mean “agent” or “assistant”), but the latter of course is more informative about the upper echelons of tax collection in the Arsinoite nome. In two texts, the superiors are given the title δημόσιος τραπεζίτης (Ἀρσινοίτου), while in the two others they are identified respectively as the son of a δημόσιος τραπεζίτης Ἀρσινοίτου and as a gymnasiarch. In all cases, however, we should see them as public bankers based in Arsinoe, who delegated the task of local tax collection to their representative Heraklas.<sup>5</sup>

In the short span of seven years covered by these texts, four different public bankers are attested (Table 1). Whether this reflects frequent turnover among public bankers in the Arsinoite nome at this time, or whether they are members of a college of bankers, we cannot say. In contemporary Thebes, much more information can be found on the operation of the state bank because there it was standard practice to name the responsible banker in tax receipts. R. Bogaert has shown that one or two public bankers were active at a time during Augustus' reign, increasing to three in the period 14-42 CE, and more later on.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> On which see now W.G. Claytor and R.S. Bagnall, “The Beginnings of the Roman Provincial Census: A New Declaration from 3 BCE,” *GRBS* 55 (2015) 637-653.

<sup>5</sup> The early Roman χειρισταί were likewise representatives of the state bank: D. Hagedorn, “Exkurs I: Die Rolle der χειρισταί bei der Steuererhebung im 1./2. Jh. n.Chr.,” *BGU* 20, pp. 93-97.

<sup>6</sup> R. Bogaert, “Banques et banquiers à Thèbes à l'époque romaine,” *ZPE* 57 (1984) 241-296 at 274. For what little is known of Arsinoite public bankers, see R. Bogaert,

They were often career bankers, and Bogaert was able to trace four generations of one banking family, beginning with Kephalos, who was in office between 22/21 and 1 BCE, with the assistance of his son Epikrates for about 15 of those years. While we cannot study the banking personnel in the Arsinoite nome in such detail, it is worth noting that here too the operation of state banks could be a family affair, since the public banker C. Iulius Alexandros followed his father into the profession (see 2 and the Appendix).

A little more can be said about the local agents who actually made the rounds, since they are consistently mentioned in Arsinoite receipts. The four receipts with the  $\delta\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$  formula discussed above were issued by the same local collector, Heraklas, who is attested between 7 and 14 CE and possibly again in 24/25 CE (4). Similarly, the  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  Mysthes, a later contemporary of Heraklas, is attested over a 17-year period in Tebtynis,<sup>7</sup> and, later still, the well-known  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omega\rho$  Nemesion collected money taxes in Philadelpheia over at least a 13-year period. The long careers of these local collectors are typical of the period before tax collection became a liturgical duty with standard three-year terms under Trajan. As long as the taxes were delivered, Roman and local authorities were happy to leave the business of tax collection in the same hands, whether in the public bank of Thebes or in the villages of the Arsinoite nome. From the Archive of Nemesion, we can see that these local collectors in the Fayum were members of the village elite who managed to carve out a profitable enterprise by cooperating with the new imperial power.<sup>8</sup>

Table 1. Poll Tax Receipts on Papyrus, 30 BCE - 37 CE<sup>9</sup>

No.	Text	Date	Village	Tax Collector (title)	Public Banker (title) <sup>10</sup>
1	P.Heid. inv. G 1026 (1)	16-15 BCE	Theadelpheia	N.N. (no title?)	not mentioned

<sup>9</sup> “Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l’Égypte romaine,” *ZPE* 109 (1995) 133-173 at 138-139.

<sup>7</sup> D. Hagedorn, “Zwei Aufträge zur Ausstellung von Kopfsteuerquittungen,” *BASP* 50 (2013) 39-47.

<sup>8</sup> A.E. Hanson, “Village Officials at Philadelphia: A Model of Romanization in the Julio-Claudian Period,” in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (edd.), *Egitto e storia antica dall’ellenismo all’età araba* (Bologna 1989) 429-440.

<sup>9</sup> The two orders to issue poll tax receipts, recently (re)edited by Hagedorn, should be considered together with these receipts: Hagedorn 2013 (n. 7).

<sup>10</sup> The only other public banker known in this period from the Arsinoite nome is Dorion from *P.Tebt.* 2.587 descr. (26 BCE – 5 CE). Cf. Bogaert (n. 6, 1995) 139.

2	BGU 13.2291	6-5	Soknopaiou Nesos	Peutas (χειριστής)	not mentioned
3	BGU 7.1590a and b	6-7 CE	Philadelpheia	a: Romulus (χειριστής) b: Mysthes (λογευτής)	not mentioned
4	P.Mich. inv. 1986 (2)	7	Apias?	Heraklas (ὁ παρά)	Ptolemaios (?) (δημόσιος τραπεζίτης) (cf. #7)
5	P.Fay. 45	10-11	Theadelpheia	Heraklas (ὁ παρά ...)	Tryphon (γυμνασιάρχης) <sup>11</sup>
6	P.Mich. inv. 4187 (3)	10-11	Theadelpheia	Heraklas (ὁ παρά ...)	Syrion (δημόσιος τραπεζίτης Ἀρσινοΐτου)
7	P.Mil. 1 <sup>2</sup> .9	13-14	Theadelpheia	Heraklas (ὁ παρά ...)	C. Iulius Alexandros, s. of Ptolemaios (?) (cf. #4)
8	P.CtYBR inv. 340 (4)	24-25	Theadelpheia	Heraklas (χειριστής)	not mentioned
9	P.Tebt. 2.349	28	Tebtynis	Mysthes (χειριστής)	not mentioned
10	P.Gen. 2.90	36	Soknopaiou Nesos	Soterichos (χειριστής)	not mentioned

### 1. Receipt for Syntaxis<sup>12</sup>

P. Heid. inv. G 1026  
Acquired in 1959<sup>13</sup>

13.5 x 10 cm

Theadelpheia,  
Nov., 16 - Aug., 15 BCE

The papyrus is well preserved at the top but becomes increasingly fragmentary towards the bottom. The first eight lines have a generous left margin of 2.25 cm, while the variable right margin is 0.75 cm in ll. 1-3 and 2 cm in ll. 4-5. A space of 1.5-1.75 cm is left at the top. The receipt is written in at least

<sup>11</sup> See n. 33.

<sup>12</sup> Claytor wishes to thank Andrea Jördens for permission to publish this papyrus and Roger Bagnall for commenting on a draft transcription.

<sup>13</sup> According to Heidelberg's card catalog, the old inventory number of this papyrus was 4002 and it was part of Heidelberg's 1959 purchase made through classicist Ernst Siegmann, on which see R. Seider, "Die Universitäts-Papyrus-sammlung," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 8 (1964) 142-203 at 165.



two hands, whose rather clumsy appearance would be at home among the late Ptolemaic and Augustan receipts on ostraka from Karanis (published in *O.Mich.* 1-4; see now Monson [n. 3]) and can be compared with hand 1 of the poll tax receipt BGU 13.2991 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 6-5 BCE) and the tax list BGU 16.2577 (Herakleopolite nome, 30 BCE-14 CE). The *verso* contains a notation of uncertain purpose. It is written upside down relative to the *recto*, 2 cm from the bottom edge of the sheet. Well above this notation are a few characters that have been erased.

This receipt records a series of payments for the σύνταξις beginning with a four-drachma installment in Hathyr of Augustus' 15th year (28 Oct. – 26 Nov., 16 BCE) and continuing, it seems, with installments of four drachmas each month for the rest of the year. This would total 40 dr., the figure that we know from later documents was due annually for the poll tax on the non-privileged villager class of the Arsinoite nome.<sup>14</sup> A trace in the last preserved line may hint at further charges, such as those that are later bundled together with the poll tax,<sup>15</sup> or another receipt lost at the bottom.

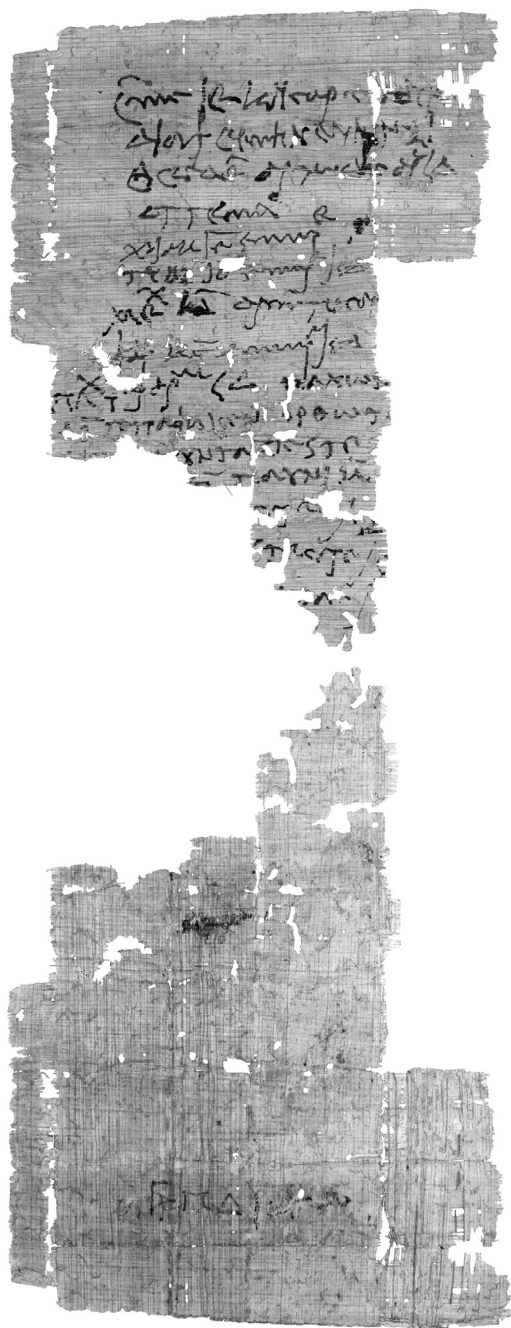
Judging from the inconsistency of the hands from entry to entry, the text appears to have been drawn up over the course of the year as payments were made each month. A different hand is clearly responsible for the entry beginning in the middle of line 9, where the new scribe felt compelled to write out part of the opening payment formula again. This hand seems to continue through line 12. The following lines look more like the first hand, so I have tentatively marked a change at the beginning of line 13, even though this would be in the middle of an entry.

- Recto*    ἔτους ιε Καίσαρος Ἀθὺρ .  
           δια(γε)γρ(άφηκεν) εἰς τὴν σύνταξι(ν)  
           Θεαδελ(φείας) Ἀρτώδης ἀρ(γυρίου) (δρ.) δ  
           δι(ὰ) . ε . . χ . ( )  
 5        Χοιὰκ ιε (δρ.) τέσσαρε(ς)  
           Τῦβι ιθ̄ (δρ.) τέσσαρε(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ  
           Μεχ(εῖρ) κδ̄ δραχμ(ὰς) τέσσαρ[ε(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ]  
           Φαμμ(ενώθ) κς̄ (δρ.) τέσσαρε(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ  
           Παχ(ών) ῑ Φαρμ(ούθι) (δρ.) δ, (m. 2) Παχών [1-2]  
 10      δι(α)γεγράφηκεν Ἀρθώτη[ς]  
           εἰς . [ . ] . συνταξις (δρ.) τέσ[αρε(ς)]  
           [(γίν.) (δρ.) δ, 1-2] . Παν̄νι ιδ̄  
           [(m. 1?) δραχμ(ὰς) τέ]σσαρε(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ [?]

<sup>14</sup> For the rates of various nomes, see Heilporn (n. 2) 80-81.

<sup>15</sup> See Wallace (n. 2) 123 and for examples of this extra charge see 2 and 3 below.





1. P. Heid. inv. G 1026. ©  
Institut für Papyrologie,  
Universität Heidelberg

– Ἀρτώδης: This spelling of the name Harthotes (*Hr-Dḥwtj*, Trismegistos.org, nameID 308) is otherwise unattested. One may consider whether Harthotes is the son of Marres of Theadelphia whose archive is preserved in Michigan, Milan, and elsewhere (cf. 3 and 4), but the lack of patronymic and the different acquisition history of the Heidelberg papyrus stand in the way of this identification.

4 δι(δ) . ε . . χ . ( ) : The name following διά is that of the tax collector, as in *BGU* 7.1590a and b, *P.Tebt.* 2.349, and *P.Gen.* 2.90 listed in Table 1, and commonly in other receipts. He does not seem to have recorded his title, unless the *chi* marks the beginning of χε(ιριστοῦ) or χ(ειριστοῦ). The first letter of the name appears to be *tau* or *gamma*, but *pi* is also possible if it is doing double duty as the left part of *epsilon*. Following the *epsilon* is a series of undulations that is similar to the τεσα of τέσσαρε(ς) in the next line. Above the *chi* appears a squat lunate letter, which at the top meets the descending tail of *rho* from the previous line. This could either be a letter raised in abbreviation or another alphabetic abbreviation like that of the previous line. A possible reading of the name is Τεσσυχ( ), although a female tax collector would be unexpected. One could also consider <Πε>τεσούχο(υ) or Πετεχο( ), but neither reading inspires much confidence.

5 There is one splotch of ink and a small stroke in the blank space at the end of the line.

9 Παχ(ών)̄ Φαρμ(ούθι) (δρ.) δ: Pachon is written in *ekthesis* relative to the preceding lines and the next two lines follow this alignment. The double month here may mean that the payment was booked for the month of Pharmouthi, but was actually paid on the 10th of the next month, Pachon.<sup>17</sup>

9-11 Because of the break in the papyrus, it unclear whether only these lines were written in *ekthesis* or the rest of the document continued like this.

10 δι(α)γεγράφηκεν: The initial δῑ may have been influenced by the common way of writing διά, as in l. 4.

11 εἰς . [ . ] . συνταξίς: Either εἰς τ[ῇ]ν σύνταξιν (l. σύνταξιν) or εἰς τ[ᾶ]ς συντάξεις (l. συντάξεις).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the later accounting formulas discussed by D. Hagedorn, “Exkurs II: Zu den Wendungen μετὰ λόγον und ἀριθμῆθεως bzw. εἰς ἀρίθμησην,” *BGU* 20, pp. 98-111.

2. *Receipt for Syntaximon*

P. Mich inv. 1986  
Acquired in 1924<sup>18</sup>

19 x 10.25 cm

Apias,  
27 Jan. - 28 Oct., 7 CE

Medium-brown papyrus with a clear *kollesis* extending 4 cm from the left edge of the sheet. The papyrus has sustained damage along horizontal fold lines, particularly at the bottom, which is partially broken away. The generous margins measure 3 cm on top, 2-2.5 cm on the left, and 5.75 cm on the bottom. A variable right margin of about 1 cm was originally present, but is now damaged. The same hand is found in other tax receipts issued by the same collector (see l. 2 n.). The back is blank save for a trace of ink in the top-left corner. It is unclear if this is stray ink or was originally a short notation of some sort.

This sheet contains two poll tax receipts issued to Anchorinphis, son of Ischis, by Heraklas, an agent of a public banker in the Arsinoite nome. The first receipt records Anchorinphis' payment of 40 drachmas over the course of Augustus' 36th year, leaving 4 dr. in arrears, while the second records payment of the balance in the next year.<sup>19</sup> The taxpayer is not mentioned elsewhere, but the collector Heraklas is known from at least three other poll tax receipts written in the same hand, including 3. Although here working in Apias, he later served as tax collector in Theadelphia from at least 10 to 14 CE and possibly as late as 24/25 CE (see further l. 2 n. and text 4).

Lines 3 and 11 inform us that Heraklas was the agent (ὁ παρά) of a public banker with an abbreviated name discussed in the Appendix. Regardless of the exact reading, this same name is found in *PMil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9 (13/14 CE), another receipt written by Heraklas, where it serves as the patronymic of C. Iulius Alexandros, the public banker on whose behalf Heraklas was working in that text (see Appendix). As discussed in the introduction, family influence could play a role in landing a position at the state bank.

ἔτους λξ Καίσαρος Μεχε(ῖρ) β̄ δ(ι)έγρ(αψεν)  
[Ἀν]χόρινφιδις Ἰσχίτος Ἡρακ(λᾱ) τῷ  
[πα]ρᾷ (Πτολεμαί)ο(υ)? Αρα( ) δημ(οσίου) τρ(απεζίτου) εἰς  
συντάξιμον τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους)

<sup>18</sup> Part of a large group of over 4,700 pieces purchased by the Anglo-American consortium in 1924, which Bell cataloged and divided among the contributing institutions (H.I. Bell, "Report on Papyri. 1924," copy held in the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection). The bulk of the purchase came from Maurice Nahman, including the present papyrus.

<sup>19</sup> These 4 dr. represent the extra charge (normally 4 dr., 6 ch.) that is often bundled together with the poll tax (see n. 15).

- Ἀ[π]ιάδος ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.) ὀκτώ(ι), (γίν.) (δρ.) η καὶ τῆ(ι)  
 5 [1-2] τοῦ Φαρ(μουῦθι) (δρ.) δεκαδύο, (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ  
 καὶ τῆ(ι) κγ τοῦ Πα(ῦνι) (δρ.) δεκαδύο,  
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ καὶ τῆ(ι) α τοῦ Μεσορῆ (δρ.) ὀκτώ(ι),  
 (γίν.) [(δρ.) η]

- ἔτους λζ Καίσ(αρος) Φαῶ(φι) λ̄ δ(ι)έγρ(αψεν)  
 10 Ἀγχόρινφισ Ἰσχίτος  
 Ἡρακλᾶ τῶι παρὰ (Πτολεμαί)ο(υ)? Αρα( ) δημ(οσίου)  
 τρ(απεζίτου) [εἰ(ς) σ]υγτά(ξιμον) τοῦ ἔκτου καὶ τριακ(οστοῦ)  
 (ἔτους) α . . [ . ] . . . (δρ.) τέσσερα(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ

1 μεχ<sup>ε</sup>, δεγρ pap. 2 ηρα<sup>κ</sup> pap. 3 ͵αρ̄, τρ̄, α pap. 4 αρ̄γ, οκτ<sup>ω</sup> pap., l. ὀκτώ, τ<sup>η</sup> pap. 6 τ<sup>η</sup>, π̄α pap. 7 τ<sup>η</sup>, οκτ<sup>ω</sup> pap., l. ὀκτώ 9 καισ̄, φα<sup>ω</sup>, δεγρ pap. 10 Ἰσχίτος: ι corr. ex υ 11 ͵αρ̄ pap. 12 τρια<sup>κ</sup> pap., τρ corr. 13 τεσσερ<sup>α</sup> pap.

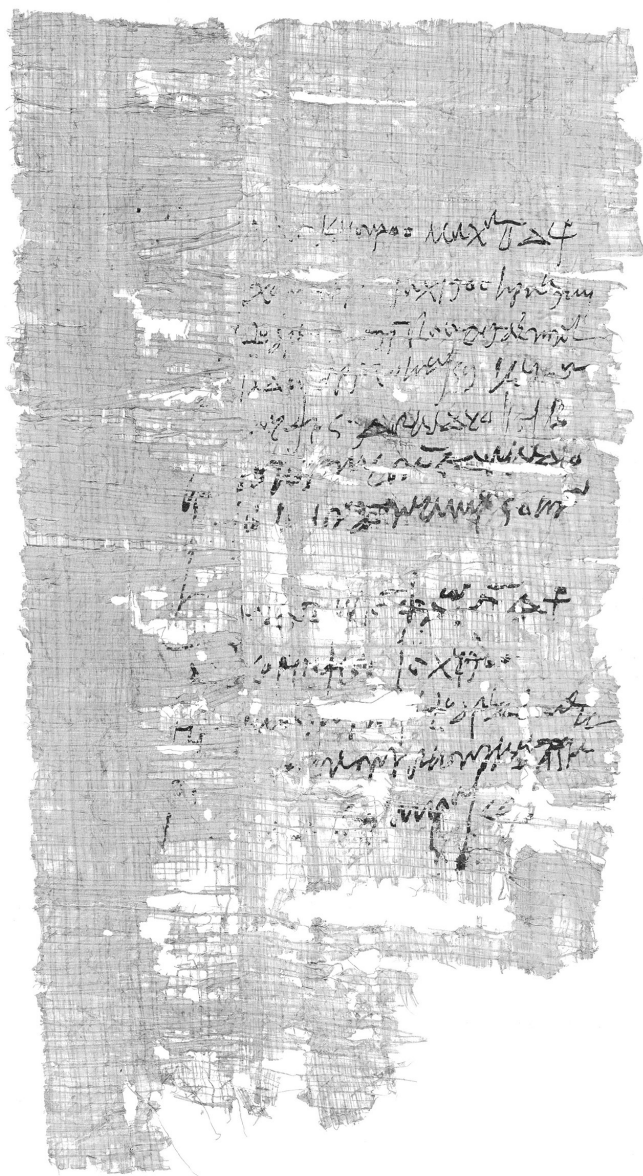
“In the 36th year of Caesar, on Mecheir 2, Anchorinphis, son of Ischis, paid to Heraklas, the agent of Ptolemaios (?), son of Ara( ) (?), public banker, for the *syntaximon* of the same year, for Apias, eight silver drachmas = 8 dr., and on the ... of Pharmouthi, twelve dr. = 12 dr., and on the 23rd of Payni, twelve dr. = 12 dr., and on the 1st of Mesore, eight dr. = 8 dr.

Year 37 of Caesar, Phaophi 30, Anchorinphis, son of Ischis, paid to Heraklas, the agent of Ptolemaios (?) son of Ara( ) (?), public banker, for the *syntaximon* of the thirty-sixth year ... four silver (?) dr. = 4 dr.”

1 δ(ι)έγρ(αψεν): Only *delta* and *rho* can be clearly distinguished, and the precise transcription is debatable. In any case, Heraklas uses the same abbreviation in his receipts *PFay.* 45 and 3.1 (cf. also 4.3 n.). The abbreviation in *PMil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9.1 is of similar appearance, though the vertical after the delta lacks the small head of *rho* evident in the other texts (accordingly, Hagedorn favored the reading of the *ed. pr.*, δι(έγραψεν), over δι(έγρα)ψ(εν) in his review of the volume: *Gnomon* 40 [1968], 778-781 at 779).

- 2 Ἰσχίτος: A variant of Ἰσχυρίων, which Heraklas began to write in l. 10.

– Ἡρακ(λᾶ): Found also in *PFay.* 45 (10-11 CE), 3 (10-11 CE), and *PMil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9 (13-14 CE), all poll tax receipts from Theadelphia written in the same hand as the present papyrus. 4 is also issued by a Heraklas (there called



2. P. Mich inv. 1986. Image published courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection



χειριστή) and the hand closely resembles the earlier group of receipts. If this Heraklas is indeed the same man, his activity extends until 24/25 CE.

3 [πα]ρὰ (Πτολεμαί)ο(υ)? Αρὰ( ) δημ(οσίου) τρ(απεζίτου): Again in l. 11. For the reading, see the Appendix.

4 Ἀ[π]ιάδος: There are numerous Fayum villages whose names end -ιάς, -ιάδος, but only a couple letters are missing, so we must seek a short name. Combined with the traces of the first letter, which are consistent with *alpha*, the village of Apias is the most attractive reading. Apias was located in the same *meris* as Theadelphia, where the tax collector Heraklas was later active.

– ὀκτώ(ι): Heraklas consistently raises the *omega* of ὀκτώ (again in l. 7, as well in *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9 and 3), which suggests that he is abbreviating a (false) *iota* adscript. Cf. his writing of the article τῇ(ι) with a raised *eta*.

5 δεκαδύο: Something has been partially erased at the beginning of this word.

10 Ἰσχίτος: The second *iota* is written over an *upsilon*. Heraklas probably had the more common name Ἰσχυρίων in mind, as suggested to me by an anonymous reviewer.

12 [εἰ(ς) σ]υντά(ξιμον): For the haplography, see 3.4.

13 (ἔτους) α . . . [ . ] . . . : After the ἔτους sign, there is probably an *alpha*, but it is not clear if this is the first letter. Ἀπιάδος and/or ἀργυρίου could have been written here.

### 3-4. Poll Tax Receipts from the Harthotes Archive

#### 3. Receipt for Syntaximon

P.Mich. inv. 4187

27 x 10.7 cm

Theadelphia,

Acquired in 1924<sup>20</sup>

26 Dec., 10 - 22 Jul., 11 CE

All four margins of this light brown papyrus are extant, with the top being very large (4.8 cm), the bottom even larger (14.5 cm), the left approximately 3.0

<sup>20</sup> This papyrus was part of a small group acquired from David Askren, apparently in 1924. It is listed under “Papyri sent November 1924,” lot II, “Papyri from Dr. Asken,” pp. 27-29 of Bell’s “Report on papyri, etc., of 1925 consignment” (Sept. 5, 1925), a copy of which is held in the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection. The papyri did

cm, and the right variable, in the case of line 2 extending to the very edge. The first line, as usual, extends a little to the left with the epsilon of ἔτους enlarged. There appear to be three vertical fold lines which do not seem to have been made sequentially from left to right. Perhaps the central fold was made first and then the papyrus was folded again. Numerous horizontal folds indicate the papyrus was tightly folded up for safekeeping. There is considerable damage on the left side about the middle of the papyrus, but it does not result in any loss of text. The writing runs with the fibers and the back is blank.

This document is a receipt for *syntaximon* issued to Marsisouchos, son of Marres, from the village of Theadelphia, for the year 10-11 CE. Marsisouchos, a public farmer, is the brother of Harthotes and this is a new document stemming from the Harthotes archive.<sup>21</sup> The payments are made in installments and total 44 drachmas, 6 *chalkoi*, the normal rate for the Arsinoite nome.<sup>22</sup>

The tax collector in Theadelphia, Heraklas, is now known to us from at least four, perhaps five, *syntaximon* receipts: see the introduction to 2 above.

ἔτους μ Καίσαρος, Χοι(ἄκ) ᾧ δ(ι)έρχ(α)ψεν  
 Μαρσίσουχος Μαρρείου Ἡρακλᾶ  
 τῷ παρὰ Συρίωνο(ς) δημ(οσίου) τρα(πεζίτου) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)  
 εἰ(ς) συντά(ξιμον) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους) Θεαδελ(φείας) ἀργυ(ρίου)  
 ῥυπ(αροῦ)

- 5 [δ]κτώ(ι), (γίν.) (δρ.) η καὶ τῇ ᾗ τοῦ Τ(ῦ)β(ι) τέσσαρε(ς),  
 (γίν.) (δρ.) δ καὶ τῇ(ι) ᾧ το(ῦ) Τ(ῦ)β(ι) τέσσαρε(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ  
 καὶ τῇ(ι) κῇ τοῦ Φαρμοῦ(θι) τέσσαρε(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ  
 καὶ τῇ(ι) ᾧ τοῦ Φαρμοῦ(θι) τέσσαρε(ς), (γίν.) (δρ.) δ  
 καὶ τῇ(ι) κ τοῦ Πα(ῦνι) δεκαδύο, (γίν.) (δρ.) ἰβ  
 10 [καὶ] τῇ(ι) κῇ τοῦ Ἐπειφ (δρ.) ὀκτώ(ι) (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον),  
 (γίν.) (δρ.) η (ἡμιωβέλιον) (δίχαλκον)

3 συριωνο, τρ<sup>α</sup> pap. 4 θεαδελ αργυ pap. 5, 10 οκτ<sup>ω</sup> pap., l. ὀκτώ 5, 6  
 τ<sup>β</sup> pap. 5-8 l. τέσσαρας 6 τ<sup>ο</sup> pap.

not reach the university until October, 1926, which is the date reflected in the APIS record, and their inventorying was completed in March, 1927 (J.G. Winter to F.W. Kelsey, March 20, 1927, University of Michigan Papyrology Collection). The papyri now carry the numbers P.Mich. inv. 4171-4192 and 4278-4279.

<sup>21</sup> The archive itself extends over an 80 year period beginning in 20/19 BCE, and documents Harthotes, his brother Marsisouchos, and their descendants in a variety of contracts, petitions, and receipts. For a fuller treatment of this archive, see the contribution of Claytor, Litinas, and Nabney in this issue, pp. 79-119.

<sup>22</sup> See n. 15.

“In the 40th year of Caesar, on the 30th of Choiak, Marsisouchos son of Marres has paid to Heraklas, the agent of Syrion, public banker of the Arsinoite (nome), for the *syntaximon* of the same year, for Theadelphia, eight silver (drachmas) = 8 dr.,

and on the 10th of Tybi four dr. = 4 dr.,

and on the 30th of Tybi four dr. = 4 dr.,

and on the 29th of Pharmouthi four dr. = 4 dr.,

and on the 30th of Pharmouthi four dr. = 4 dr.,

and on the [21-29th] of Payni twelve dr. = 12 dr.,

and on the 28th of Epeiph eight dr., 1/2 obol, 2 *chalkoi* = 8 dr., 1/2 obol, 2 *chalkoi*.”

1 δ(ι)έγγ(α)ψεν: The same abbreviation occurs in text 2.1 (cf. n.) and a similar one in text 4.3.

2 Marsisouchos (Trismegistos.org person ID 248430) was aged 35 in *P.Oslo* 2 32, a contract dated to Aug. 23, 1 CE. He would be about 45 in this text and thus still subject to the poll tax. See the discussion of the introduction to text 4.

3 Συρίων(ς): The *sigma* looks more like an *epsilon*, but the *sigma* of Μαρρείους in line 2, as well as that of Ἀρσι(νοίτου), is made the same way. For the function of Syrion as a public banker, see the discussion in the introduction.

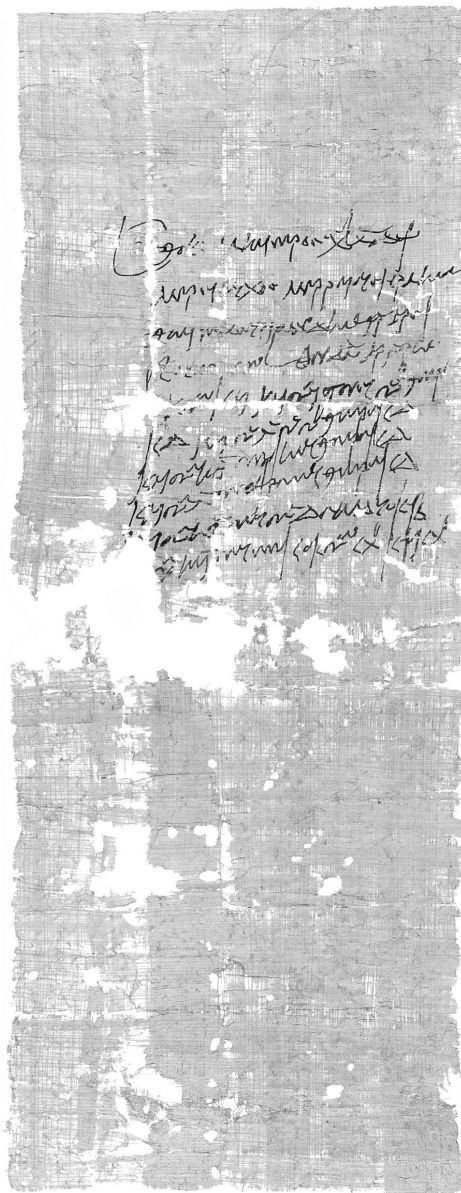
4 εἰ(ς) συντά(ξι)μον: The same haplography occurs in *P.Fay.* 45.3 and *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9.4 (see notes 33 and 34 below).

– ἀργυ(ρίου) ῥῦπ(αροῦ): Thanks are due to the anonymous referee for this reading. For ῥυπαρός in this context, cf. Hagedorn (n. 7) 42, note to line 3.

5 [ὀ]κτώ(ι): For the raised *omega* indicating an abbreviation, cf. 2.4 n.

5-6 For multiple payments recorded for the same month a good parallel can be found in *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9, also written by Heraklas. There three payments totaling 16 drachmas are recorded in the month of Pharmouthi in lines 6-10, although the name of the month is not repeated.

6 τῆ(ι): Here and in each line subsequently we print with text 2 instead of τῆ; see the previous note concerning ὀκτώ(ι). In line 5 it appears that he actually writes out τῆι in full with an iota adscript just as he does in *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9.6, and thus the intention to write τῆι in the succeeding lines seems clear. He chooses to abbreviate this by raising the *eta*.



3. P.Mich. inv. 4187. Image published courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection

4. *Receipt for Syntaximon*

P.CtYBR inv. 340

4.7 x 9.4 cm

Theadelphia,

Acquired in 1931<sup>23</sup>

27 Oct., 24 - 3 Jun., 25 CE

The light brown papyrus contains nine lines of Greek written with the fibers (→) in black ink. The lines are written in a fairly quick cursive hand, rising slightly to the right. The left margin is a full 2 cm at line 1, but by line 9 has become 0.8 cm. The topmost margin is 2.4 cm while the bottom margin is 3.1 cm before the papyrus breaks off. The right margin varies between no margin whatsoever (as in line 4 where the curve of the *upsilon* goes right to the edge) and a 1.7 cm margin in line 9. The papyrus itself appears to have been folded twice vertically at one time and these two fold lines accounts for the weakening and most of the damage to the papyrus, which involves several holes of irregular sizes mostly in the middle of the papyrus.<sup>24</sup> There is also a slight trace of two or three letters written across the fibers (↓). They may simply reflect ink transfer from another document.

This papyrus records payments in various months for the *syntaximon* or poll tax paid by Harthotes, son of Marres,<sup>25</sup> to an agent named Heraklas. In Roman Egypt, the poll tax appears officially to have been levied only on adult Egyptian males aged 14-62.<sup>26</sup> These limits are often cited as common knowledge, yet we should perhaps be less sanguine about how strictly this range (and particularly the upper limit) was observed in the early first century CE.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> This papyrus was purchased by M.I. Rostovtzeff and C.B. Welles from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in 1931 with funds donated by Edward Stephen Harkness and Horatio McLeod Reynolds.

<sup>24</sup> Ann Hanson, noting the odd fold lines, suggested that perhaps the papyrus was at one time draped over a bar, perhaps to dry. A vertical fiber to the right of the center fold extends the entire length of the papyrus, sometimes creating the illusion of ink especially in lines 6, 8, and 9.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. L. Capponi, *Augustan Egypt: The Creation of a Roman Province* (New York 2005) 138; Rathbone (n. 2) 87.

<sup>27</sup> The evidence for 62 as the age of exemption from the poll tax comes from a variety of tax lists in the 1st and 2nd centuries. To take a few examples, in *P.Sijp.* 26, the tax synopsis of Philadelpheia prepared by Nemesion in 51 CE, there are several references to villagers who are “overage” (ὑπερετής) in year 11, being 61 years (line 87; cf. lines 21 and 127). As Ann Hanson, the editor of *P.Sijp.* 26 explains, the taxpayers in question are in their final year of liability for the *laographia*, and have reached the category of ὑπερετής for the first time in their 61st year. This is analogous to the initial category of 14 year olds whose first year of liability is marked as ἀφήλικες. From the same archive, cf. *P.Coll. Youtie* 1.20, lines 5 and 8, as well as the later first century *P.Lond.* 2.259.63-65 (p. 36).

Indeed, we should expect that officials were often more judicious in imposing a taxpayer's initial liability than in ensuring that they were removed from the rolls when they had reached the age of exemption. Attesting to the flexibility of these limits, the present receipt, recording a total payment of 44 drachmas for the poll tax of the previous year, shows Harthotes still paying his poll tax into his 66th year.

Although this papyrus does not directly provide information about the age of Harthotes, it can be coordinated with three other texts. According to *P.Oslo* 2.32, a text concerning the lease of land, Harthotes was 40 in 1 CE. In *SB* 20.14440, a census declaration from 12 CE, however, Harthotes was listed as 55 years old. Such an obvious discrepancy should be explained, as R.S. Bagnall has done, by the practice of age-rounding.<sup>28</sup> Recently, Claytor and Bagnall published a census declaration from the Harthotes archive dating to 3 BCE that records Harthotes' age as 41.<sup>29</sup> On the basis of the agreement between the two census declarations (and the assumption of inclusive reckoning), Claytor and Bagnall place Harthotes' birth year in 44/43 BCE.

Following Claytor and Bagnall's calculations, the current receipt, recording payments for the previous regnal year of Tiberius (23/24 CE), would reveal Harthotes paying the poll tax (in arrears) into his 66th year.<sup>30</sup> This receipt allows several interpretations. Of course, one possibility is that the age of exemption from the poll tax varied over time or even between nomes. Yet we should be hesitant to adduce variations in official policy solely on the basis of this tax receipt. More innocuously, we may suppose that it was the responsibility of the taxpayer both to recognize and to notify the officials of having reached

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The age of 65 is also sometimes cited as the age of exemption from the poll tax. Thus, Rathbone (n. 2) 87, and Capponi (n. 26) 138. This apparently stems from arguments in *O. Wilck.*, p. 242. Wilcken, however, based this sweeping claim on Ulpian of Tyre, writing in the early 3rd century that the age of liability for taxation in Syria ends at 65 (preserved in *Dig.* 50.15.3). While *SB* 20.14710, a tax list from Hermopolis, attests to this upper limit in place in the 3rd century CE, all indications from the first century are for the lower age of 62. A fuller treatment of the age of exemption from the poll tax in Roman Egypt is still needed.

<sup>28</sup> G. Casanova, "Theadelphia e l'archivio di Harthotes. Ricerche su un villaggio Egiziano fra il IIIa e il Ip," *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 70-156, relied on the more official nature of the census (*SB* 20.14440) for making his judgment (129). R.S. Bagnall, "The Beginnings of the Roman Census in Egypt," *GRBS* 32 (1991) 255-265, suggests instead that both documents evince age rounding: *P. Oslo* 2.32 rounds downward and *SB* 20.14440 rounds upward (265).

<sup>29</sup> Claytor and Bagnall (n. 4) 642.

<sup>30</sup> That Harthotes lived until at least 26 CE is verified by his appearance in *P. Mil.* 12.6.

the age of exemption.<sup>31</sup> As mentioned above, Harthotes reports himself to be 40 years old in 1 CE (*P.Oslo* 2.32), when, if we trust the agreement between census declarations, he actually should have reported himself as 44 (or 45 to account for age-rounding). One possibility, then, is that Harthotes himself only approximately knows his own age or was not aware that he had reached the age of exemption.

This is not to say, however, that tax officials were ignorant of Harthotes' age. Official records of the ages of taxpayers were certainly kept and checked by tax officials, and we have evidence of tax officials confirming and correcting the ages reported in census declarations in *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.12.<sup>32</sup> Yet this system of verification only would have helped to guard against fraud by the taxpayer. There would have been no incentive for a collector to remove a taxpayer from liability and to place him in the category of ὑπερετής without the taxpayer submitting a request to that effect. Without such awareness and notification, a taxpayer like Harthotes might have continued to pay the poll tax until well into his sixties.

- ἔτους ια Τιβερίου Καίσαρος  
 Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Ν[έ]ου Σεβαστοῦ ᾗ  
 διέγρα(ψεν) Ἡρακλᾶ χει(ριστή) Ἀρθώτης  
 Μαρρε[ί]ου συντα(ξίμου) τοῦ δεκάτου  
 5 ἔτους Θεαδελφ(είας) ἀργ(υρίου) ῥυ(παροῦ) (δρ.) εἴκοσι,  
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κ, Μεχεῖρ] ᾗ (δρ.) δεκαδύο,  
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ, Φαρμῶ[υ]θι κδ (δρ.) τέσσαρας,  
 (γίν.) (δρ.) δ, ᾗ μετ(ὰ) λόγον ἢ (δρ.) τέσσαρας, (γίν.) (δρ.) δ,  
 Παῦνι θ (δρ.) τέ[σσ]αρα[ς], (γίν.) (δρ.) δ.

“In the 11th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, on the 30th of the month of Neos Sebastos, Harthotes son of Marres paid to Heraklas, the collector's agent, the *syntaximon* of the tenth year at Theadelphia, twenty silver dr. = 20 dr;

on the ... of Mecheir, twelve dr. = 12 dr;

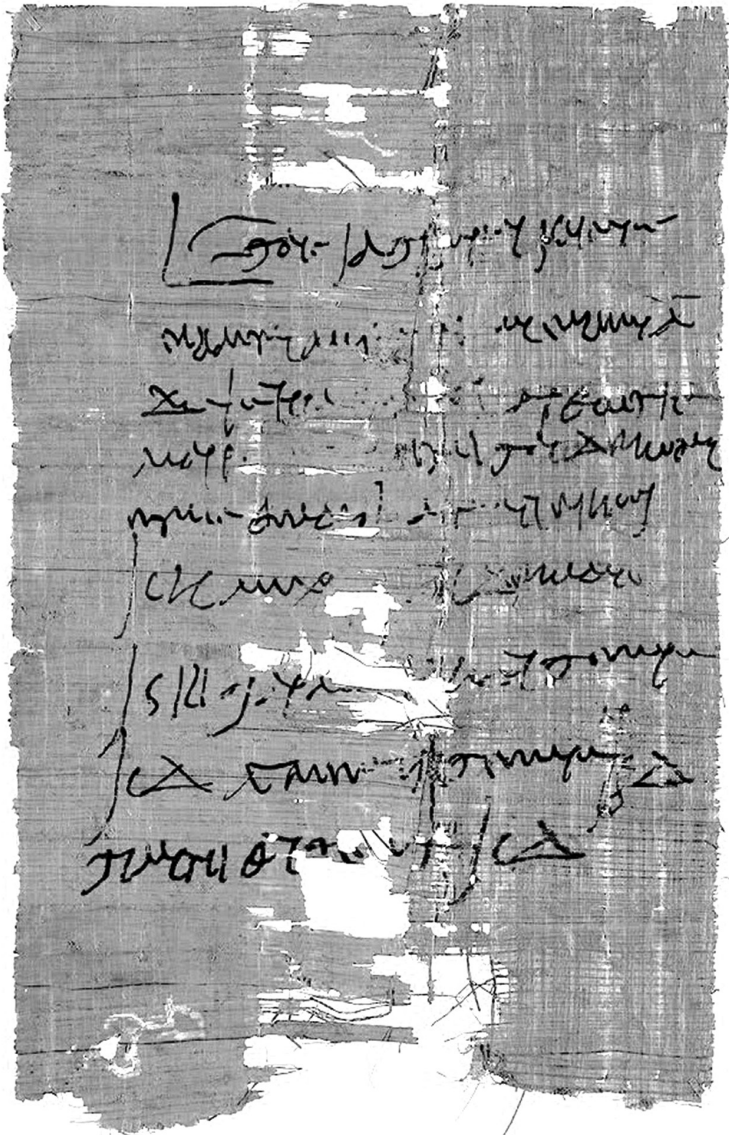
on the 24th of Pharmouthi, four dr. = 4 dr;

<sup>31</sup> As Wallace 1938 (n. 2) 109 initially proposed, based on what he took to be a reference to an *epikrisis* in *P.Lond.* 2.259.69ff. (p. 28): “[T]he mutilated condition of these lines does not permit restoration, but the reference is probably to an epicrisis of the claims of men to be included among those classified as ὑπερετεῖς ΛΞα, that is, sixty-two years of age or older.”

<sup>32</sup> Cf. H. Henne, “Sur l'interprétation de quelques textes récemment publiés,” *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 386-397. See also *P.Oxy.* 82.5319 for a petition by a taxpayer exempted from capitation taxes on account of his old age.



after the accounting on the 30th, on the 8th (ie of Pachon) = equals 4 dr.  
on the 9th of Payni, four dr. = 4 dr.”



4. P.CtYBR inv. 340. Image published courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library

1  $\bar{\lambda}$ : Or possibly  $\bar{\alpha}$ . If the latter reading is accepted, the date would be the 1st of Neos Sebastos or 28 September, 24 CE. I have elected the former in comparison with the  $\lambda$  in line 8, as well as reflecting the general trend of payments later in the month in lines 5-8.

3  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\alpha(\psi\epsilon\nu)$ : The difficulty of this reading is properly resolving the abbreviation as the first few letters are slurred. In hand, this abbreviation is most similar to that found in texts 2 and 3, where the clearest features are the initial *delta* and the *rho* written with a single vertical stroke extending both above and below the line. For a similar abbreviation, see especially *O.Petr.* 208. The present text, however, more clearly evinces *Verschleifung* or slurring of the initial letters, with a single ligatured stroke connecting the final stroke of the *delta* to the horizontal stroke of the *gamma*. The *alpha* is followed by a horizontal suspension mark.

–  $\text{Ἡρακλᾱ}$ : Perhaps the same Heraklas as in texts 2 and 3 and known from *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9 and *P.Fay.* 45.<sup>33</sup>

–  $\chi\epsilon\iota(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta)$ : I owe this reading to Ann Hanson. Alternatively, it might be read  $\chi(\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta)$ , with the traces following the *chi* read as an abbreviation stroke.

4  $\text{Μαρρε[ί]ος}$ : There is some variation in the spelling of the name of Harthotes' father. I have followed *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9, *P.Mert.* 1.9, and text 3, but  $\text{Μαρθήους}$  is also plausible following *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.4 and *P.Gen.* 2.89. Moreover, it is also possible to read here some form of an abbreviated patronym. Perhaps  $\text{Μαρθή(ους)}$  as found in *O.Mich.* 1.31; 1.35; 2.760; and in *P.Mich.* 12.642. Such a patronymic abbreviation is rare, but not without precedent. See, for instance the abbreviations of the patronym  $\text{Μαρρείους}$  (and variant spellings) in *P.Bodl.* 1.8, *SB* 14.11481 and *P.Lond.* 2.257 (p. 19) and the patronymic abbreviation of Harpagathes in *P.Gen.* 2.90.

–  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}(\acute{\iota}\mu\upsilon\varsigma)$ : I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer from *BASP* for suggesting to me that the vertical mark, which I initially took as an abbrevia-

<sup>33</sup> The editor of the *editio princeps* of *P.Fay.* 45 reads  $\text{Ἡρακλᾱ τῶι παρὰ Τρύφωνος γυ} \dots ( ) \text{ συντάξιμον}$  and suggests that the word  $\gamma\upsilon \dots ( )$  is Heraklas' title. Ann Hanson has kindly pointed out this line should be correctly read  $\text{Ἡρακλᾱ τῶι παρὰ Τρύφωνος γυ(μνησιάρχου) εἰς(ς) συντάξιμον}$ . This is perhaps the same Tryphon who appears in the archive of Isidorus of Psophthis, as both a *strategos* and a gymnasiarch in the Arsinoite nome. For the latter title, cf. *SB* 24.15909 and 15910. For a fuller treatment of this archive, see A.E. Hanson, "A New Letter from the Archive of Isidorus from Psophthis, Memphite Nome," in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie, Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Geneva 2012) 323-329.

tion stroke, is in fact the *xi*. If the preceding patronymic is instead abbreviated, one should read εἰς συντάξιμον following the similar formula in texts 2, 3, and *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9.<sup>34</sup>

5 ἀργ(υρίου) ῥυ(παροῦ) (δρ.): This reading is made difficult by the fading of the ink in this line, and the ligature of the supralinear abbreviation mark with the siglum for drachmas. For similar abbreviations of ῥυ(παροῦ), as suggested to me by an anonymous reviewer for *BASP*, see *O.Wilck.* 1371. Earlier examples include *P.Tebt.* 3.2.1054 and *SB* 14.11331.

6 Μεχε[ίρ]: Or possibly Μεχ(είρ). Yet all months in this receipt are written in their expanded form. The difficulty of this reading stems from a supralinear circular stroke ligatured with the top of the cross bar of the *chi*. I read this with difficulty as the *epsilon*. One might be tempted to read μη(νός) Χο(ιάκ), but μείς precedes no other month name in the receipt. The amount paid in this month, 12 drachmas, might also confirm the reading Μεχε[ίρ]. The payment from the successive months Pharmouthi through Pavni is four drachmas per month. Were the month in this line Choiaκ, immediately following Neos Sebastos/Hathyr, we might expect only four drachmas. No trace of the date remains, but both the superlinear ordinal stroke and the abbreviation (δραχμάς) are read securely. The difficulty in this section stems from a physical feature, where the vertical fiber that runs the length of the papyrus appears here to be traces of ink.

7 (γίν.) (δρ.): The siglum for drachma here (more like a final *sigma*) is different than appears in lines 5-6 or 8-9 (more like a lunate *sigma*). This might indicate a different hand, but there are no discernable differences in ductus or letter formation.

8 ᾠ μετ(ᾷ) λ(όγον) ἦ: I am indebted to Ann Hanson for the reading of this accounting phrase. While the amount on this line was to be credited to the 30th of Pharmouthi (the last month mentioned in line 6) the monies were not forwarded to the capital of the nome, perhaps due to insufficient funds, until the 8th of Pachon, the following month. For a comprehensive treatment of this accounting term and its appearances, see Hagedorn (n. 17) and add *P.CtYBR inv.* 340 to his Table I (103).

7-9 τέσσαρες: Or perhaps τέσσαρες.

<sup>34</sup> The editor of *P.Mil.* 12.9 incorrectly read ὑπ(ὲρ) συντ(αξιμον). The correct reading is εἰς(ς) συντ(άξιμον). See also the Appendix below. A similar haplographic error appears in Text 3 and *P.Fay.* 45. The preposition ὑπ(ὲρ) appears not to have been used for the combined συντάξιμον receipts but reserved for λαογραφία specifically. See ὑπ(ὲρ) λαογραφ(ίας) in *O.Leid.* 177. Cf. also *O.Cair.* 62 and the later 1st century *SB* 20.15104.

*Appendix: Rereading P.Mil. 1<sup>2</sup>.9*

The editor of *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9 gives the following for ll. 2-4 (see Fig. 1 for line 3):

... Ἡρακλᾶ τῶι παρὰ  
Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) υἱοῦ Ψω( ) ἀρ(γυρίου) (δραχμὰς) δ  
καταλαμβάνοντι  
ὑπ(ἐρ) συντ(αξίμου) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους) Θεαδελφείας.

Two things are jarring about this reading: the unusual abbreviated name Ψω( ) and the participle καταλαμβάνοντι, which does not find parallels in tax receipts. On closer inspection of document,<sup>35</sup> and through comparison with 3 (Fig. 2) and 2 (Figs. 3 and 4), the editor's δ καταλαμβάνοντι can in fact be read as δημ(οσίου) τρ(απεζίτου) Ἀρσι(νοίτου), giving the title of C. Iulius Alexandros' father.<sup>36</sup>

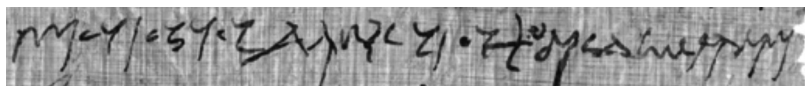


Fig. 1. *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9, line 3. Image published courtesy of the Direzione della Biblioteca di Ateneo dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano.

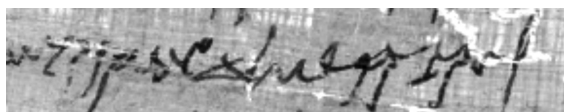


Fig. 2. Text 3, line 3: Συρίωνο(ς) δημ(οσίου) τρ(απεζίτου) Ἀρσι(νοίτου).

Before this title, we are left with what should be Alexandros' father's name, because the reading υἱοῦ is clear. The editor read this name as Ψω( ),<sup>37</sup> and we must also reckon with the following letters, because ἀρ(γυρίου) (δρ.) is precluded by the new reading of what follows. In text 2 above, there are two further examples of this name, followed by δημ(οσίου) τρ(απεζίτου). Figures 3-5 allow comparison of all three examples.

<sup>35</sup> Examined on 1 June, 2015. I thank Prof. Carla Balconi for her hospitality.

<sup>36</sup> Hagedorn has shown that titles after υἱός + patronymic belong to the father: D. Hagedorn, "Zur Verwendung von υἱός und θυγάτηρ vor dem Vatersnamen in Urkunden römischer Zeit," *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277-282.

<sup>37</sup> The first edition of *P.Mil.* 9 has χ(ιριστοῦ) in this position.

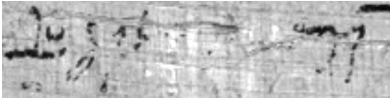
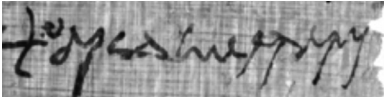


Fig. 3. Text 2, line 3.



Fig. 4. Text 2, line 11. The line ends δημ(οσίου); the kappa is raised in abbreviation in the next line's τριάκ(οστοῦ).

Fig. 5. *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9, line 3 detail. Image published courtesy of the Direzione della Biblioteca di Ateneo dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano.

The editor's ἀρ(γυρίου) (δρ.) can be read as αρ( ) or αρα( ), depending on whether the hook is taken as an alphabetic abbreviation or a *Hakenalpha*, as it can be in Ἀλεξά(νδρου) earlier in the line of the Milan papyrus (the editor printed Ἀλεξ(άνδρου)). In either case, this hook is clearly marking an abbreviation, since it is raised in both examples from text 2.

What precedes is more difficult. The editor understood this as Ψω( ), with a raised, one-dip *omega*, but an open-top *omicron* would be preferable: cf. the *omicrons* in Γαίου Ἰουλίου. *A priori*, we expect a single name to stand here before the title and one possible solution is to read the letters together as one name, abbreviated only at the end, despite the raised letter after Ψ. In later texts, at least, *omicron* can be raised a bit in the combination ψο, but I have found neither contemporary parallels, nor examples in which the *omicron* is raised so high.<sup>38</sup> Following this path, one might consider Ψοαρα(μούνιος), but so far this term has only been found as a village name in the Mendesian nome.<sup>39</sup>

A more promising direction is to read the editor's Ψ as the “πυρός” symbol, which was used not only for this term, but for a range of words or phrases beginning with *pi* and followed by a *rho* or *lambda*, such as Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, place names like Πολέμων or Πτολεμαίς, and even the personal

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Ψοαφρῆ in *P.Oxy.* 38 2876.5 (212-214 CE).

<sup>39</sup> Trismegistos.org, geoID 8120.

name Πτολεμαῖος.<sup>40</sup> Could the combination  $\text{Ϝ}^{\circ}$  be read as (Πτολεμαί)ο(υ)? The symbol is rarely used in conjunction with a letter, but one parallel is *P.Stras.* 2.88.13 (Pathyris, 105 BCE, *BL* 3:232), where the papyrus has  $\text{Ϝ}\rho$ , which should be transcribed (Πέ)ρ(σαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς).<sup>41</sup> Another option would be to read the raised character as a quickly written το(ῦ), although it only superficially resembles the writing of the article found in, e.g., *penthemeros* certificates, and its raised position suggests instead that it does belong to the preceding symbol. The following letters, as mentioned above, can be read as ἀρα( ) or ἀρ( ), which would be the beginning of a patronymic or an epithet of Ptolemaios under this interpretation. On the whole, this direction appears more promising, even if the names cannot be confidently expanded. Why Heraklas resorted to such an idiosyncratic writing of this banker's name is unclear.

To summarize, the proposed reading of *P.Mil.* 1<sup>2</sup>.9.3 is as follows:

Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξά(νδρου) υἱοῦ (Πτολεμαί)ο(υ) (?) Αρα( )  
 δημ(οσίου)                      τρ(απεζίτου) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)

However the name is read, it is interesting that Gaius Iulius Alexandros' father is of (presumably) local origin. With his *tria nomina*, Alexandros must have been an early recipient of Roman citizenship. He may also be the estate owner attested in *P.Ryl.* 2 166 (Euhemeria, 26 CE), whose possessions were acquired by the empress Livia: *P.Ryl.* 2 126 (Euhemeria, 28/29 CE).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> For discussion see *P.Mich.* 5.293, intro. and W.G. Claytor, "A Schedule of Contracts and a Private Letter: P.Fay. 344," *BASP* 50 (2013) 77-121 at 88.

<sup>41</sup> I thank Paul Heilporn for directing me to a digital image.

<sup>42</sup> For possible identifications of this Alexandros, see G.M. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (Amsterdam 1978) 17, n. 12.

## A Private Letter in the Beinecke Collection

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Jennifer Weintritt *Yale University*

### Abstract

Edition of a private letter in Greek in the Yale collection, palaeographically dated to the first half of the first century.

P.CtYBR inv. 1559

14.53 x 8.40 cm

Provenance unknown  
Early 1st century CE

In this fragmentary letter, a man continues his discussion with a friend about a complaint that has been lodged.<sup>1</sup> The details of the dispute are lost to us, but the petitionary language of the preserved lines suggests that some legal action is under way. A third character, Neoptolemos, is introduced in the fifth line.

The fragment preserves the first five lines of the letter in good condition. The top, left, and right margins are intact. The top margin measures 3.35 cm, the left 2.40 cm, and the right 1.35 cm. The spacing between the lines is approximately 0.7 cm. Minimal traces of ink along the lower margin are barely visible. The papyrus appears to have been rolled and then crushed. The more fragmentary state of the left hand side of the papyrus indicates that this edge formed the exterior. The *verso* is blank.

The papyrus is written along the fibres in a fairly clear documentary hand with examples of *Verschleifung* (πλεῖστα in l. 2). The fragment can be dated by hand to the first half of first century CE based on its similarity with BGU 16.2600 of 13 CE.<sup>2</sup> Among the distinctive letter forms of the Yale papyrus are the cursive *kappa* and *epsilon*, which are formed without lifting the stylus from the page, the triangular *delta*, and the so-called *Sesselform eta* (Ἀσκληπιάδης

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<sup>1</sup> For scans of the front and blank back of P.CtYBR inv. 1559, see also <http://brbl-legacy.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=1559>. M.I. Rostovtzeff purchased this fragment for Yale University in Paris in 1935, thanks to the donations of E.S. Harkness and H.M. Reynolds. My sincere thanks go to Ann Hanson and to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library for the use of its resources.

<sup>2</sup> For an image of BGU 16.2600 of 13 BCE, see H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* (Stuttgart 2010), Text No. 70, Plate 64. Similarities may also be found in *P.Prag.* 1.35 of 47 CE, illustrated in Harrauer, Text No. 80, Plate 70.

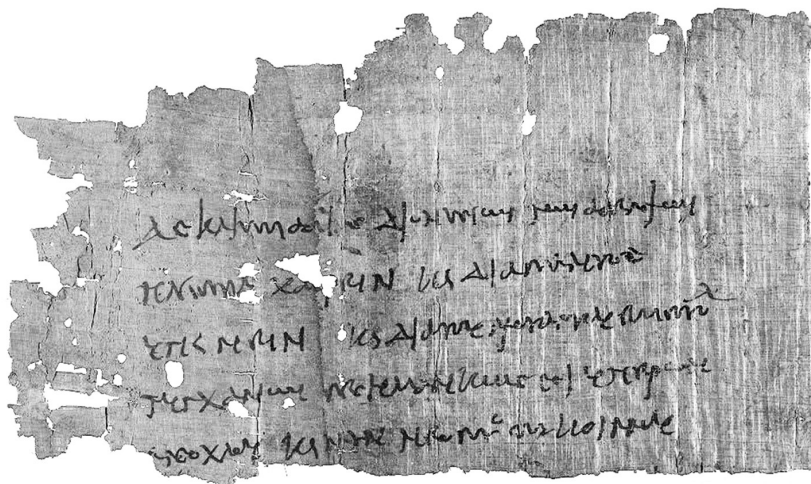


in l. 1). The beginning of each line is quite legible and, even when ligatured, most letters are given individual articulation, in contrast with the line endings, which deteriorate into a heavily ligatured cursive script and an occasional abbreviation.<sup>3</sup>

- Ἀσκληπιάδης Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
 πλείστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς  
 ὑγιένειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρὸ τούτου ἐπιστολ(ίου)  
 τυγχάνω σεσημανκῶς σοι ὑπὲρ ὧν  
 5 ἡνοχλοῦ καὶ νῦν Νεοπτο(λέμου) τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 traces
- 

3 ὑγιαίνειν; ἐπιστο<sup>λ</sup> pap. 4 τυγχάνω 5 ἡνοχλοῦ; νεοπτ<sup>ο</sup> pap.

“Asklepiades to Dionysios, his brother. Many greetings and continuing good health. In my previous letter, I happen to have indicated to you those things about which you were troubled, and now, since Neoptolemos ...”



<sup>3</sup> The orthography also supports an early date: the author diligently writes *iota* adscripts, although once incorrectly (l. 4). Cf. W. Clarysse, “Notes on the Use of the Iota Adscript in the Third Century B.C.,” *CE* 51 (1976) 150-166 at 160-162.

1 ἀδελφῶι: Asklepiades may call Dionysios his brother as a sign of affection, rather than of blood relation. See LSJ s.v. ἀδελφός I.3.

3 πρὸ τούτου is often used as an adjective in the first two centuries CE. Cf. ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου χρόνοις “in earlier times” (corrected from ἐν τοῖς προτοῦ χρόνοις by the editor) in a declaration under oath from the reign of Augustus (BGU 16.2593.9) or διὰ τοῦ πρὸ τούτου διασπρώματος “through the earlier abstract (of the contract)” (BGU 4.1072 r° 2; after July 138 CE).

4 τυγχάνωι for τυγχάνω. The earliest known occurrence of τυγχάνωι is in a Jewish prisoner’s petition to the magistrate for his release, dated to 135/134 BCE, where the verb also appears with a perfect participle: ἐπεὶ τυγχάνωι καταξίως νενουθετημένος (*P.Polit.Iud.* 2.6). The erroneous *iota* adscript occurs more frequently in the first century BCE (at least seven times; cf. BGU 8.1833.7), but is well documented (at least four times) into the early years of the second century CE (cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.39.4, securely dated to 110 CE).

τυγχάνω with a participle occurs frequently in petitions as well as letters dealing with complaints. Cf. τυγχάνωι προσανεννόχω<ς> in *P.Tebt.* 1.16.2, which revisits a dispute already known to the recipient of the letter.

– σεσημανκώς: There is no parallel for the perfect active participle of σημαίνω, but other forms of the perfect are well attested, at least six of the perfect active and two of the perfect passive. Cf. σεσήμανκε in BGU 2.424.9-10 and ὁ [σ]ημαινόμενος in *P.NYU* 2.3.14-15. In both of these cases, the verb, which can be used simply for signaling something (see LSJ s.v. σημαίνω A.I-III), suggests a negative sense of indication, closer to singling out for wrongdoing. Perhaps Asklepiades called Dionysios’ attention to some salient details regarding his dispute in his previous letter, which he now follows up in a second letter.

5 ἥνοχλοῦ for ἥνωχλοῦ: Only an upward stroke of the first letter (Fig. 1) is preserved at the beginning of l. 5, but an *eta* may be restored by analogy with the *eta* of σεσημανκώς in l. 4 (Fig. 2): both right-hand verticals come to a point and then ligature with the following letter.



Fig. 1

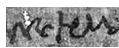


Fig. 2

Past tenses of ἥνωχλέω occasionally occur with a single augment (cf. οὔν ἥνοχλούμην in *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59516.8 and ἥνόχλησα in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.175), although the doubly augmented form is standard (cf. ἥνωχλήσαμεν in *P.Heid.* 3.230.10 and ἥνωχλούμην in *P.Sorb.* 1.33.16-17, among others).

– καὶ νῦν: After the petitionary language of the previous lines, this transition to the new developments in the dispute has a dramatic quality.

– Νεοπτο(λέμου): Based on what remains of the sentence, the name seems to function as the subject in a genitive absolute with τοῦ κοινοῦ and words contained in the following line: “and now that Neoptolemos, our mutual friend, is doing  $x$ , then  $y$  and  $z$  ought to happen ...,” *vel sim.*

6 Three slight traces of letters from the sixth line are visible along the bottom edge of the fragment. φίλου, “mutual friend,” is a plausible continuation of the genitive absolute. Cf. *P.Mert.* 1.24.4-5: ἐκομισάμην σου | ἐπιστόλιον διὰ Ἑρμείνου τοῦ κοινοῦ φίλου (“I received your letter through Herminos, our mutual friend”). ἀδελφοῦ also appears with κοινοῦ, although examples are late. Cf. διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ | κοινοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, “through the business of our mutual friend,” *P.Rain.Unterricht* 110.4-5, dated to the 6th century CE, and ἐλθόντος οὗν τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, “when our mutual friend came,” corrected from the nominative to genitive, in *P.Apoll.* 39.5, from the second half of the 7th century CE.

# Fünf neue griechische Brieffragmente aus Bonn<sup>1</sup>

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Fritz Mitthof *Universität Wien* und  
Amphilochios Papathomas *Universität Athen*

## Abstract

Edition of five Greek letters from Bonn (kept in the Ancient History section of the Institute for Historical Studies) from the Byzantine and early Arab period. They throw light on the lexicon and idiom of the period (III-VII AD).

Der vorliegende Beitrag bietet die Erstedition von fünf Brieffragmenten aus der Papyrussammlung der Abteilung für Alte Geschichte des Instituts für Geschichtswissenschaft der Universität Bonn.<sup>2</sup> Die Briefe stammen aus der römisch-byzantinischen und früharabischen Zeit und werden hier in chronologischer Reihenfolge präsentiert. Die Datierung beruht, wie dies bei Papyrusbriefen sehr oft der Fall ist, hauptsächlich auf Schriftbild und Sprache. Weder zur Identität der Briefpartner noch zum Abfassungsort der Briefe oder zum Aufenthaltsort ihrer Adressaten bieten die Fragmente eindeutige Angaben. Nur in zwei Fällen ist die Adresse erhalten. Konkrete Hinweise auf einen Zusammenhang mit bekannten Dossiers bzw. Archiven liegen ebenfalls nicht vor. Allerdings ist davon auszugehen, daß alle fünf Briefe in Ägypten geschrieben und auch dort gefunden worden sind. Der Wert der Fragmente liegt vor allem in ihrem Beitrag zu unserer Kenntnis von Wortschatz und Redewendungen der griechischen Sprache des 3.-7. Jh. n.Chr.

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<sup>1</sup> Wir danken Prof. Winfried Schmitz und Prof. Konrad Vössing für die Erlaubnis zur Publikation der nachstehenden Papyri sowie Andreas Blasius für die Bereitstellung des Bildmaterials. Langfristig planen wir eine monographische Gesamtedition der Sammlung. – A. Papathomas' Mitwirkung an dem vorliegenden Beitrag steht in Zusammenhang mit seinem Projekt „Papyrusbriefe aus dem spätantiken Ägypten“ des Lise-Meitner-Programms des FWF (Austrian Science Fund; M 1677-G21). – Alle Datierungen sind, soweit nicht anders vermerkt, als n.Chr. zu verstehen.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Geschichte der Sammlung und zum Digitalisierungsprojekt 2007–2009, das von der DFG gefördert wurde, s. <http://www.altegeschichte.uni-bonn.de/bonner-papyrus-und-ostrakonsammlung>.

## 1. ὄχλος in einem Privat- oder Geschäftsbrief

P.Bonn. inv. 30

8,2 x 14,2 cm

spätes 3.-frühes 4. Jh. n.Chr.

Herkunft unbekannt

Erhalten ist die untere rechte Ecke des Briefes, die möglicherweise ein Viertel des ursprünglichen Blattes ausmacht. Unten mißt der Freirand 3 cm und rechts 1,2 cm. Einzig in Z. 11 hat der Schreiber bis zur äußeren Kante geschrieben; vielleicht handelt es sich dabei um einen Nachtrag. Die Schrift läuft auf dem Rekto längs der Faserrichtung. In Z. 8 zwischen γάρ und περιτοι- sowie in Z. 11 zwischen den beiden Silben von λοιπά hat der Schreiber ein *vacat* gelassen. Die ursprünglich auf dem Verso befindliche Adresse stand auf dem oberen Teil des Blattes und ist heute verloren. Auf dem erhaltenen Ausschnitt des Versos befindet sich eine kurze Abrechnung, die wir im künftigen ersten Band mit Papyri der Bonner Sammlung vorlegen werden. Das Blatt wurde also für eine Zweitverwendung herangezogen und dabei in kleinere Stücke zerteilt; oben und links sind demnach keine Bruch-, sondern sekundäre Schnittkanten anzunehmen.

Die Identität der Korrespondenten bleibt unbekannt. Die erhaltenen Partien zeigen, daß der Brief einen privaten bzw. geschäftlichen Charakter hat. Der Ton des Textes ist direkt und zielorientiert. Es gibt keinerlei Höflichkeitsfloskeln, und dem Schreiber scheint vor allem an einer nüchternen Übermittlung von Informationen gelegen zu sein. Im zweiten Teil des Fragments ist von der Belästigung bzw. Drangsalierung durch eine dritte Person die Rede (Z. 9: περιεσπάσατο) sowie von einem Kauf (Z. 10: πρῶσις, vielleicht auch in Z. 11). In Z. 4 erscheint ein Unterstützer (παρεστηκώς) des Adressaten. Von besonderem Interesse ist Z. 11, die möglicherweise den in den Papyri seltenen Begriff ὄχλος („Haufe, Volksmenge, Pöbel“), eventuell aber auch die dort gar nicht belegten Formen ὄχλος (Adjektiv) oder ὀχλῶς (Adverb) bezeugt. In der letzten erhaltenen Zeile des Textes (Z. 12) wird ein παιδίον erwähnt. Ob das Wort hier die Bedeutung „Kind“ oder „Diener/Sklave“ hat, ist nicht auszumachen.

Der Schreiber scheint gebildet zu sein, da er keine Fehler macht und sein Stil relativ elaboriert ist; man beachte etwa die häufige Verwendung von Partikeln (Z. 8, 10 und 11) sowie die Stilfigur der Litotes in Z. 3-4. Auch der Gebrauch der seltenen Ausdrucksweise ὄχλος bzw. ὄχλος / ὀχλῶς ist gehobene Sprache und möglicherweise zugleich wegen der spezifischen Funktion des Wortes ὄχλος im politischen Diskurs griechischer Eliten<sup>3</sup> sogar Ausdruck eines entsprechenden Selbstverständnisses des Schreibers.

<sup>3</sup> Man denke nur an Thuk. 4, 28, 3: οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν, oder, in der politischen Theorie, die Kategorie der Ochlokratie als Verfallsstufe der Demokratie, etwa bei Polybios.

Für die Datierung des Fragments stehen nur paläographische Indizien zur Verfügung. Aufgrund der Schreibweise einzelner Buchstaben wie etwa des δ, κ und ν sowie des stellenweise anzutreffenden α mit weit nach rechts gezogenem Ausstrich möchten wir den Papyrus am ehesten ins späte 3. Jh. oder frühe 4. Jh. n.Chr setzen.

→	1	[ - - -	] . [ - - ]
	2	[ - - -	] ν τυγχάνει δύο ἀν-
	3	[ - - -	] ην, ἵνα γένηται οὐ τὸ τυ-
	4	[ χὸν - - -	] τὸν παρεστηκότα σοι
	5	[ - - -	] ἥσας πρότερον εἴ τις
	6	[ - - - οὐκ οἶδ(?)	] α, πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον
	7	[ - - - ἔ(?)	] νθα ἐκάστου ὀνόματι
	8	[ - - -	] χης. πολλὰ γὰρ περιποι-
	9	[ - - -	] περιεσπάσατό πως
	10	[ - - -	] εἰς πρᾶσιν. εἴθε δὲ πάντα
	11	[ - - - (?) πρ]	ᾶσιν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αοχλος
	12	[ - - -	] σιν τῷ παιδίῳ ταῦτα
	13	[ - - - (?) ]	vacat

8 γὰρ vac. περιποι 11 λοι vac. πα pap. 12 τῷ: ω ex α corr.

„... es trägt sich zu, daß zwei ... damit etwas Bedeutsames sich ereignet / ergibt ... den Dir zur Seite getretenen ... vorher, ob / wenn jemand ... ich weiß nicht (?), wie und in welcher Art ... wo / wann (?) jedes einzelnen im Namen von ... Denn vieles ... hat er irgendwie bedrängt ... zum Kauf. Alles möge ... den Kauf (?). Ansonsten aber, was die breite Masse / der Pöbel (?) / unbehelligt ... dem Kind / Diener diese ...“

3-4 ἵνα γένηται οὐ τὸ τυ[χὸν κτλ.]: Zur Ergänzung vgl. z.B. aus der Abfassungszeit unseres Textes *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.284 (300): οὐ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἔσται σοι ὁ κίνδυνος. Das Verb τυγχάνω hat hier offenkundig die in den Papyri nicht selten vorkommende Bedeutung „zufällig, alltäglich, gewöhnlich oder geringfügig sein“ (s. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. 4). Der Ausdruck οὐ τὸ τυχόν dürfte demnach für „etwas Wichtiges, etwas Bedeutsames“ stehen. Hingegen kommt eine Wiedergabe im Sinne von „damit nicht rein Zufälliges sich ereignet“ nicht in Frage, denn der Passus hätte in diesem Fall ἵνα μὴ τὸ τυχὸν γένηται lauten müssen.

4 ] τόν: Denkbar wäre auch αὐ]τόν.

– παρῆστηκα: Das Verb παρίστημι steht hier im Sinne von „hintreten, zur Seite treten“; s. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. 3.

6 οὐκ οἶδ(?)α, πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον: Wie man die erhaltenen Textpartien verstehen soll, ist wegen des fehlenden Kontextes nicht klar. Am wahrscheinlichsten scheint uns die Rekonstruktion der Phrase οὐκ οἶδα, da einerseits die Tintenspur zu Beginn der erhaltenen Partie der Zeile sehr gut zu einem α passt (es handelt sich um einen weit nach unten gezogenen Ausstrich, wie z. B. bei ἔ(?)νθα in der Folgezeile), und andererseits viele Parallelen für diese Formel in den kaiserzeitlichen Papyrusbriefen zu finden sind; vgl. z.B. *SB* 22.15603.7-9 (spätes 3. Jh.): καὶ ἀθυμῶ τοῦτου ἔνεκα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδα | πῶς διαέκε[ι]ται ἡ οἰκία ἢ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ | κατὰ τὴν π[όλιν] und *P.Heid.* 4.333.24-25 (5. Jh.): καὶ οὐκ οἶδα, πῶς ἐγόν|γοισες (l. ἐγόγγυσας). Eine zeitgenössische Parallele für die Kombination des Verbs οἶδα mit der Wendung πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον liefert *SB* 14.11349.6-8 (3. Jh.): ὅπως εἰδείην πῶς καὶ | τίνα τρόπον ὁ τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν [δ]ιαφυλάξαι βουλόμενος στ<ρ>ατη|γὸς τῇ τῆς εὐ[ . . ]ηρίας φορᾶ συνα[γ]ωνίζεσθαι.

7 ἔ(?)νθα: Alternative Rekonstruktionen wie πέπο]νθα, κολόκυ]νθα, ἄκα]νθα, (ὠμό)πλι]νθα) scheinen uns weniger plausibel.

– ὀνόματι: Theoretisch wären auch die Transkriptionen ὄνομά τι bzw. ὄνομα τι- (letzteres als Wortanfang) möglich.

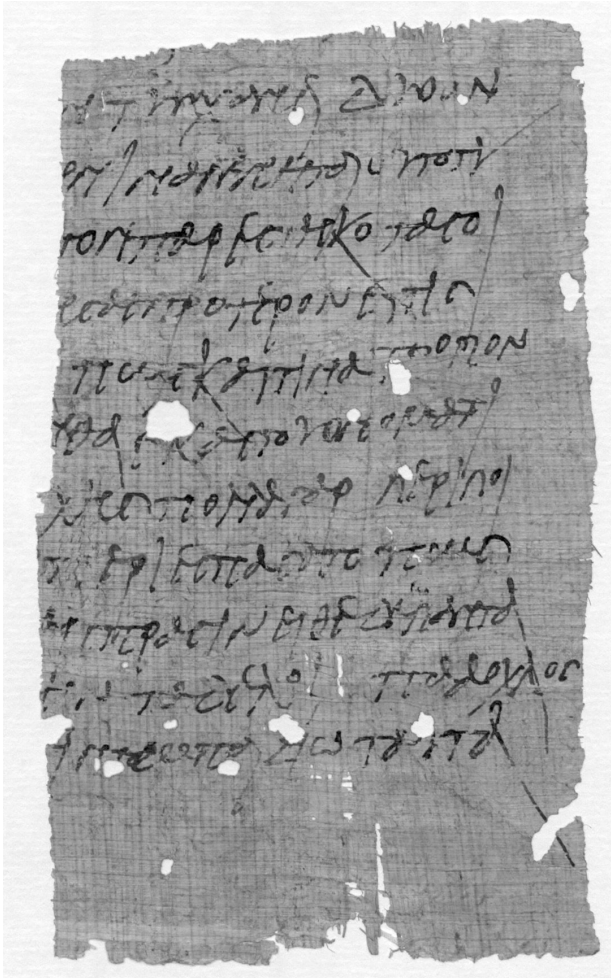
8 ]χης: Am ehesten ἀπο]χῆς, vor allem wegen der Erwähnung eines Kaufs (πρᾶσις) in Z. 10 und vielleicht auch in Z. 11; andere Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten wie z.B. ἀρ]χῆς sind aber nicht auszuschließen. Möglich wäre auch die Rekonstruktion des Konjunktivs ἔ]χης bzw. des Konjunktivs eines der Komposita von ἔχω.

– περιποι-: Dabei handelt es sich entweder um eine Form des Verbs περιποιέω oder um zwei verschiedene Wörter (περὶ ποι-).

9 περιεσπάσατο: Das Verb ist hier wohl im Sinne von „belästigen, bedrängen, behelligen“ zu verstehen (s. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. 1 b), wobei andere Bedeutungen wegen des fragmentarischen Kontextes nicht völlig auszuschließen sind. Dazu gehören besonders folgende Wiedergaben: „jmd. an der Nase herumführen“, „jmd. wozu zwingen“, „jmd. wohin schleppen“ und „Gelder für Dinge verwenden, für die sie nicht bestimmt sind“ (s. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. 1a und 2a-c).

10 εἶθε δὲ πάντα: Vgl. z.B. aus der Abfassungszeit unseres Textes *P.Oxy.* 12.1489.6-7 (spätes 3. Jh.): εἶθε πάντας πεπλήρωκα ὡς Ἀγαθὸς | Δαίμων.





11 τὰ δὲ λοιπά: Diese Phrase ist in den Papyri verbreitet; vgl. z.B. aus der Kaiserzeit BGU 2.483.13 (2. Jh.). Auf sie können sowohl Relativsätze (vgl. z.B. SB 18.13168.7 [123 v.Chr.]: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ὧν τὸ καθ' [ἐ]ν σήμερον ὑπόκειται κτλ.) als auch Adverbien (vgl. UPZ 1.94.42a [158 v.Chr.]: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κοτυλειστὶ δέδωκε κτλ.) folgen; zu diesen beiden Möglichkeiten s. das Folgende.

– σοχλος: Die ausgerückte Position läßt vermuten, daß diese Textpartie nachträglich hinzugefügt wurde. Eine mögliche Deutung wäre: ἄσυχλος. Dann wäre das vorangehende τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ vermutlich direkt hierauf zu beziehen:

„Das übrige aber, was die breite Masse / der Pöbel ...“. Ein bestimmter Artikel ὁ ὄχλος ist an dieser Stelle nicht erforderlich; vgl. etwa das Zitat aus Thukydides in obiger Anm. 3.

Es existieren im Altgriechischen zwei Substantive ὄχλος. Das eine steht für „Haufen, Volksmenge, Bevölkerung“, das andere für „Belästigung, Behelligung“. Von diesen ist an unserer Stelle das erstgenannte wahrscheinlicher, da das zweite nicht nur sehr selten vorkommt, sondern eigentlich einen fehlerhaften Sprachgebrauch darstellt, insofern ὄχλος als Synonym zu ὄχλησις verwendet wird. Für den erstgenannten Sinn s. Preisigkes *Wörterbuch* s.v. mit Belegen und darüber hinaus z.B. *PSI Congr. XX* 11.3-8 (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.): [εἰ]δέναι σε βούλ[ο]μαι ὅτι Εὐδαί[[μω]ν ὁ ἀγορανομήσας προφά|σει . . . α . . . ς τὰς κόμας καταργεῖ | ὄχλον συνάγων ἐν λαύραις | ὡς πάντας κινδυνεύειν ἀνα|χωρήσαι; zur zweiten Bedeutung s. *PSI* 13.1334.3-8 (3. Jh.): οὐ παύομαι δι' ὄχλου[ς] σοι γεινό|μενος περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν | πραγμάτων ἵνα μὴ ὕστερον | ἐν ἀμελείᾳ γεναμένων (l. γενομένων) κινδυ|νεύσης μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν σου, | εἴ γε κήδη αὐτῶν.

Alternativ ist die Möglichkeit in Betracht zu ziehen, daß hier das Adjektiv ὄχλος bzw. das zugehörige Adverb ἀόχλος (l. ἀόχλως) vorliegt. Diese und andere Wortbildungen zum Stamm ἀοχλ- (nicht ἀνοχλ-) sind literarisch gut bezeugt. In den Papyri existiert hingegen bislang nur ein Beleg, und zwar für die Form ἀόχλητος in *PSI* 4.292.19-20 (3. Jh.): ἵνα διὰ τ[ὴν σὴν φιλανθρω]πίαν ἀόχλητος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεσάναι δυνηθῶ.

13 Ob es nach ταῦτα (Z. 12) weiteren Text und damit eine dreizehnte Zeile gab, ist nicht klar. Sollte dies der Fall gewesen sein, dann hätte diese letzte Zeile ausschließlich den verlorenen linken Teil des Blattes gefüllt.

## 2. Brief zwischen zwei Brüdern

P.Bonn. inv. 51

9,9 x 18,4 cm spätes 3. / frühes 4. Jh. n.Chr.

Herkunft unbekannt

Das Blatt ist oben und rechts mit den Originalrändern erhalten. Links und unten ist es abgebrochen. Die Schrift läuft auf dem Rekto längs der Fasern. Oben ist ein Freirand von 1,35 cm erkennbar. Rechts reicht die Schrift in der Regel bis an die Blattkante. Der ungefähre Textverlust auf der linken Seite ergibt sich aus dem Übergang von Z. 10 zu 11, der sich mit einiger Sicherheit wiederherstellen läßt. Rechnet man noch den linken Freirand hinzu, dessen Existenz sicher anzunehmen ist, so scheint das Blatt entlang der mittleren vertikalen Faltung in zwei Teile zerbrochen zu sein; wir besitzen somit die rechte Hälfte. Der Textverlust im abgebrochenen unteren Teil des Blattes dürfte hingegen sehr gering sein und allenfalls ein bis zwei Zeilen umfassen. Hierfür

spricht das Formular der Schlußgrüße, die sich in den letzten beiden erhaltenen Zeilen erkennen lassen. Das Fragment weist zahlreiche Beschädigungen auf, welche die Entzifferung stellenweise erschweren. Das Verso des Blattes ist angeblich leer.

Der Name des Absenders ist nicht erhalten, der des Adressaten endet auf -aros. Der Absender spricht den Adressaten zweimal (Z. 1 und 18) als „Bruder“ an, was zeigt, daß die beiden Korrespondenten von gleich zu gleich verkehrten und somit auf demselben sozialen Niveau standen, sofern sie nicht sogar tatsächlich Geschwister gewesen sein sollten. Die Erwähnung eines Mitarbeiters im Büro eines hochrangigen Beamten (Z. 3: *officialis*), der vielleicht sogar ein früheres Schreiben des Adressaten des vorliegenden Briefes an unseren Schreiber überbracht hatte, sowie eventuell auch der seltene lateinische Name Quirinus (s. unten Komm. zu Z. 4) sind Indizien, daß wir uns im Milieu des Verwaltungs- und Militärapparates der Provinz Ägypten (bzw. nach 298 einer der ägyptischen Provinzen) bewegen. Hierzu paßt, daß auch der Adressat einen Namen lateinischer Provenienz wie Clarus geführt haben könnte.

Im ersten Abschnitt des Briefes (Z. 2-8) teilt der Absender dem Adressaten zunächst mit, daß er einen früheren Brief von ihm empfangen habe (Z. 2). In diesem Brief ging es offenbar um eine Person (ein Quirinus oder ein Palmyrener?), auf die im Folgenden zweimal Bezug genommen wird (Z. 5 und 7-8: αὐτῷ). Im zweiten Abschnitt (Z. 8-11) berichtet der Schreiber, daß er dem Adressaten diverse Dinge bereits geschickt habe oder zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt zu schicken beabsichtige, darunter unbeschriebene Papyrusrollen. Im dritten Abschnitt (Z. 11-19) ist, wie es scheint, von der Entsendung mehrerer Leute zu einer dritten Person die Rede sowie von Waren, die aus dem Arsinoites ins Niltal bzw. von dort nilabwärts verbracht werden sollen. Der Adressat soll sich um diese Leute kümmern (Z. 15, 17 und 19: αὐτοῖς bzw. αὐτῶν).

Der Brief enthält mehrere seltene Wörter bzw. in den Papyri nur selten anzutreffende Wortverwendungen: χάρτης καθάρως (unbeschriebene Papyrusrolle), λεπτάριον (Kleingeld) und vielleicht auch ἐπίδοσις (Geschenk). Dem Schreiber unterlaufen neben den für die Epoche typischen Versehen bei Vokalen oder der Konsonanten-Assimilation (s. *app. crit.*) auch gravierendere Schreib- bzw. grammatische Fehler, so die Auslassung eines ι in Z. 3: ὀφρικ<ι>αίου, die Auslassung einer Silbe in Z. 6: ὁξύ<τε>ρον und vielleicht auch in Z. 13: κατεγ<εν>ηγ-, daneben offenbar in Z. 7 die relativ seltene Vertauschung θ > τ: ἀποκρινόμετα (s. unten Komm.) und die Vertauschung von Aktiv und Passiv in Z. 19: σ]υγαρέσθ[ι] anstelle von συναρέσαι. Hinzu kommt möglicherweise ein Rhotazismus in Z. 4 (s. unten Komm.).

Die Erwähnung des Arsinoites in Z. 13 liefert keinen klaren Hinweis auf den Fundort des Textes bzw. den Aufenthaltsort von Schreiber oder Adressat.

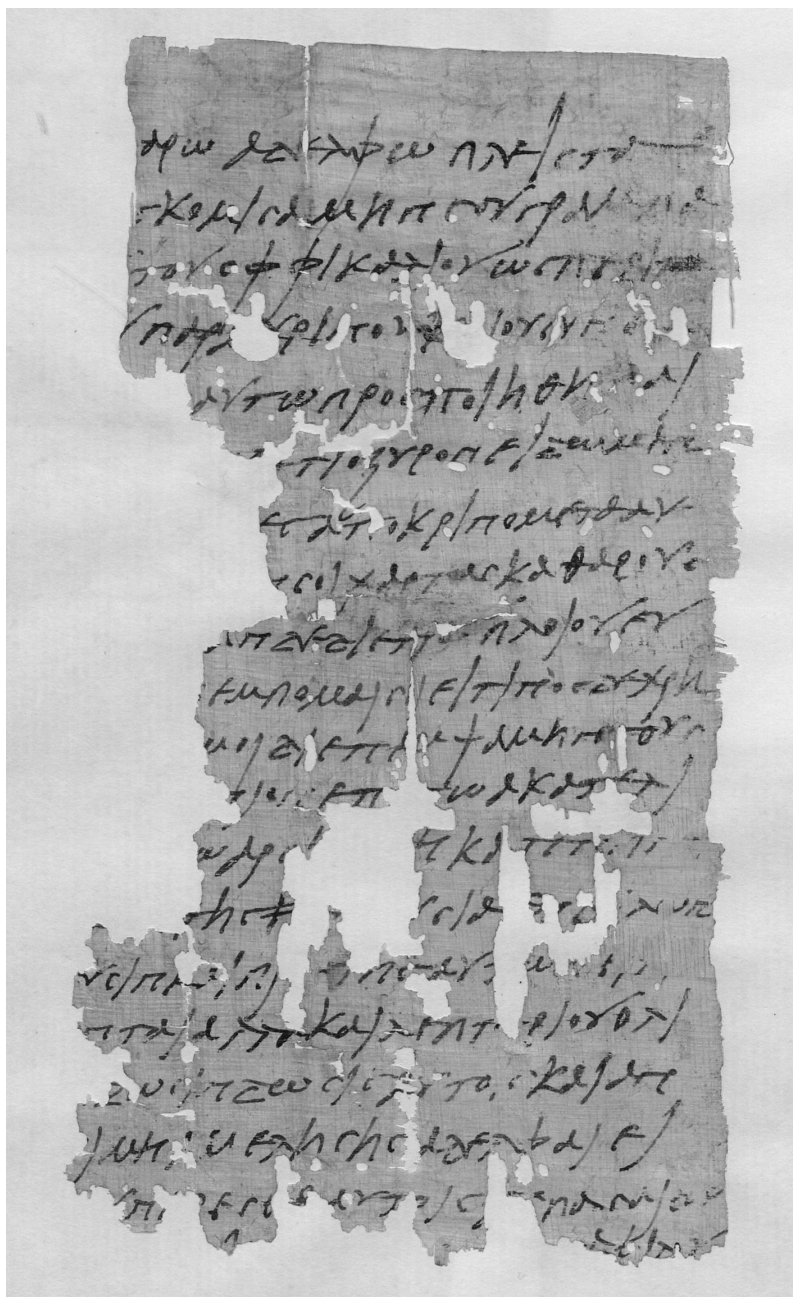
Im Gegenteil scheint der Wortlaut nahezu legen, daß unsere beiden Korrespondenten außerhalb dieses Gaues weilten. Sicher ist aber, daß der Schreiber Zugang zu einem Hafen hatte und damit zu Waren, die mit dem Schiff herbeigebracht wurden, während der Adressat auf die Lieferungen des Schreibers angewiesen gewesen zu sein scheint.

Für die Datierung des Fragments ins späte 3. bzw. frühe 4. Jh. sprechen zum einen die paläographischen Merkmale (man beachte als Vergleichsmaterial H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie*, Stuttgart 2010, S. 160ff. Abb. 157ff.); zum anderen ist zu bemerken, daß *officialis* in den Papyri erst ab dem späten 3. Jh. regelmäßig begegnen, während frühere Zeugnisse extrem selten und technisch-administrativer Natur sind.

- 1 [ ca. 13 ] . ἀρῶ ἀδελφῶ πλείστα  
 2 [χαίρειν ca. 6? ] ἐκομισάμην σου γράμμα-  
 3 [τα διὰ(?) ca. 7 ο]υ τοῦ ὀφικ<ι>αλίου ὡς περὶ [τ . . ]  
 4 [ ca. 14 ] υπαρ . υρινου ἰδίου συν . . .  
 5 [ ca. 16 ] αὐτῷ προσποιηθῆναι  
 6 [ ca. 14 ἐὰ]ν ῥέ τι ὀξύ<τε>ρον εἴδωμεν  
 7 [ ca. 16 ] ἐς ἀποκρινόμεθα αὐ-  
 8 [τῷ(?) ca. 5 διεπεμψάμη(?) ] γ σοι χάρτας καθαρὸς  
 9 [ ca. 14 ἐ]ὰν δὲ δι' ἐτ<έ>ρου πλοίου ευ-  
 10 [ ca. 12 δια]πέμπομαί σοι . εἴ τινος δὲ χρή-  
 11 [ξεις, ἀντίγραφόν] μοι . διεπεμψάμην τούς  
 12 [ ca. 15 ] νιον ἐπ[ι] τῷ ᾧ κατελι-  
 13 [ ca. 11 ἐν τ]ῷ Ἀρσι[νοίτ]ῃ κατενηγ-  
 14 [ ca. 11 ] . [ . ] . της ψ[ . ] . [ . . ] υσια ἐνβαλὼν  
 15 [ ca. 11 ] υσιν καὶ πρ[ὸ]ς τῆς αὐτῶν ε . . .  
 16 [ ca. 11 ] . γται ἀλλὰ καὶ λεπταρίου ὀλί-  
 17 [γου ca. 6 ἐπ]ιδῶσιν δώσις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἂν  
 18 [ ca. 10 κ]αὶ μὴ ἀμελήσης, ἀδελφαι, εἰ  
 19 [ ca. 13 σ]υναρέσθ[ι] αὐτοῖς . ἄσπασαί σου  
 20 [ ca. 17 ] . [ ca. 8 τοὺς] σε φιλοῦ-  
 21 [ντας πάντας - - - ]
- - - - -

6 l. ἴδωμεν 7 l. ἀποκρινόμεθα 14 l. ἐμβαλὼν 17 l. ἐπίδοσιν (vel ἐπιδώσειν) l. δώσεις 18 l. ἀδελφε 19. l. συναρέσαι

„N.N. an -aros, Bruder, viele Grüße ... Ich habe Deinen Brief empfangen durch (?) N.N., den *officialis*, des Inhalts ... ihm zu beschaffen / ihm vorzutäuschen ... Sobald wir aber etwas schärfer sehen ... antworten wir ihm (?) ... Ich





habe Dir unbeschriebene Papyrusrollen geschickt (?) ... Wenn aber durch ein anderes Schiff ... schicke ich Dir ... Und wenn Du irgendetwas benötigst, schreib mir zurück. Ich habe die (Leute) zu N.N. geschickt ... die im Arsinoites hinterlassenen ... abtransportiert werden ... verladen ... für ihre ... aber auch ein wenig Kleingeld ... wirst Du ihnen ein Geschenk (?) geben und ... und vernachlässige dies nicht, Bruder, wenn ... ihnen gefällt (?) ... Grüße Deine(n) ... und alle, die Dich lieben, ...“

1 ] . ἄρω: Die Anbindung des verlorenen Buchstaben an das α verläuft zunächst schräg nach unten und krümmt sich dann leicht nach oben. Zu lesen ist daher am ehesten ]λάρω, andere Möglichkeiten wären ]γάρω und ]τάρω; theoretisch denkbar, aber wenig sinnvoll sind ]αρω, ]εάρω oder ]θάρω.

Zumeist wird die Anrede des Adressaten als ἄδελφός mit dem bestimmten Artikel und gelegentlich noch mit einem adjektivischen Zusatz verbunden. Da uns kein geeignetes Adjektiv bekannt ist, das hier passen würde, nehmen wir an, daß direkt vor ἄδελφῷ der Name des Adressaten genannt war, was selten ist. Für diese Deutung spricht im übrigen auch die Tatsache, daß für ein längeres Formular der Platz am Anfang der Zeile nicht ausreichen würde.

Die Liste von Namen auf -αρος bei Dornseiff – Hansen, S. 278-279 ist für die Ergänzung der Stelle wenig hilfreich, da nur wenige von diesen im vorliegenden Kontext wahrscheinlich sind. Zu denken wäre eher an Namen wie Κλάρω oder Ἰλάρω, die zwar dort nicht aufgeführt sind, hier aber sehr gut in Betracht kämen.

2 Aufgrund des mutmaßlichen Textverlustes (s. oben Einl.) ist anzunehmen, daß nach χαίρειν noch einige Buchstaben zu ergänzen sind. Freilich wäre ein übergeordneter Hauptsatz wie γινῶναι σε θέλω ὅτι κτλ. (vgl. etwa *P.Yale* 1.83.1-4 [ca. 200]): Πτολεμ[αῖος] Ἀμμωνῶ τῷ | φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. | γεινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ἐκομισάμην σου γράμματα) zu lang. Dasselbe gilt für eine sehr kurze *formula valetudinis* wie καὶ ὑγιαίνειν. Die Zeile war vielleicht eingerückt.

2-3 γράμμα[τα: Der Plural ist sehr wahrscheinlich, doch läßt sich der Singular γράμμα nicht völlig ausschließen.

3 ο]ν τοῦ ὀφφικ<α>λίου: Der *officialis*, dessen Name vermutlich in der vorangehenden Lücke stand, dürfte entweder der Überbringer (ἐκομισάμην σου γράμματα διὰ N.N. τοῦ ὀφφικιαλίου) oder aber der Gegenstand des betreffenden Schreibens gewesen sein (ἐκομισάμην σου γράμματα περὶ N.N. τοῦ ὀφφικιαλίου). Aufgrund des folgenden ὡς περί, mit welchem die Paraphrase des Briefinhalts offenbar erst beginnt, halten wir erstere Lösung für wahrscheinlicher. Zum Ausfall des ι vor einem betonten Vokal vgl. Gignac, *Grammar* 1:304; als enge Parellele aus dem Bereich der lateinischen Lehnwörter läßt

sich die Form φακάριον für φακίριον (*faciale*) aus *P.Ryl.* 4.606.36 (spätes 3. Jh.) nennen.

– ὥς περί: Zu dieser Wendung anstelle des einfachen περί vgl. z.B. *P.Oxy.* 55.3814.3-4 (3.-4. Jh.): ἐπέστ<ε>ιλάς μοι ὥς περὶ τῶν τεκτόνων mit Zeilenkommentar, wo zur Struktur ὥς + Präposition auf LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v. C II verwiesen wird.

– [τ . . ]: Die Buchstaben, höchstwahrscheinlich ein bestimmter Artikel im Genitiv, sind vom Schreiber entweder unabsichtlich verschmiert oder aber bewußt gelöscht worden.

4 ]υπαρ . υρινου: Wie diese Stelle zu deuten ist, bleibt unklar. Möglicherweise liegt ein gravierender Schreibfehler vor, wie sie dem Schreiber mehrfach unterlaufen (Auslassung eines Buchstaben oder einer Silbe, s. oben Einl.). Der dritte Buchstabe ist ziemlich sicher α und nicht ε, ὑπέρ scheidet also aus. Eine mögliche Lesung wäre ο]υ Παμμυρινοῦ (für Παλμυρηνοῦ), woran sich eventuell die weitergehende, allerdings höchst hypothetische Annahme anschließen ließe, daß der Text aus der kurzen Phase der palmyrenischen Okkupation stammt (ca. 269-272), während die rhotazistische Verschreibung als Hinweis auf eine Abfassung im Arsinoites gedeutet werden könnte, wo dieses Phänomen bekanntlich verbreitet war (freundlicher Hinweis von Peter van Minnen). Hinter dem Folgenden könnte sich aber auch, wie wir denken, der Name Κυρίνου verbergen (= Quirinus). Für diesen existieren in Ägypten zwei Belege, der eine in einer Inschrift aus dem 1.-3. Jh. (*IGR* 1.5.1339 = *SB* 1.1020.11; vgl. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 189 s.v.), der andere in einem Papyrus aus dem 6. Jh. (*P.Stras.* 5.348.3); für die epigraphische Evidenz aus dem lateinischen Westen s. B. Lőrincz, *OPEL* 4,20. Alternativ wäre denkbar, daß der sechste Buchstabe nicht ein υ, sondern ein χ darstellt (besonders dann, wenn links des folgenden ρ eine schwache Spur des rechten unteren Beins eines solchen χ vorhanden sein sollte; zu dieser Buchstabenverbindung vgl. Z. 10: χρή[-]). Die Lesung wäre dann also ]υπαρχρινου, mit unklarer Bedeutung.

– ἰδίου: Die Lesung ist sehr unsicher. Sie geht davon aus, daß der linke Teil des δ das vorangehende ι teilweise überlagert. Alternativ φ zu lesen, halten wir für wenig plausibel, da dieser Buchstabe in der vorliegenden Hand, wie die Beispiele in Z. 1 und 3 zeigen, eine weit nach unten reichende senkrechte Haste aufweist.

5 προσποιηθῆναι: Das mutmaßliche γ ist fast gänzlich zerstört. Die alternative Transkription προσποιηθῆ και (mit einem verschmierten Kappa) ist allerdings paläographisch wenig plausibel. Zur Bedeutung des Verbs in den Papyri vgl. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. προσποιέω: „hinzufügen“; (med.) „sich



verschaffen, sich anmaßen; vollführen“; ähnlich LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v.: „make over to, add / attach to“; (med.) „procure / take for oneself, gain over; pretend“.

6 ἐὰν γ' ὅξ τι ὀξύ<τε>ρον εἶδωμεν (l. ἴδωμεν): Wegen der Verbindung mit ὀξύτερον deuten wir εἶδωμεν als Form von ὁράω und nicht οἶδα. Literarische Zeugnisse für die Verwendung von ὀξύς bzw. ὀξύτερος im Hinblick auf Scharfsichtigkeit sind in LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v. II 2 angeführt. Der Gebrauch des Ausdrucks ist hier aber offenbar metaphorisch zu verstehen: „wenn wir die Sache besser durchschauen (also mehr Klarheit haben)“. Zum Komparativ ὀξύτερος in den Papyri vgl. *P.Lond.* 3.899 (S. 208-209), 3-6 (2. Jh.): τὸ πορφύριόν σοι ἔπεμψα· | τὸ οὖν βαθυτέρον πεποιήται | εἰς τὸ σπανὸν καὶ τὸ ὀξύτερον | εἰς τ[ὸ] ἄλλ[ο].

7-8 Die Stelle läßt sich in zweierlei Form deuten: ἀποκρινόμετα αὐ[τῷ] vel sim. oder ἀποκρίνομε τὰ αὐ[τῷ]. Beide Verbformen wären orthographisch falsch. Da in der vorangehenden Zeile das Verb in der 1. Person Plural steht und überdies die Wortendung ]ες direkt vor unserer Stelle als Nominativ Plural gedeutet und damit auf das Subjekt des Verbs bezogen werden könnte, bevorzugen wir die erste Variante. Da ferner im Vorangehenden von einer männlichen Person die Rede ist (Z. 5: αὐτῷ), eventuell von Quirinus oder einem Mann aus Palmyra, ergänzen wir auch hier αὐτ[ῷ], in der Annahme, daß wiederum dieselbe Person gemeint ist. Zur Vertauschung θ > τ, die in den Papyri nur selten anzutreffen ist, vgl. Gignac, *Grammar* 1:87.

8 χάρτας καθαρούς: Gemeint sind „unbeschriebene Papyrusrollen“; zur Deutung von χάρτης als Papyrusrolle (und nicht -blatt) s. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford 1974, 70-78. Eine enge Parallele zur vorliegenden Stelle liefert *P.Abinn.* 21.3-5 (Mitte 4. Jh.), wo allerdings von einem Blatt die Rede ist (Diminutiv): χαρτίον καθαρὸν μὴ εὐρὸν | πρὸς τὴν ὥραν εἰς τοῦτο ἔγραψα. Als Synonym begegnet auch die Phrase ἄγραφος χάρτης; vgl. z.B. *BGU* 3.822.28-29 (105?; s. HGV): καὶ [ἐὰν] σοι φανῇ, πέμψον μοι ἄγραφον χάρτην, ἵνα εὗρο[με]ν ἐπιστολ[ήν] | γράψαι.

9-10 ἐπ' ἂν δὲ δι' ἐτ<έ>ρον πλοίου εὐ[ ] : Denkbar wäre am Anfang auch ἐπ' ἂν und am Ende auch εὐ[ ]. Zur Stelle vgl. *PSI* 4.299.18-19 (spätes 3. Jh.): ἐπ' ἂν πλοίου εὐπορηθῶ, καταλαβείν ὑμᾶς. Am Zeilenübergang stand also vielleicht eine Form des Verbs εὐπορέω („zur Verfügung haben“) oder aber die Phrase εὐκαιρίαν εὐρίσκω („Gelegenheit finden“).

10 δια|πέμπομαί σοι: Zur Ergänzung des Kompositums vgl. διεπεμψάμην in Z. 11.

10-11 εἴ τις δὲ χρή[ ] ζεις, ἀντίγραφόν μοι: Zur Ergänzung χρή[ ] ζεις vgl. z.B. *O.Did.* 330.7-10 (vor [?] ca. 88-96): ἰ (l. εἰ) δέ | τις ἄλλου χρήσις (l. χρήζεις), πέμψων (l. πέμψον) μοι καὶ ἀποστελῶ (l. ἀποστελῶ) | σοι ἔ (l.

ἦ) φακὸν (l. φακὸν) ἔ (l. ἦ) χαλκόν; *P.Oxy.* 7.1066.13-16 (3. Jh.): εἴ τινος | δὲ χρήζεις ἀντίγραφόν μοι διὰ | τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶνα (l. ἴνα) σοι ἀποστέλω (l. ἀποστέλλω) und *P.Oxy.* 7.1069.31-32 (3. Jh.): ἦ (l. εἶ) τινος | δὲ χρήδεις (l. χρήζεις) ἀντίγραφόν (l. ἀντίγραφόν) μοι. Für die Ergänzung von ἀντίγραφον s. die beiden letzten soeben zitierten Parallelen.

11-12 τοῦς | [ : Hier scheint gemeint zu sein, daß der Schreiber irgendwelche Leute zu einer anderen Person geschickt hatte, z.B.: τοῦς | [ ca. 7 πρὸς Ἀμμώ]γιον. Diese Personen wären dann wohl die αὐτοί der folgenden Zeilen. Zur Verbindung διαπέμπω πρὸς im vorliegenden Sinne vgl. *P.Hamb.* 1.91.19; *P.Stras.* 7.606.7.

12-13 καταλι[ : Sicherlich eine Form des Verbs καταλείπω.

13 κατενηγ[ : Offenbar eine verderbte Form des Verbs καταφέρω, hier wohl im Sinne des Transportes aus dem Arsinoites ins Niltal bzw. dort nilabwärts gebraucht, vielleicht für das Partizip κατεν<εν>ηγ|[μέν-.

14 ] . [ . ] . της ψ[ . ] . [ . . ]υσια: Die drei ersten vollständig erhaltenen Buchstaben bilden die Silbe της (Artikel oder Wortendung). Dagegen ist das ψ sehr unsicher gelesen; es ähnelt nur wenig demselben Buchstaben in Z. 11: διεπεμψάμην. Alternativ könnte es sich um eine Sigle handeln, bestehend aus einem senkrechten Strich (ι oder ρ?), der von einem Querstrich durchzogen ist (unter der Annahme, daß der obere Querstrich als Ausstrich des vorangehenden Schluß-ς zu deuten ist).

15 πρ[ό]ς: Der letzte Buchstabe des Wortes ist halbrund und nach rechts geöffnet. Es handelt sich daher mit Sicherheit um ein Sigma und nicht um ein Omikron. Die Lesung der Präposition πρὸ scheint also ausgeschlossen.

16-17 λεπταρίου ὀλί|[γου: LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v. λεπτάριον führt als Bedeutung „surgical instrument“ an, und in dem sehr späten *P.Ross.Georg.* 4.16.4 und 9 (710) erscheint der Begriff als Bezeichnung für ein Folterwerkzeug (βασανίσαι ἀπὸ λεπταρίου [vom Hrsg. als Kalkstaub gedeutet]; im selben Text, Z. 7, erscheint auch das zugehörige Verb λεπταρισθῆναι). Beides ist bei uns schon wegen des hinzutretenden Adjektivs ὀλίγου ausgeschlossen. Vielmehr zeigt die enge Parallele zu unserer Stelle *P.Abinn.* 36 = *P.Gen.* 1.53.14-15 (Mitte 4. Jh.): εἶνα καὐτῇ εὐρε|[θῇ κα]τὰ χαίρα αὐτῆς ὀλίγον | λεπτάρειον (l. λεπτάριον), daß von Kleingeld die Rede ist; s. ebd. Übersetzung: „that for her too there may be found in her hand a tiny mite“ sowie den dortigen Komm. Im selben Sinne ist diese Stelle in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3 (Abschnitt Münzen) 349 erfaßt (wo allerdings irrig ὀλίγου statt ὀλίγον λεπτάριον steht). Unklar bleibt die Bedeutung des Wortes in *P.Berl.Bibl.* 25.5 (3. Jh.): ]εχει λεπτάριον εὐλογ[. Höchst unsicher ergänzt wurde der Begriff in *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.4.11-12 (2. Jh.): λε[πτα]ρί[ου] (vom

Hrsg. als „Pulver“ gedeutet). In *SPP* 10.124.1 (8. Jh.), wo zwischenzeitlich das ansonsten unbezeugte Anthroponym Λεπτάρ(ιος) als Lesung vorgeschlagen wurde (s. *BL* 8.457), ist in Wirklichkeit anders zu lesen (s. *BL* 12:272).

17 ἐπιδοῶσιν: Von dem ι ist nur die untere Spitze erhalten. Es bestehen zwei Deutungsmöglichkeiten: ἐπίδοσιν (Akk. zum Subst. ἐπίδοσις für „Geschenk“; zu dieser Bedeutung vgl. *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. und für die Papyri Preisigke, Wörterbuch 4) oder ἐπιδώσιν (Inf. fut. zu ἐπιδίδωμι). Im letzteren Fall wäre anzunehmen, daß ἐπιδοῶσιν und δώσις zu zwei verschiedenen Sätzen gehören.

19 σ]υγαρέσθαι[ι]: Der Infinitiv ist offenbar eine Form von συναρέσκω und syntaktisch mit dem unmittelbar folgenden αὐτοῖς zu verbinden.

– αὐτοῖς, ἄσπασαι: Das Schluß-ς von αὐτοῖς ist weit nach rechts gezogen und erstreckt sich bis in den Bereich oberhalb der beiden ersten Buchstaben von ἄσπασαι.

19-21 ἄσπασαί σου κτλ.: Es handelt sich um einen Schlußgruß, der den Konventionen der römischen Zeit folgt; vgl. etwa *O.Did.* 356.10-12 (vor [?] ca. 77-92): ἀσπάζου τοὺς σε φιλοῦντας πάντας; *O.Did.* 360.9-10 (vor [?] ca. 88-96): ἄσπ<ασ>αι τοὺς <σ>ε φιλοῦντας πάντας; *O.Claud.* 1.146.3-4 (ca. 100-120): ἄσπασαί σου | τὴν θυγατέρα; *P.Oxy.* 3.529.11-15 (2. Jh.): ἄσπασαί σου | τὴν μητέρα καὶ | Μᾶτριν καὶ τὰ τέκνα | αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦν|τάς σε πάντας oder *PSI* 13.1331 (= *SB* 5.7994), 22-26 (3. Jh.): ἄσπασαί | σου τὴν μητέρα Θεαυοῦν | καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ Φιλόξενον καὶ τοὺς σοὺς | πάντας.

### 3. Herr des Ruhmes: Ein Brieffragment aus dem 7. Jh.

P.Bonn. inv. 56

13,8 x 10,4 cm

1. Hälfte 7. Jh. n.Chr.  
Herkunft unbekannt

Erhalten ist die linke untere Ecke des Briefes. Links mißt der Freirand 1,35 cm und unten 1,55 cm. Oben und rechts ist das Blatt abgebrochen. Der Umfang des Textverlustes bleibt unbekannt. Wie bei den meisten spätantiken Papyrusbriefen ist das Blatt auf dem Rekto quer zur Faserrichtung beschrieben (*transversa charta*)<sup>4</sup>. Das Verso ist leer.

Über die beiden Korrespondenten ist dem Fragment nichts Konkretes zu entnehmen. In Z. 2 wird eine Stadt erwähnt, bei der es sich möglicherweise

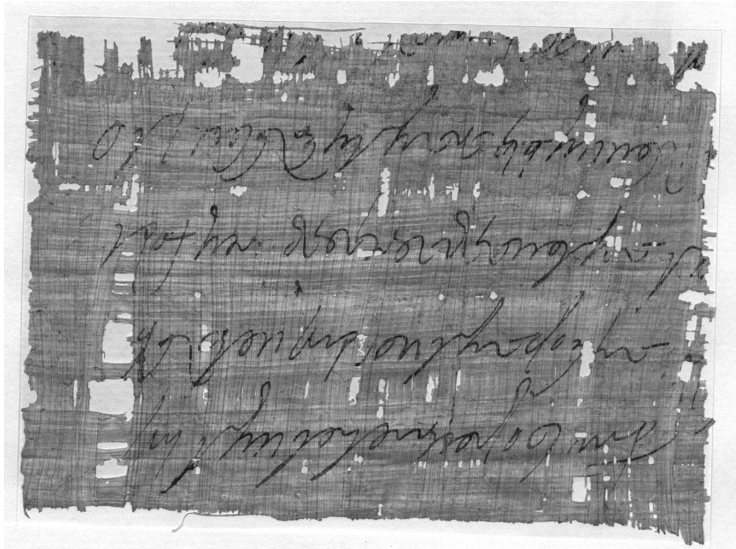
<sup>4</sup> Hierzu s. J.-L. Fournet, *Esquisse d'une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d'après les papyrus*, in: R. Delmaire – J. Desmulliez – P.-L. Gatier (Hrsg.), *Correspondences. Documents pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive. Actes du colloque international*, Lyon 2009, 23-66.

um die Metropole des Gaues handelt, in dem der Brief abgefaßt wurde. In Z. 3 ist davon die Rede, daß eine namentlich ungenannte Person dem Verfasser des vorliegenden Textes schreiben möge. Diese Person wird von unserem Schreiber als „sein Herr“ bezeichnet (ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης). In Z. 4 erscheint die relativ seltene Wendung ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης. In der letzten Zeile ist von der Rückgabe einer Sache oder Geldsumme die Rede.

Das Schriftbild spricht für eine Datierung in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jh. Eine gute Parallele liefert der aus der sassanidischen Zeit stammende Brief P.Vindob. G 16459 (619-629; im Druck in *CPR* 34 [dort werden auch weitere paläographische Parallelen erwähnt]). Die Sprache und Phraseologie des Briefes unterstützen diesen Ansatz; man beachte besonders die bereits erwähnte Formel ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης (s. unten Komm.).

- 
- ↓ 1 [ . . ] . . . . . [ . ] . . . . . . . . . [ . ] κ[ - - - ]  
 2 ὅτι πολλὰ ζητήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν [ - - - ]  
 3 γράψῃ μοι δὲ ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης τη[ - - - ]  
 4 ἀλλὰ τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης υἱ[ - - - ]  
 5 καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀπόδοσιν ϣ. [ vac. ]

„... weil/daß ich/Du/er, viel in der Stadt suchend (bzw. vieles bei der Ankunft in der Stadt verlangend) ... Möge aber mein guter Herr mir schreiben ... aber den Herrn des Ruhmes ... und dessen Rückgabe ϣ“



2 πολλά ζητήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν: Das Subjekt, auf welches das Partizip zu beziehen ist, bleibt unbekannt. Die Stelle könnte auf den Verfasser des Briefes, den Adressaten oder aber eine dritte Person bezogen werden. Die Wendung εἰς τὴν πόλιν ist wohl im lokalen Sinne zu verstehen (= ἐν τῇ πόλει), was als Vorbote der späteren Entwicklung im byzantinischen Griechisch gelten kann; vgl. *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67068.9-11 mit *BL* 1:107 und 2.2:39 (6. Jh.): ὑμῶν κατερχομένων | ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντινοέων πρὸς τοὺς λαμπρ[οτάτου]ς ἡμῶν δεσ[πό]τας παγάρχους | ζητήσατέ με εἰς Ἑρμο[ῦ] πόλι[ν]. Alternativ könnte man annehmen, daß eine Konstruktion wie etwa πολλά ζητήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν [κατερχόμενος bzw. κατερχομένη κτλ.] vorliegt.

3 γράψῃ μοι δὲ ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης: Vgl. *SB* 20.14449.6-7 (7. Jh.): γράψῃ μοι ὁ θεοφύλ(ακτός) μου δεσπό(της), ἵνα ἀνέλθω | καὶ παρακαλέσω αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν χρεία. Die Überreste von οἱ bei μοι sind minimal; das ο hatte wohl die Form einer Schlaufe, an deren Ende das ι angehängt war. Der Partikel δέ ist zu entnehmen, daß der davor stehende Konjunktiv γράψῃ zu einem Haupt- und nicht zu einem Nebensatz gehört (etwa einem ἵνα-Satz). Die Position der Partikel an dritter und nicht, wie sonst allgemein üblich, an zweiter Stelle des Satzes ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß der Schreiber γράψῃ μοι als ein Wort empfand. Eine Parallele hierfür liefert *P.Ant.* 2.95.6 (6. Jh.): γράψῃ μ[οι] δὲ τὸ τί θέλει εἰς λόγον αὐτῆς κτλ.

4 τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης: Die Wendung kommt bis jetzt in vier weiteren Papyri vor, die alle aus dem (späten) 6. oder 7. Jh. stammen, nämlich in den bereits publizierten *P.Ant.* 3.188.20-21 (6.-7. Jh.): ὁ Κύριος τῆς δόξης χαρίσεταιί μοι | τὴν ὑμετέραν γνησίαν ἐνδοξότητα εὐδ[αι]μονοῦσάν διὰ παντός; *PSI* 8.889.15 (6.-7. Jh.): ἐπεὶ ὡς οἶδεν κύριος τῆς δόξης ὅσας πληγὰς κτλ.; *P.Oxy.* 56.3872.9-10 (spätes 6.-7. Jh.): ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἀξιώσει με καὶ αὐταῖς | ὅψεσιν ἀσπάσασθαι τὰ ἔχνη τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότου und im noch unpublizierten *P.Vindob.* G 21775, 5 (in Bearbeitung von A. Papathomas).

Mit κύριος τῆς δόξης ist allem Anschein nach Jesus gemeint; man beachte die paulinische Verwendung in *1Kor* 2,8: εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν. Eine andere Paulus-Stelle (*Ephes.* 1,17) zeigt allerdings, daß auch der Vater gemeint sein könnte: ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, δώῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψῃ. Der paulinische Gebrauch ist allem Anschein nach als Einfluß aus der Sprache der Septuaginta zu erklären, wo der Ausdruck sich im allgemeinen auf Gott bezieht; vgl. *Numeri* 24,11: καὶ νῦν ἐστέρησέν σε κύριος τῆς δόξης. Für die Annahme, daß die Schreiber der Papyrusbriefe eher Jesus gemeint haben könnten, sprechen auch die Parallelen aus der frühchristlichen Literatur; vgl. z.B. bereits Clemens Alex., *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 3, 43: ἵνα πᾶν

γόνυ κάμψη καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται ὅτι Κύριος τῆς δόξης Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κτλ. sowie dens., *Stromata* 5, 4, 25, 2, wo er die obengenannte Stelle 1Kor 2,8 auf Jesus bezieht.

– υί[: Eher so als γρ[, da beim ersten Buchstaben keine Unterlänge zu erkennen ist. Man denkt an das Wort υἱ[όν und damit an eine Rekonstruktion wie τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης, υἱ[ὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (o.ä.) ---]. Eine solche Formulierung ist allerdings in den Papyri bislang nicht bezeugt.

#### 4. Brief an den Meizon von Chalothis

P.Bonn. inv. 103

20,5 x 7,1 cm

7. Jh. n.Chr. (?)

Chalothis (Arsinoites)

Der obere und untere Originalrand des Papyrus sind erhalten. Der Freirand beträgt oben 2,2 cm und unten 1,95 cm. Links und rechts ist das Blatt abgebrochen. Der Brief ist wie die große Mehrheit der spätantiken Papyrusbriefe auf dem Rekto quer zum Faserlauf geschrieben (*transversa charta*)<sup>5</sup>. Auf dem Verso erscheint die Adresse; die Schrift läuft hier parallel zur Faserrichtung. Es sind drei horizontale und acht vertikale Faltungen zu erkennen.

Der Name des Absenders wird am Ende der Adresse auf dem Verso angegeben, ist aber heute größtenteils zerstört. Adressat war der Vorsteher (μεῖζων) des arsinoitischen Dorfes Chalothis. Dieser wird darum gebeten, er möge einen namentlich nicht genannten Grammateus, der also beiden Briefpartnern gut bekannt war, veranlassen, dem Überbringer des vorliegenden Briefes einen Goldsolidus zur Verfügung zu stellen, vielleicht um eine bestimmte Menge an Gerste und Weizen zu kaufen. Am Ende scheint von der Verrechnung des besagten Solidus die Rede zu sein.

Der Verfasser des Briefes stand in der Hierarchie offenbar über dem Adressaten; man beachte etwa den Gebrauch des Imperativs in Z. 1, das Fehlen der sonst in der Epistolographie der spätgriechischen Zeit Ägyptens so verbreiteten Höflichkeitsfloskeln und den Umstand, daß der Schreiber dem Adressaten Anweisungen erteilt. Der Verfasser könnte beispielsweise an der Spitze der Verwaltung eines οἶκος gestanden haben. Es wäre denkbar, daß er der Geouchos oder der Antigeouchos der Domäne war. Mit dem vorliegenden Brief hätte er den ihm untergeordneten Vorsteher des Dorfes Chalothis beauftragt, daß dieser einem auf noch niedrigerer Ebene wirkenden Grammateus auftragen sollte (man beachte die Verwendung des Verbs παρασκευάζω), dem Überbringer unseres Briefes einen Goldsolidus

<sup>5</sup> S. oben Anm. 3.

auszuhändigen, den dieser wiederum beim Adressaten verrechnen würde. Der zu beauftragende Grammateus dürfte demnach derjenige des Dorfes Chalothis gewesen sein.

Es stellt sich die Frage, wie die im Text (Z. 2) genannten Zahlen 28 und 15 zu deuten sind. Sollten Artaben gemeint sein, so wäre dies erheblich mehr Getreide gewesen, als üblicherweise für einen Solidus zu kaufen war; dieser hätte allenfalls für 10-15 Artaben ausgereicht<sup>6</sup>. Vielleicht sollte mit dem Solidus also nur ein Teil des Getreides finanziert werden; dies könnte im übrigen auch durch die Präposition *ἀπό* angezeigt worden sein. Denkbar wäre aber auch, daß an dieser Stelle an andere Einheiten gedacht war, etwa *modii* (43 *modii* hätten etwa 10 Artaben entsprochen) oder Keratia (wobei allerdings ein vollwertiger Solidus nur 24 Keratien ausmachte).

Aufgrund paläographischer und inhaltlicher Kriterien ist der Text ins 7. Jh. zu datieren, wobei auch das frühe 8. Jh. nicht völlig auszuschließen ist. In dieselbe Richtung weist auch die Erwähnung des arsinoitischen Dorfes Chalothis, das gerade in Papyri aus dieser Phase relativ häufig nachweisbar ist.

- ↓ 1 [- - - παρ]ασκεύασον τὸν γραμματέαν βαλεῖν ὑποκάτω τοῦ  
 γραμματηφόρου ὀλοκοττίνιν [ἐν - - -]  
 2 [- - -]υτα ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ κριθὴν καὶ δεκαπέντε σίτου. καὶ  
 ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὁ γραμματεὺς [- - -]  
 3 [- - - - - - - - -]λο]γίζει αὐτῷ τὸ ὀλ[ο]κοττίνιν †. *vacat*

Verso

- 4 † ἀποδ(ο)θ(ήτω) *vacat* μείζ(ονι) *vacat* χωρ(ίου) Χαλόθε(ως) †  
 παρὰ Σ. [

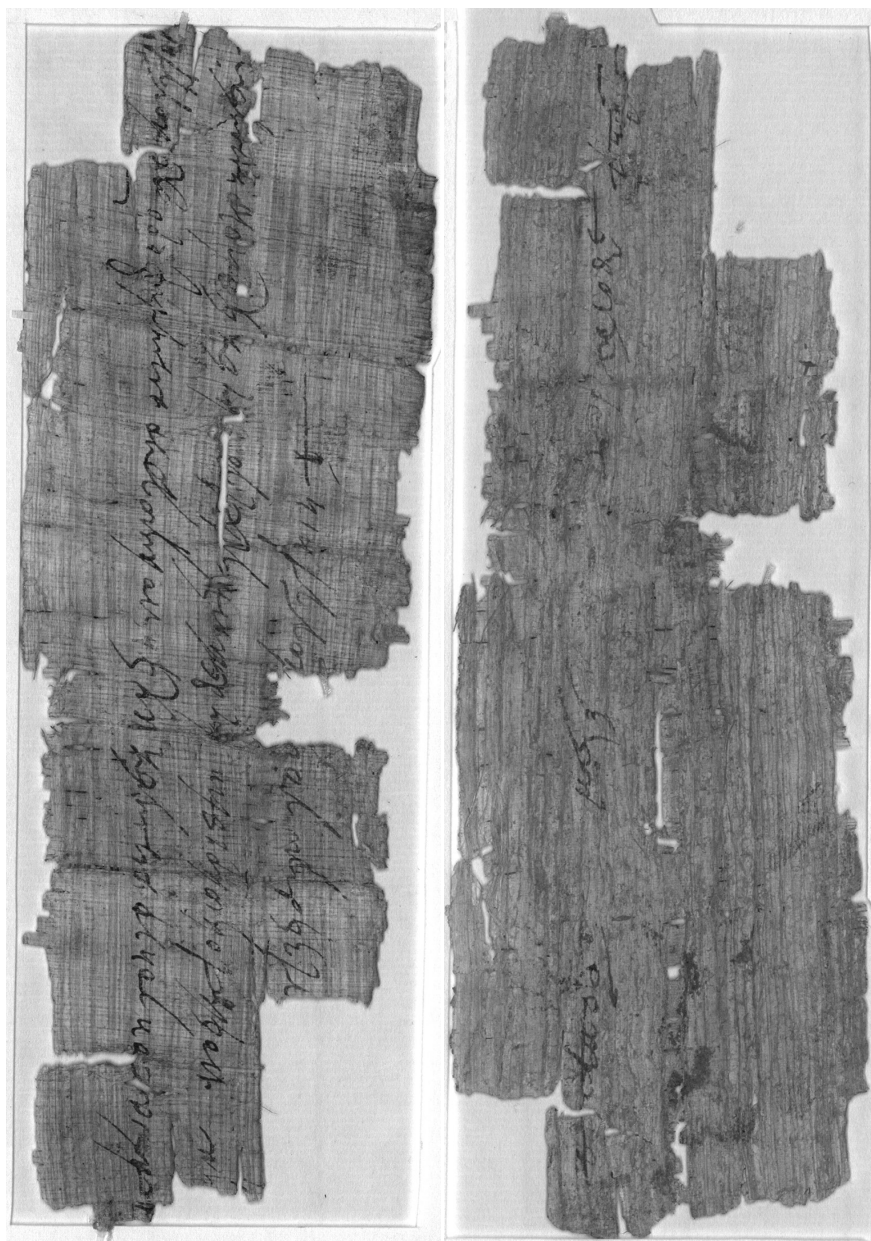
1 l. γραμματέα 4 μείζ' *par.*, χωρ' *par.*, χαλοθ<sup>e</sup> *par.*, l. Χαλώθεως

„... veranlasse den Grammateus, daß er dem Überbringer dieses Briefes einen Solidus zur Verfügung stellt (?) ... von achtundzwanzig (an/in?) Gerste und fünfzehn (an/in?) Weizen. Und wenn der Grammateus kommt, solltest Du (?) ihm den Solidus verrechnen †“

Verso: „† Es soll zugestellt werden dem Meizon des Dorfes Chalothis † von S[---]“

<sup>6</sup> Zum Getreidepreis im Ägypten des 7. Jh. (im Falle von Gerste ca. 15-18 Artaben, von Weizen ca. 10-15 Artaben je Solidus) s. A.C. Johnson – L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton 1949, 175-178.





1 παρ]ασκεύασον: Zur Konstruktion παρασκευάζω + Akk. (Person bzw. Gegenstand) + Inf. s. A. Papathomas, *P.Heid.* 7.409, Komm. zu Z. 5.

– γραμματέαν: Wie bereits oben in der Einleitung erwähnt, dürfte es sich um den Grammateus des Dorfes Chalothis handeln. Der Kontext des Briefes weist darauf hin, daß er Zuständigkeiten im Finanzwesen hatte und auf die Kasse seines Dorfes zugreifen konnte. Zur fehlerhaften Hinzufügung des Schluß-v, die wohl als Analogie zur Bildung der Substantiva der 1. Deklination zu deuten ist, s. Gignac, *Grammar* 2:45-46.

– βαλεῖν ὑποκάτω τοῦ γραμματηφόρου ὀλοκοτίνιν [ἔν: Die Redewendung (ἐμ)βάλλω (ὑπο)κάτω + Gen. scheint in ihrer wörtlichen Bedeutung in den alchemistischen Schriften verbreitet gewesen zu sein; vgl. z.B. aus den *Fragmenta alchemica* zum einen *Ποίησις κρυσταλλίων* 2, S. 349: καὶ βαλὼν αὐτὰ ὁμοῦ εἰς δύο χωνία, τουντέστιν ἐπάνω καὶ ὑποκάτω, χώνευσον und zum anderen *Περὶ τοῦ μεταλλικοῦ λίθου ἐν οἷς τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις κατασκευάζεται* 2, S. 26: ὅταν δὲ σποδὸν ποιήσαντες τὸ ὕδωρ χυμαῖον ἐμβάλλουσιν ὑποκάτω σανίδας, καὶ κοίλας ἀντιστασίμους ἔχοντες. Die wörtliche Bedeutung des Ausdrucks kommt auch im christlichen Kontext vor, und zwar bei der Geschichte der Versuchung Jesu durch den Teufel; vgl. Ioann. Chrysost., *In Matthaeum*, PG 57, S. 212: οὐδεὶς γὰρ παρὰ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτα αἰτεῖ, ἀλλὰ διαβόλου καὶ δαιμόνων τὸ βάλλειν ἑαυτὸν κάτω und Macarius, *Apocriticus seu Monogenēs* 3, S. 113 Blondel: ὅθεν εἰ καὶ ἐγγράπτο τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐκ ἔχρην ἐξ ὑπομνήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου τοῦτο πρᾶξαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὑπῆρχε τὸ γιγνόμενον, τοῦ μὲν εἰπόντος· «βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω», τοῦ δ' ἀμελλητὶ ρίψαντος. Ferner vgl. Dorotheos, *Doctrinae diversae* 6, 75, 10: καὶ οὐκ ἠρκέσθη ἕως τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔβαλεν ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ.

An der vorliegenden Stelle dürfte jedoch ein metaphorischer Gebrauch vorliegen, demzufolge der Ausdruck (ἐμ)βάλλω (ὑπο)κάτω + Gen. folgende Bedeutung hat: „jmd. etwas geben, damit er es ab diesem Zeitpunkt besitzt“; vgl. die verwandten Wendungen ἔχω ὑποκάτω + Gen. und εἶμι ὑποκάτω + Gen. in *P.Oxy.* 16.1858,1-3 (6.-7. Jh.): † καὶ διὰ τοῦ πεμφθέντος μοι παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας προστατικῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας | φύλακος γεγράφηκα αὐτῇ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐν ἱπάριν πεποιημένον ὑποκάτω | νεωτέρου οὐκ ἔχει ὁ ἐνδοξος οἶκος und *P.Oxy.* 6.922.19-21 mit *BL* 8:239 (um 535-550; s. *BL* 11:146): τὸ ζῶον το[ῦ] ἄρχο(ντος) καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὕδροφόρου καὶ ὁ μούργος | ἀπαίθανον. | τὸ φοράδιν τὸ ἀποθανὼν ὑποκάτω Μηνᾶ μειζοτέρ(ου). Wie dieser Sprachgebrauch entstanden ist, bleibt unklar; vielleicht entwickelte sich aus der wörtlichen Bedeutung „unterhalb von“ die übertragene Bedeutung „unter dem Namen von“ bzw. „jmd. unterworfen“, d.h. „jemandem gehörend“.

Der Begriff γραμματηφόρος („Überbringer des Briefes“) wird zu dieser Zeit sehr oft verwendet, um einen Petenten zu bezeichnen, der von einer einflußreichen Person mit einem Brief ausgestattet wurde, der ihm zur erfolgreichen Erledigung seiner Angelegenheit beim Adressaten dieses Briefes verhelfen soll; vgl. F. Morelli, *Grammatêphoroi e vie della giustizia nell'Egitto tardo antico*, in: E. Cantarella (Hrsg.), *Symposion 2005. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Salerno, 14.-18. September 2005)*, Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 19, Wien 2007, 351-371 (mit der Antwort von L. Migliardi Zingale auf 371-376). Ein derartiger Sprachgebrauch ist jedoch hier nicht anzunehmen. Der Kontext unserer Stelle weist vielmehr darauf hin, daß γραμματηφόρος hier die ursprüngliche Bedeutung „Zusteller“ hat.

– ὀλοκοττίνῃ [ἐν: Die mutmaßliche Ergänzung der Endung des Substantivs und des Wortes ἐν ergibt sich aus Z. 3. Die Form ὀλοκοττίνῃ ist eine verkürzte Version von ὀλοκοττίνιον. Beide Wörter sind Diminutivformen für das Wort ὀλοκόττινος.

2 ]υτα: Vielleicht τα]ῦτα oder α]ῦτά.

3 λο]γίζει αὐτῷ τὸ ὀλ[ο]κοττίνῃ: Zur Rekonstruktion des Simplex λο]γίζει vgl. z.B. PSI 7.783.13 (357): οὕτω γὰρ λογίζεται ὁ ὀλοκότ[τινος; es ist allerdings nicht auszuschließen, daß ein Kompositum zu rekonstruieren ist. Λο]γίζει könnte entweder die 3. Person Sing. von λογίζω oder die 2. Person Sing. von λογίζομαι sein. Im ersten Fall würde sich das Verb auf den Zusteller des Briefes beziehen, im zweiten auf den Adressaten (dieser wäre dann vom Schreiber aufgefordert worden, den Solidus einer dritten Person [möglicherweise dem Überbringer des Briefes] zu verrechnen).

4 Wir danken Lajos Berkes für seine Bemerkungen zur Lesung dieser Zeile. Für die Struktur der Adresse vgl. CPR 30.26.7 (ca. 643/644).

Die Adresse befindet sich im unteren und nicht im oberen Teil der Verso-Seite. Offenbar hat der Schreiber den Brief nicht, wie dies zumeist der Fall ist, von unten nach oben, sondern von oben nach unten horizontal gefaltet (zum Falten von Papyrusbriefen vgl. die Bemerkungen von F. Morelli in CPR 30, S. 38-40 und *Der Briefschreiber an der Arbeit: Aus der Praxis der Epistolographie*, in: C. Kreuzsaler – B. Palme – A. Zdiarsky [Hrsg.], *Stimmen aus dem Wüstensand. Briefkultur im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, Nilus 17, Wien 2010, 85-91 [bes. 90-91]).

– μείζ(ονι) vacat χωρ(ίου) Χαλόθε(ως): Der Amtstitel lautete vermutlich μείζων und nicht, wie bislang zumeist angenommen, μειζότερος (so Lajos Berkes in seiner in Druckvorbereitung befindlichen Dissertation „Dorfver-

waltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasi-  
den“). Wie B. Palme zum μειζότερος bemerkt (CPR 24.25, Komm. zu Z. 7 und  
besonders in *Die domus gloriosa des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos*, Chiron  
27 [1997] 95-125 [bes. 111, Anm. 35] mit der früheren Literatur), konnte dieser  
Titel zumindest drei verschiedene Funktionen bezeichnen: a) das Oberhaupt  
eines Dorfes oder πρόεδρος der Dorfgranden; b) den Anführer der *buccellarii*;  
c) und den „Manager“ eines Großgrundbesitzes. Die Erwähnung von Chalo-  
this zeigt, daß der Terminus bei uns den Vorsteher eines Dorfes bezeichnet,  
wobei nicht auszuschließen ist, daß dieser zugleich auch Funktionär einer  
Domäne war, zu der das Dorf gehörte.

Zum arsinoitischen Dorf Χαλῶθις (χωρίον Χαλῳθεως), das in der alten  
Themistou-Meris lag und von ca. 100 n.Chr. bis ins 8. Jh. bezeugt ist, s. Calde-  
rini (a cura di S. Daris), *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto  
greco-romano* 5, Milano 1987, 109; S. Daris, *Supplemento* 5° (2006-2009), Pisa  
– Roma 2010, 109 und ferner K. Wessely, *Topographie des Faijûm (Arsinoites  
nomus) in griechischer Zeit*, Wien 1904, 160; S. Timm, *Das christlich-kopti-  
sche Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* 1, Wiesbaden 1984, 479; J. G. Keenan, *Fay-  
yum Villages in SPP XX* 229, in: J. Frösén et al. (Hrsg.), *Proceedings of the 24<sup>th</sup>  
International Congress of Papyrology Helsinki 2007*, 487-496; H. Verreth, *A  
Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Version 2.0 (July  
2013), TOP 2, Köln / Leuven 2013, 151. Zur vorliegenden Schreibvariante  
mit o (statt ω) s. etwa SPP 3.223.4 (2. Hälfte 7. Jh.): τον (l. τῳν) ἀπὸ Χαλῳθις;  
SPP 20.229.3.8 (7.-8. Jh.): χ(ῳρίον) Χαλῳθε(ως) und P.Pintaudi 21.4 (8. Jh.):  
χῳ(ρίον) Χαλῳθε(ως) α.

### 5. Brief über die Lösung eines Pfandes

P.Bonn. inv. 105

9,1 x 8,0 cm

Mitte / 2. Hälfte 7. Jh. n.Chr.

Herkunft unbekannt

Der Papyrus ist oben vollständig erhalten. Unten scheint er ebenfalls  
intakt zu sein; es gibt an dieser Seite keine Überreste von vertikalen oder  
schrägen Strichen, die auf die Existenz einer weiteren Zeile hinweisen wür-  
den. Links und rechts ist das Blatt abgeschnitten. Der Freirand mißt oben 1,7  
cm und unten 1,1 cm. Da das erhaltene Fragment 9,1 cm breit ist und da die  
durchschnittliche Breite der Papyrusbriefe dieser Zeit sich auf ca. 30-32 cm  
(Gesamthöhe der Rolle) beläuft, ist davon auszugehen, daß das Fragment etwa  
ein Drittel der ursprünglichen Breite des Textes ausmacht. In diesem Fall wäre  
anzunehmen, daß das rechte und linke Drittel des Blattes fehlen, während das  
mittlere erhalten ist. Das Verso ist mit der einzeiligen Adresse beschriftet. Der

Freirand mißt auf dem Verso oben 5,4 cm und unten 1,85 cm. Die Schrift läuft auf dem Rekto quer zu den Fasern (*transversa charta*)<sup>7</sup> und auf dem Verso mit den Fasern.

Die Personalien der Korrespondenten bleiben uns verborgen. Bekannt ist nur, daß der Schreiber den Adressaten als „Bruder“ bezeichnet (Z. 1). Dies bedeutet, daß er entweder der leibliche Bruder oder aber ein Kollege des Absenders war bzw. von gleich zu gleich mit diesem verkehrte (vgl. oben Nr. 2). Der Verfasser des Briefes scheint ein frommer Christ zu sein bzw. zumindest diesen Eindruck vermitteln zu wollen; hierfür sprechen die zweimalige Verwendung des Adjektivs θεοφύλακτος mit Bezug auf den Adressaten in Z. 1 und 5 sowie die nachträgliche Ergänzung προνοία τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ θεοῦ in Z. 3 des Briefes. Gegenstand des Briefes scheint die Kollekte eines Geldbetrages zu sein, der zur Lösung eines Pfandes dienen sollte. Über die Höhe des Betrags, die Natur des Pfandes und den Charakter der damit verbundenen Schuld informiert uns das erhaltene Fragment leider nicht.

Die Datierung des Textes um die Mitte oder in die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jh. erfolgt auf Basis der Paläographie; man beachte etwa die Schreibweise von δ, θ und λ. Dieser Ansatz wird durch das Sprachgut bestätigt, das sogar eine Verortung in die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jh. erlauben würde; man beachte etwa den Umstand, daß die einzige Parallele für die sehr merkwürdige Formulierung der Z. 2: περὶ ὧν κελεύει τῶν ἐνταῦθα in einem Text aus dieser Epoche nachweisbar ist (s. unten Komm.).

- ↓ 1 [- - - τὴν ὑμε]τέραν θεοφύλακτον ἀδελφότητ[α - - -]  
 2 [- - - - - - -] καὶ περὶ ὧν κελεύει τῶν ἐνταῦθα [- - -]  
 3 [- - - - - - -] . καὶ `προνοία τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ θεοῦ' ἐδόθη ἐπὶ  
     ἀναλυτρώσει [- - -]  
 4 [- - - - - - -] τὰ σ]υνήθη συνάξει ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου ποσοῦ [- - -]

Verso

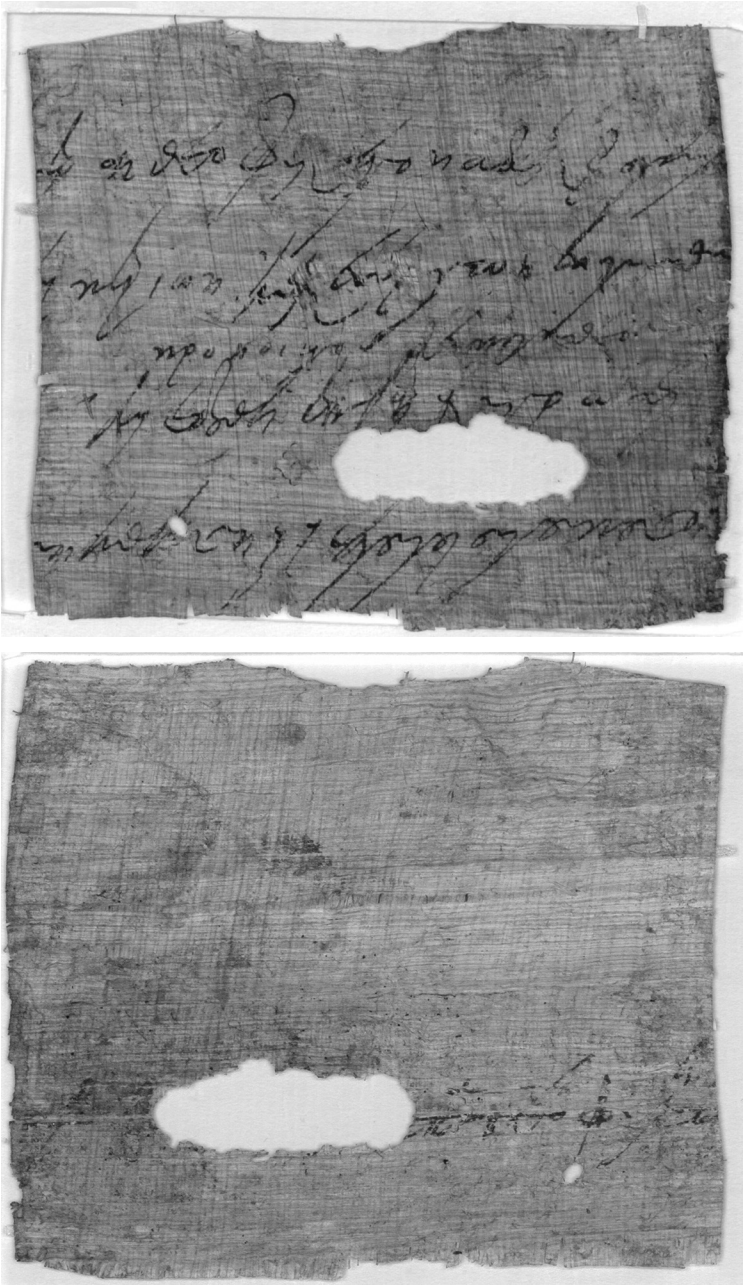
- 5 Ϡ . [ . . ] . . [τ]ὰ πά(ντα) θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τω) μ[ου - - -]

5 π<sup>α</sup>θεοφυλ<sup>κ</sup> pap.

„... Eure gottesbeschützte Brüderlichkeit ... und darüber, was er bezüglich der hiesigen Angelegenheiten befiehlt ... und ist dank der *providentia* Gottes des Herrn zur Lösung des Pfandes gegeben worden ... das Gewöhnliche aus einem solchen Betrag zusammenzubringen ...“

<sup>7</sup> Zu diesem Format s. oben Anm. 3.





Verso: „† [Stelle zu] meinem in jeder Hinsicht gottesbeschützten ...“

1 Zu Beginn der Zeile stand ein Kreuz oder ein Staurogramm, danach allem Anschein nach eine Wendung wie γινῶναι θέλω, γιγνώσκειν θέλω, εἰδέναι βούλομαι oder ähnliches.

– θεοφύλακτον: Vgl. Z. 5: θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τω). Zu diesem in spätgriechischer Zeit häufigen Prädikat s. *CPR* 25.21, Komm. zu Z. 8.

– ἀδελφότης[α]: Zur abstrakten Anrede ἀδελφότης s. *CPR* 25.27, Komm. zu Z. 1 mit ausführlichen Literaturhinweisen. Wie dort bemerkt, ist ἀδελφότης in den literarischen Briefen eher selten, in den spätantik-byzantinischen Papyrusbriefen dagegen sehr häufig anzutreffen.

2 καὶ περὶ ὧν κελεύει τῶν ἐνταῦθα: Subjekt von κελεύει könnte sowohl eine im erhaltenen Fragment nicht erwähnte Person als auch der in Z. 1 genannte Adressat gewesen sein. Im letztgenannten Fall wäre das grammatische Subjekt des Satzes die Phrase ἡ ὑμετέρα θεοφύλακτος ἀδελφότης bzw. eine verwandte Formulierung, die am Ende der Z. 1 oder am Anfang der Z. 2 gestanden hätte.

Die Verwendung des Genetivs τῶν ἐνταῦθα nach dem Verb ist merkwürdig. Daß es sich dabei um keinen Schreibfehler handelt, sondern um eine bewußte Ausdrucksweise, ergibt sich aus *P.Apoll.* 54.3 (2. Hälfte 7. Jh. [s. *BL* 8:10]): καὶ περὶ ὧν κελεύει τῶν ἐνταῦθα. An beiden Stellen hat der Ausdruck wohl die Bedeutung: „was er befiehlt bezüglich der hiesigen Angelegenheiten“. Wie die vorliegende Konstruktion zustande kam, ist unklar. Am ehesten haben die Schreiber im 7. Jh. den präpositionalen Ausdruck περὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα durch einen einfachen partitiven Genitiv (τῶν ἐνταῦθα) ersetzt.

3 προνοία τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ θεοῦ: Der Ausdruck ist zwar, soweit wir sehen, in der vorliegenden Formulierung papyrologisch nicht bezeugt, aber in seiner Grundform schon seit dem 4. Jh. nachweisbar; vgl. *P.Kell.* 1.71.7-8 (Mitte 4. Jh.): εὖ ἔχοντες τῶς προνοίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. Sinn der Stelle ist offensichtlich, daß die Hoffnung besteht, daß die Kollekte mit Hilfe Gottes erfolgreich sein würde.

– ἐδόθη: Der Schreiber könnte sich für die Passiv-Form entschieden haben, weil das Geld in einer Sammelaktion zusammengebracht wurde.

– ἀναλυτρώσει: Das Substantiv ἀναλύτρωσις war in den Papyri bis heute nur dreimal bezeugt und scheint sich immer auf die Lösung eines Pfandes im Zusammenhang mit der Tilgung einer Schuld zu beziehen. Die Belege sind folgende: *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67167.12-14 (566-573): καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτοτ[ύπου] | ὑμῶ[v] πατρὸς τεθνηκότος πρὸ τῆς τούτων ἀναλυτρώσεω[ς] | κ[α]ὶ [ἀπ]οδόσε[ως] τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] χρῆστος; *P.Coll. Youtie* 2.92.19-25 (569): καὶ μετὰ τὴν



αὐτοῦ ἀποβίωσιν ἐν ταύταις πε[ρ]ιποιήσασα τέως ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ | ἐργοχείρου  
 τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ προειρημένου ἐνὸς νομισμ(ατίου) ἀγαδέδωκα τῷ | εἰρημ(ένῳ)  
 ἀνδρί, βουλομένη ἀναλυτρώσασθαι τὴν ἐμὴν καταπονουμένην | ἀδελφὴν  
 ... παρακλήσεις αὐτῇ προσήγαγον τὴν λοιπὰ[δα] | ταύτην ἐκδανίσασθαι εἰς  
 ἀναλύτρωσιν τῆς αὐτῆς ὀρφανικ(ῆς) ἀδελφῆς; *SPP* 3.339.3-4 (6. Jh.): κατὰ  
 τὴν δύναμιν τούτου ὑποθηκειμαίου (l. ὑποθηκιμαίου) γραμματείου τοῦ κ[α]ἰ  
 [κυρίου ὄν]τος | κ[αἰ] ἔχοντος τὴν ἰδίαν πίστιν καὶ ἰσχὺν μέχρι τῆς τούτου  
 ἀναλυτρώσεως.

4 τὰ συνήθη: Es handelt sich um ein substantiviertes Adjektiv als Objekt zum Infinitiv συνάξει. Mit dem Ausdruck τὰ συνήθη συνάξει dürfte gemeint sein: „den in solchen Fällen gewöhnlichen Geldbetrag zusammenbringen“. Zur vorliegenden Substantivierung vgl. *P.Oxy.* 55.3814,22-23 (3.-4. Jh.): ἤκουσα οὖν ὅτι | τὰ συνήθη πάσχεις κτλ.; *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67002.3.5 (567; zur Datierung s. HGV): τὰ συνήθη πρᾶξει.

– συνάξει: Das Verb ist im Sinne von „den Geldbetrag zusammenbringen“ zu verstehen. Eine Parallele, in der συνάγω sich ähnlich wie hier auf eine Kollekte bezieht, liefert *P.Lond.* 5.1660.12-14 (ca. 553): ... κέρδος <τῶν?> ἐμοὶ  
 πιπτόντων λαβεῖν καὶ συνάξει ἀγρυπτίστως (l. ἀγρύπνως?) καὶ καταβαλεῖν |  
 εἰς ταύτας κ[αἰ] ἐ[ν]εργεῖν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον ἐκάστου κεφαλαίου καὶ ἐκάστης  
 | ἀποδόσεως κτλ.

– ποσοῦ: Gemeint ist der Geldbetrag, der für die Lösung des Pfandes eingesetzt werden sollte.

5 Nach dem Staurogramm am Zeilenbeginn folgen geringe Spuren vor sowie ober- und unterhalb eines größeren Lochs im Papyrusblatt. Vermutlich stand hier eine Formel wie ⲡ̅ ἐπίδος / ἀπόδος τῷ τὰ πάντα κτλ.

– τ]ᾶ πά(ντα) θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τω) μ[ου: Die Kombination τ]ᾶ πά(ντα) und θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τω) ist zwar äußerst selten, aber durchaus bezeugt; vgl. etwa die griechische Adresse des koptischen Ostrakons *P.Worp* 63.5 (6./7. Jh.): ⲡ̅ τῷ τὰ  
 πά(ντα) θεοφυλ(άκτω) ἀδελφῷ Ἰωάννῃ κτλ. Bei uns stand nach μ[ου entweder ebenfalls ἀδελφῷ (vgl. Z. 1: τὴν ὑμε]τέραν θεοφύλακτον ἀδελφότητ[α] oder aber anderes wie δεσπότη.

## Packing List of a *Katholikos*<sup>1</sup>

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Philip F. Venticinque *Cornell College*

### Abstract

Edition of a fourth-century packing list in two columns prepared for an unnamed *katholikos* for a trip. The list is organized according to the containers which held the articles of clothing, often luxury items. Latin terms and diminutive forms are two prominent features in the text.

P.Mich. inv. 424

H x W = 24.5 x 21.5 cm

Provenance unknown,  
IV CE

Purchased in Egypt by B.P. Grenfell and F.W. Kelsey in March-April 1920. Margin of 2 cm on the left. Top and bottom edges preserved. Bottom left edge and right edge damaged. The text was folded in thirds horizontally. For the date see, e.g., Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 38 b (348 CE) = BGU 2.405.

According to the notation ὑπόμνημα καθολικοῦ on the *verso* this text appears to be a packing list prepared by an unnamed *katholikos*, or a member of his staff, for a trip. The wide-ranging duties of the *katholikos*, a post that Diocletian created in 286 CE, would have required him to visit cities and nome capitals in the provinces into which Egypt was divided and over which he exercised ultimate financial responsibility.<sup>2</sup> It is also possible that the trip took the *katholikos* beyond Egypt, on the model of the journey to Antioch undertaken

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<sup>1</sup> This edition began to take shape during the American Society of Papyrology's Summer Institute held at the University of Cincinnati in 2005. Peter van Minnen and Jean-Luc Fournet directed the institute and provided immeasurable help with the edition that has resulted. I also benefited from excellent feedback and suggestions provided by the anonymous readers and David Martinez. Finally, I would like to thank Brendan Haug at the University of Michigan for checking several readings and providing me with images of the text.

<sup>2</sup> R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 67; on the *katholikos* see also J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382). Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre l'Égypte et l'Empire à la fin du IIIe et au IVe siècle* (Bruxelles 1964) 78-95 and in particular 84-87, and D. Hagedorn, "Zum Amt des Dioiketes im römischen Aegypten," YCS 28 (1985) 167-210.

in 322 or 323 CE by Theophanes, an official and member of the elite of Her-mopolis.<sup>3</sup> Theophanes himself may have served on the staff of the *katholikos* Vitalis, who authored letters of recommendation on Theophanes' behalf that were likely intended to be used during his travels through other provinces.<sup>4</sup>

An inventory of clothing and other items (jewelry, purple dye, and fine oil) included among the accounts related to Theophanes' journey prepared by members of his own staff or household contains a number of articles also found in the present list: various tunics (στιχάρια, σινδόνια, δελματικά), shawls (ἀναβολάδια), and towels (φακιάλια).<sup>5</sup> John Matthews has questioned whether the list actually records an inventory of items Theophanes brought on his travels as Colin Roberts and Ramsey MacMullen had suggested. Instead, Matthews contends that it is an account of household property, or even of a weaving workshop, related to a financial matter or dispute in which Theophanes was involved as an imperial official.<sup>6</sup> The description of the present document as both a ὑπόμνημα, a term used for lists and inventories as well as reports, memos, and proceedings, and as a γραφή ἱματίων in line 1, would seem to identify this text somewhat more securely as a packing list.<sup>7</sup> Whether or not the inventory included in Theophanes' papers was a packing list, it does contain a number of items and clothing which Roberts had described as "well selected for desert traveling." Perhaps the same can be said for the clothing that had been packed for the *katholikos* as detailed in this list.

The packing list contains two columns of text organized according to the containers which held the items: saddlebags and small leather sacks. Most of the first column is preserved fairly well. The initial portions of the final six lines of the text in column one have been lost. The writing is also difficult to make out in many places; at lines 12-14 the ink has almost entirely faded which renders line 14 unreadable except for the numeral at the end of the line. Only the beginning of several lines in what would have been the second column can be read, but from what can be deciphered the second column concerns more articles of clothing.

<sup>3</sup> On Theophanes, his travels, and the dossier of texts associated with him, see J.F. Matthews, *The Travels of Theophanes: Travel, Business, and Daily Life in the Roman East* (New Haven, CT 2006).

<sup>4</sup> For Vitalis, see *PLRE* I, 970 (Vitalis 1); on Theophanes' relationship with Vitalis, see Matthews (n. 3) 33-40.

<sup>5</sup> *PRyl.* 4.627 (early fourth century CE).

<sup>6</sup> Matthews (n. 3) 43-45.

<sup>7</sup> For a similar use describing a list of clothing, see *P.Mich.* 14.684.2 (fifth/sixth century CE): ὑπομνηστικὸν ἱματίων.

Examples of inventories and clothing lists compiled for business, private, religious, or military use abound.<sup>8</sup> The list prepared for the *katholikos* seems to parallel more closely other lists of clothes or goods, inventories of household items, and packing lists like *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.58 (fifth century CE) than documents related to the *vestis militaris*.<sup>9</sup> In terms of the specific clothing included, the list compares better with fourth-century lists such as *P.Oxy.* 1.109 (third/fourth century CE), *P.Oxy.* 14.1741 (fourth century CE), or *P.Gen.* 1.80 (late fourth century CE). Besides the *chlamys* that the *katholikos* brought with him on his trip, unsurprisingly the present list does not compare well with the list of clothes prepared for Zenon in the third century BCE (*P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59092, 257 BCE). However, the number and variety of garments that Zenon brought along, including various cloaks (χλαμύδες), tunics (χιτῶνες), and outer garments (ἱμάτια) suitable for the winter and summer (including four different cloaks and six tunics for winter, both new and old), suggests that the three dalmatic tunics and no less than ten *sticharia* of different styles which the *katholikos* brought along might not have been exceptional for an important official to bring on a trip through Egypt.

The appeal of catalogs and lists such as this one often lies with the interesting lexical and philological information that they tend to offer. The packing list prepared for the *katholikos* does not fail to provide its share of lexical oddities, rare words, and use of terms seemingly in unconventional ways. The number of Latin terms and the proliferation of diminutive forms which denote not so much a smaller size but rather the fact that a specific article of clothing is made of a particular material, or belongs to a certain category of clothing, are two of the text's prominent features.<sup>10</sup> In this sense, the packing list exhibits evidence of what became an increasing trend of Latinization in Egypt and the eastern provinces following the reforms of Diocletian in areas beyond government and

<sup>8</sup> For examples of lists of clothes see *P.Mich.* 14.684 (fifth/sixth century CE), *P.Oxy.* 1.109 (third/fourth century CE), *P.Oxy.* 6.921 (third century CE), *P.Oxy.* 7.1051 (third century CE), *P.Oxy.* 14.1741 (early fourth century CE), as well as *P.Heid.* 7.406 (fourth/fifth century CE); J.A. Sheridan, *Columbia Papyri IX: The Vestis Militaris Codex* (Atlanta, GA 1998) 73-80, discusses the military context of clothes in her detailed study of the *vestis militaris*.

<sup>9</sup> For a catalog of Byzantine period lists, see D. Montserrat, "A List of Monastic Garments from Oxyrhynchus," *BASP* 29 (1992) 81-84, esp. 81, n. 2; for further discussion of inventories and lists, see E. Husselman, in *P.Coll.Youtie* 2, pp. 553-563; see also E. Husselman, "Pawnbrokers' Accounts from Roman Egypt," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 251-266.

<sup>10</sup> W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ιον* (Weimar 1910) 68, 94-96, 264-265; see also S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona 1991<sup>2</sup>) for discussion and references.

the military; especially prominent was the use of Latin for textiles and clothing as Jean-Luc Fournet has discussed.<sup>11</sup>

Of particular interest – and what sets this list apart from others – is the scribe's choice to inventory the quantity of an item in two ways: first by writing out the number immediately following the item and then recording it numerically at the column's right margin. It is a style of numerical notation that is regularly found in receipts where scribes often use numerals to indicate quantity in addition to writing out the number, but seems to have been less common in lists. The scribe of a roughly contemporary clothing list that was perhaps assembled in preparation for a journey, *P.Gen.* 1.80 (mid-fourth century CE), noted an item's quantity only with a numeral.<sup>12</sup> Another scribe who produced an inventory of articles placed on a boat recorded everything numerically save for a single saddlebag (δισακκία μία). One of the pawnbrokers' accounts published by E.M. Husselman includes some slippage between entries: the quantities of some items are listed with a numeral and others are spelled out, such as the two large bowls at line 29 (σκάφη δύο <ο> μεγάλα) and the four butcher knives at line 32 (μαχαίρια τέσσαρες μαγειρικά); but the scribe did not use a combination notation for the entries.<sup>13</sup> There are examples of lists that do use the same combination notation for producing an inventory, however, including one that also served as a receipt for garments to be given to someone as part of a transaction (*P.Mich.* 14.684 [fifth/sixth century CE]; see also *SB* 16.12249 [fifth/sixth century CE]).

When approaching inventories, accounts, and lists, it is important to remember that clothes and the textiles from which they were made represented a significant investment on the part of the owner, and some of the items enumerated here would have been quite costly.<sup>14</sup> Clothing and the raw materials associated with clothing manufacture were expensive, although costs likely varied depending on time and place and clothing did not have to be purchased frequently. Roger Bagnall has estimated that garments used by the military,

<sup>11</sup> J.-L. Fournet, "The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 421-429.

<sup>12</sup> See also *P.Oxy.* 1.109 (third/fourth century CE).

<sup>13</sup> *SB* 8.9834b (fourth century CE).

<sup>14</sup> For information on clothing costs, see A.C. Johnson *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian. An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2 (Baltimore 1936) 318-320; see also A.C. Johnson and L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 186-188; H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991) 351-370; and Bagnall (n. 2) 33.

which included a number of items listed here (tunics, mantles, and cloaks) may have cost up to 2 months' pay during this period.<sup>15</sup> Wool provided the material for most basic garments, especially for military use, but the linen and silk mentioned in this text provided more expensive alternatives for common articles of clothing.<sup>16</sup> The luxury items and expensive clothing mentioned in this text, including the different styles of linen tunics, embroidered and dyed (with no specific reference to wool), seem fitting for a person of wealth and status such as a *katholikos* of the middle fourth century.

## Column 1

	γραφή τῶν ἐν τῷ μικρῷ πέλλῳ ἱματίων	
	δαλματίκιον λινούν πορφυρώσιμον ἔν	α'
	στιχάρια {ἐμ} πλουμαρικά πένται	ε'
	φακιάλια πλουμαρικά δύο	β'
5	ἕτερον λινούδιον πορφυρώσιμον ἔν	α'
	ἀναβολάδια δύο	β'
	στιχάρια λιτὰ καινὰ δύο	β'
	[[ἐνίλῃ] στιχάρια λινὰ λιτὰ τρία	γ'
	ἐνίλημα αὐτῶν στιχάριον λινούν μεστὸν παλ[α]ιόν	α'
10	σινδόνιον μεστὸν καινὸν ἔν	α'
	καὶ ἐν δισακκία ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ μέρει	
	..... [ . . ] .	α'
	. . . . ριπησιας [ἔν(?)]	α'
	traces	α'
15	σινδόνιον καινὸν ἔν	α'
	καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ μέρει τῆς δισακκίας	
	δαλματίκιον λευκὸν σιμψιρικὸν ἔν	α'
	δαλματίκιον λευκὸν ἀπο . . . ταραίου ἔν	α'
	Εὐλαλιανὸς εἶς	α'
20	χλαμύδιον τριβικὸν ἔν	α'
	[ . . . . . ] πορφύρα μία	α'
	[ . . . . . ]ον ἔν	α'
	[καὶ ἐν ἐτ]έρα δισακκία ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ μέρει	
	[σινδ]όνια πορφυρώσιμα καινὰ δύο	β'
25	. . . ιωντε παλαιόν ἔν	α'
	[ . . . . . ] . . ισκιοντον ἔν	α'

<sup>15</sup> Bagnall (n. 2) 33; Sheridan estimated that clothing costs during the first century CE could be roughly 1/3 of a soldier's salary on the basis of papyri; see Sheridan (n. 8) 82.

<sup>16</sup> Bagnall (n. 2) 33; see also D.L. Carroll, *Looms and Textiles of the Copts* (Seattle 1988) 6.

## Column 2

σινδόν[ιον  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ μ[έρι τῆς ἑτέρας δισακκίας  
 ῥάχῃ . . [  
*spatium 3 cm*  
 30 φελόνιον μεστόν . [

*Verso* →

31 ὑπόμνημα καθολικοῦ

1 ἱματιων παρ. 3 l. πέντε 9 l. ἐνείλημα 11 l. μέρει 16 l. μέρει 21 l.  
 πορφυρόσιμα 23 l. μέρει 28 l. μέρει 30 l. φαλόνιον

## Column 1

“List of clothes in a small leather bag:  
 One dalmatic linen tunic with a purple border 1  
 Five embroidered tunics 5  
 Two embroidered towels 2  
 5 Another linen garment with a purple border 1  
 Two shawls 2  
 Two new plain tunics 2  
 Three plain linen tunics 3  
 One old linen tunic, full, a covering for the others(?) 1  
 10 One new full linen garment 1  
 And in one part of a saddlebag:  
 ... 1  
 ... 1  
 ... 1  
 15 One new linen garment 1  
 And in the other part of the saddlebag:  
 One white silk lined(?) Dalmatic tunic 1  
 One white ... Dalmatic tunic 1  
 One Eulalian garment 1  
 20 One worn mantle 1  
 One purple garment(?) 1  
 One ? 1



	And in one part of the other saddlebag:	
	Two new linen garments with a purple border	2
25	One old ?	1
	One ?	1"

## Column 2

"A linen garment

	And in the other part of the other saddlebag:	
	A ... cloak	1
30	A hooded cape	1"

*Verso*

"Memo of the *katholikos*"

1 πέλλαφ: A transliteration of the Latin *pellis*, a leather skin or hide; see Johnson and West (n. 14) 124, citing πελλοδόχος (*PIand.* 2.17, sixth/seventh century CE). The *pellis* could be used as a container or wrapping with which to carry or transport clothes, as mentioned in *Digest* 33.10.5.1: *de tapetis autem vel linteis, quibus insternuntur vehicula, dubitari potest, an sint in suppellectili. Sed dicendum est potius instrumenti viatorii ea esse, sicut pelles, quibus involvuntur vestimenta, lora quoque, quibus hae pelles constringi solent.*

2 δαλματίκιον. This is a diminutive form of δαλματική. Several terms are attested that seem to refer to the same style of long sleeved tunic which served as one of the basic articles of clothing for men, women, and children in Egypt and elsewhere. On the variant spellings see *Lex.Lat.Lehn.*, 220-221 and 226-227; Daris (n. 10) 38-39; R. Murri, "Ricerca sugli abiti menzionati nei papiri greco egizî: I," *Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 121-127; and Sheridan (n. 8) 77-78. As the name implies, these tunics owe their origin to the province of Dalmatia and may be attested in Egypt as early as the second century CE, although the earliest securely dated reference is found in SB 24.15992.1.22, and 4.5 (222 CE); see *P.Oxy.* 12.1583 (second century CE), *P.Harr.* 1.105 (second/third century CE), *CPR* 1.21 (230 CE); see also S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin 1971) 263 (Ed.Diocl. 19.9). Dalmatic tunics were often decorated with borders or bands around the sleeves, as may be the case with the garment mentioned in line 2, or squares and roundels in various patterns. For discussion see J.P. Wild, "Clothing in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968) 222-223; F. Pritchard and C. Verhecken-Lammens, "Two Wide-Sleeved Linen Tunics from Roman Egypt," in P. Walton Rogers,

L. Bender Jørgensen, and A. Rast-Eicher (eds.), *The Roman Textile Industry and Its Influence: A Birthday Tribute to John Peter Wild* (Oxford 2001) 21-29; and M. Mossakowska-Gaubert, "Quelques expressions grecques liées à l'aspect technique de la production des tuniques en Égypte," in B. Mathieu, D. Meeks, and M. Wissa (eds.), *L'apport de l'Égypte à l'histoire des techniques. Méthodes, chronologie et comparaisons* (Cairo 2006) 172-173.

– πορφυρώσιμον. A variant of πορφυρόσιμος, the term refers to the purple-dyed wool borders which were attached to the linen garments. For a discussion of the word and variant spellings, see Gignac, *Gram.* 1:234, 27 and H.C. Youtie, "P. Mich. inv. 1373: φορνίκουλον," *ZPE* 21 (1976) 26-28, where it describes a dalmatic linen tunic with a purple border included in a dowry dated to the third century CE.

3 στιχάρια. The reading of στιχάρια is almost certain based on lines 7 and 8 of this document and is well attested; see *P.Gen.* 1.80.3 (fourth century CE), *SB* 10.10258 (fourth century CE), *P.Heid.* 7.406 (fourth/fifth century CE); see also Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 240 (Ed.Dioc. 7.56). The στιχάριον (Latin *strictoria*) was a type of tunic popular for both civilian and military use made from two pieces of cloth (either wool or linen) and may have been plain white, colored, or decorated; see Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin*, s.v. *strictoria*. Much like the dalmatic tunic, the στιχάριον appears to have been worn by men, woman, and children; however, the sleeves of the στιχάριον may have been more snug; see Mossakowska-Gaubert, "Quelques expressions grecques," 173. For further discussion see Sheridan (n. 8) 76-77, J. Diethart, "Papyri aus byzantinischer Zeit als Fundgrube für lexikographisches und realienkundliches Material," *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 81-114, esp. 87, text 2 (fifth/sixth century CE), and J. Diethart, "Drei Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek zur Realienkunde und Lexikographie," *ZPE* 127 (1999) 163-166, esp. 165.

– {ἐμ}πλουμαρικά. It is possible that the scribe has combined two adjectives here and began to write ἐμπλουμα before writing πλουμαρικά. Like πλουμαρικά, ἐμπλουμος refers to embroidery or embroidered garments; see *P.Fouad* 74.6 (fourth century CE), *SB* 18.13965.13 (sixth/seventh century CE) and *SPP* 20.245.13-14 (sixth century CE); see also Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 268. Both adjectives are derived from Latin terms: *plumatus*, "embroidered," and *plumarius*, "an embroiderer." The adjective πλουμαρικά is a variant form of προυμαρικά; see *P.Mich* 14.684.12 (fifth/sixth century CE), where it describes the ornamented or embroidered square panels on many tunics (ταβλία); see also *P.Dubl.* 20.3 (329 CE), where the editor has suggested παλλ[ί]α πλου[μα]ρικά, based on restorations of στιχάριον πλουμα[ρικών] for στιχάριον

πλουμά[τον in *P.Oxy.* 14.1741.16 (fourth century CE), and of στιχάρ[ια πλουμα]ρικά in *SB* 16.12940.12 (sixth century CE). The term also describes articles of women's clothing, such as a veil (μαφόρτιον) in *PSI* 9.1082.14 (fourth century CE) or an embroidered headband (φακιάλιον γυναικεῖον) in *SB* 3.7033.45 (481 CE). For πλουμαρικός and its Latin root, see Daris (n. 10) 90 and for a full discussion of πλουμαρικός, and its variants πλουμᾶτος and πλουμαρίσμος, see Diethart, *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 82-86.

4 φακιάλια πλουμαρικά. Derived from the Latin *faciale*, Lampe defines a φακιάλιον as a “cloth for the head or face” and refers to some sort of towel or kerchief. The reading seems fairly certain based on similar examples of clothing lists; see *SB* 20.14203.6 (fifth/sixth century CE), 14211.16 (mid-fifth century CE), *P.Oxy.* 7.1026.13 (fifth century CE), and the variant φακιάριον in *P.Gen* 80.5 (fourth century CE); for a mention of φακιάλια πλουμαρικά, see *SB* 3.7033.45 (481 CE). For discussion of φακιάλια and its variant forms see J. O’Callaghan, “El ‘Sudario’ en los Papiros Griegos de Época Romana,” *APF* 22 (1973) 147-150; see also Daris (n. 10) 114.

5 λινούδιον. A diminutive of λίνος; see *P.Oxy.* 1.114.8 (second/third century CE), *P.Oxy.* 14.1741.22 (early fourth century CE), and *SB* 6.9158.8 (fifth century CE). For discussion, see Diethart, *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 93-94 and 99-102.

6 ἀναβολάδια. Shawls are often found in lists of clothing and property from the third and fourth centuries CE, including the inventory among Theophanes’ papers, *P.Ryl.* 4.627 (fourth century CE); for additional examples see *P.Oxy.* 1.109 (third/fourth century CE), *P.Oxy.* 6.921.17 (third century CE), *P.Oxy.* 14.1741.20 (early fourth century CE), all cited by Murri, *Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 111. Other references can be found in private letters, such as *P.Oxy.* 20.2273 (late third century CE), and among the fourth-century price declarations submitted to the *logistes* by the presiding officers of craft and merchant associations, specifically *P.Oxy.* 54.3776 (343 CE), a declaration submitted by the κοινὸν τῶν ὀθονιοπωλῶν.

7-8 λιτά. A word that normally denotes inferior quality, LSJ defines λιτά as “plain, simple, unadorned, ordinary.” In this context, perhaps, λιτά may refer to στιχάρια that do not have any borders or embroidery work as opposed to the embroidered tunics in line 3 above. Although somewhat later than the present text, for examples see *CPR* 10.106 (sixth century CE), στιχάρ(ια) λιτά and *SB* 20.14206.8 (seventh century CE), which refers to four σινδώνια λιτὰ παλαιά; for additional discussion see Diethart, *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 93.

9 Unlike the rest of the list, the scribe only noted the quantity of the item in numerical fashion by writing an *alpha*. He did not finish the line by writing ἔν as we would expect, although the end of the line is somewhat damaged.

– ἐνίλημα: The scribe appears to have begun writing ἐνίλημα in the previous line only to cross it out and continue with more items below. He then begins line 9 with ἐνείλημα, which refers to some sort of wrapper or cover. In this case, it could refer to a wrapper or cover for the clothing contained in the small bag (ἐν τῷ μικρῷ πέλλῳ) mentioned to in line 1; the old linen στιχάριον listed in line 9 might have been used as the covering or wrapper. Another possibility, and perhaps more likely, is to construe ἐνίλημα closely with αὐτῶν and μεστόν, suggesting that it is being used as a cover and full of other garments, tunics, or items not specified.

10 σινδόνιον. A diminutive form of σινδών and a commonly attested word in lists of clothing, it is usually translated as “linen cloth” or a “linen garment”; for examples and discussion, see *P.Mich.* 14.684.13 (fifth/sixth century CE), *P.Oxy.* 6.921.15,19,21 (third century CE), *P.Oxy.* 7.1051.12 (third century CE), and *P.Gen.* 80.8 (fourth century CE) where the text reads σινδώνιον. The diminutive seems to refer to garments made from linen, while σινδών can refer to the garments themselves as well as the raw materials. The pairing of σινδόνιον with μεστόν appears to be rare and the meaning of the phrase is uncertain (similarly with φελόνιον μεστόν in line 30).

11 δισακκία. Described by several editors as a “saddlebag,” see *P.Oxy.* 16.1923.6 (fifth/sixth century CE); *P.Mich.* 9.576.1 (third century CE); *P.Gen.* 80.12 (fourth century CE); *P.Coll. Youtie* 2.84.10 (fourth century CE). In this context it appears to be treated as a feminine noun because of its pairing with a feminine article at line 16. In nearly all other examples one finds the neuter δισάκκιον. A possible exception can be found in *P.Coll. Youtie* 2.84.10, where a single saddlebag (δισακκία μία), which E. Husselman interpreted as a feminine noun, was cataloged as cargo placed upon a boat. As a solution to the confusion between δισάκκιον and δισακκία, H.C. Youtie suggested that instead the line should be read as a neuter plural, δισάκκια, combined with the numeral. Accepting this reading would produce a translation of something on the order of “saddlebags: 1,” based on the parallel provided by *P.Oxy.* 16.1923.6 (fifth/sixth century CE), which is itself another list of items placed on a boat. For discussion of the word and its variants, see H.C. Youtie, “Δισακκία μία,” *ZPE* 35 (1979) 108 (repr. in *Scriptiunculae Posteriores*, vol. 2 [Bonn 1982] 552). Although possible, this solution and suggested reading of the term would not be appropriate here. In fact, the use of the feminine instead of neuter in texts of late antique date such as the case here is not, perhaps, an isolated phenomenon,

particularly for numerical compounds, instruments, or articles of clothing; see G. Husson, “Τὸ δισάκκιον / ἡ δισακκία: formes concurrentes du genre féminin parallèles aux neutres en -ion,” in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, vol. 3 (Napoli 1984) 1297-1301; see also L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* (Oxford 1946) 71-72, 82.

17 σιμψιρικόν. This appears to be a form of the Latin *subsericus*, meaning “half-silken;” see *OLD* s.v. *sericus*. Diocletian’s Price Edict regulates the wages received by a tailor (*sarcinator*, ῥάπτης) for working with silk (*holoserica*, ὀλοσηρικόν) or silk-blends (*supserica*, συμψειρικόν) as linings of a garment (*vestis*, ἱμάτιον), which may be the case here (Ed.Diocl. 7.48-51); the term also refers to dalmatic tunics and other varieties of clothing mentioned in the Price Edict (Ed.Diocl. 19.9-19); see Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 239, 263-264.

18 ἀπο . . . τριου. The text is difficult to read here and has made finding a parallel difficult. One possibility is to read it as ἀπὸ νοταρίου and that a white dalmatic tunic from a *notarius* has been packed. Jean-Luc Fournet has suggested reading ἀποδυταρίου, a form of ἀποδυτηρίου, and interpreting the item as a white dalmatic tunic for the undressing room; his reading is tempting, but ἀποδυτήριον is not securely attested in papyri otherwise (see the tentative supplement in *PSI* 5.547.29 from the mid-third century BCE).

19 Εὐλαλιανός. The first letter remains uncertain. A letter (*P.Oxy.* 56.3860; late fourth century CE) exchanged between Taesis and her husband Tiro, a military official on the staff of the *dux*, regarding a number of items he has arranged to be sent to her presumably during his absence, could help us interpret Εὐλαλιανός here. One of the items is a τετράλασον Εὐλαλιανόν, a type of cloth or towel according to M.G. Sirivianou, the text’s editor; see *P.Oxy.* 56.3860.21n. Sirivianou identified the “Eulalian quaternion” in Taesis’ letter with an item mentioned in Diocletian’s Price Edict, σ[α]βάνων εὐλαλιανῶν . . . τετράλασσον (Ed.Diocl. 28.60); see Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 276-277 for discussion of the Greek and Latin terms and Latin equivalent terms *sabanorum Eulalianorum* . . . *quaternion*. If the reading is correct, although there is no mention of a *sabanum* in the present text, perhaps Εὐλαλιανός, which may ultimately derive from a personal name, could refer to a type or style of cloth or garment by itself.

20 χλαμύδιον. A diminutive form of χλαμός taken to mean a mantle or rectangular cloak hooked up over the shoulder, such as in *P.Oxy.* 10.1288.24, (318-323 CE); see also Ed.Diocl. 19.1a, 23, 69-70 and Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 261-262, 267. The diminutive is rare but not unattested; see *P.Oxy.* 62.4348.8 (fourth century CE), a list of tax rates where a χλαμύδιον is named among clothes supposedly counted for the *vestis militaris*; for inclusion of

χλαμύδιον and χλαμύς in similar lists, see *SB* 16.12543 v° 2 (327 CE), *SB* 20.14211.12 (mid-fifth century CE), and *P.Oxy.* 16.1905.6 (mid-fourth century CE, on date see *BL* 7:142); see also the discussion in Diethart, *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 101.

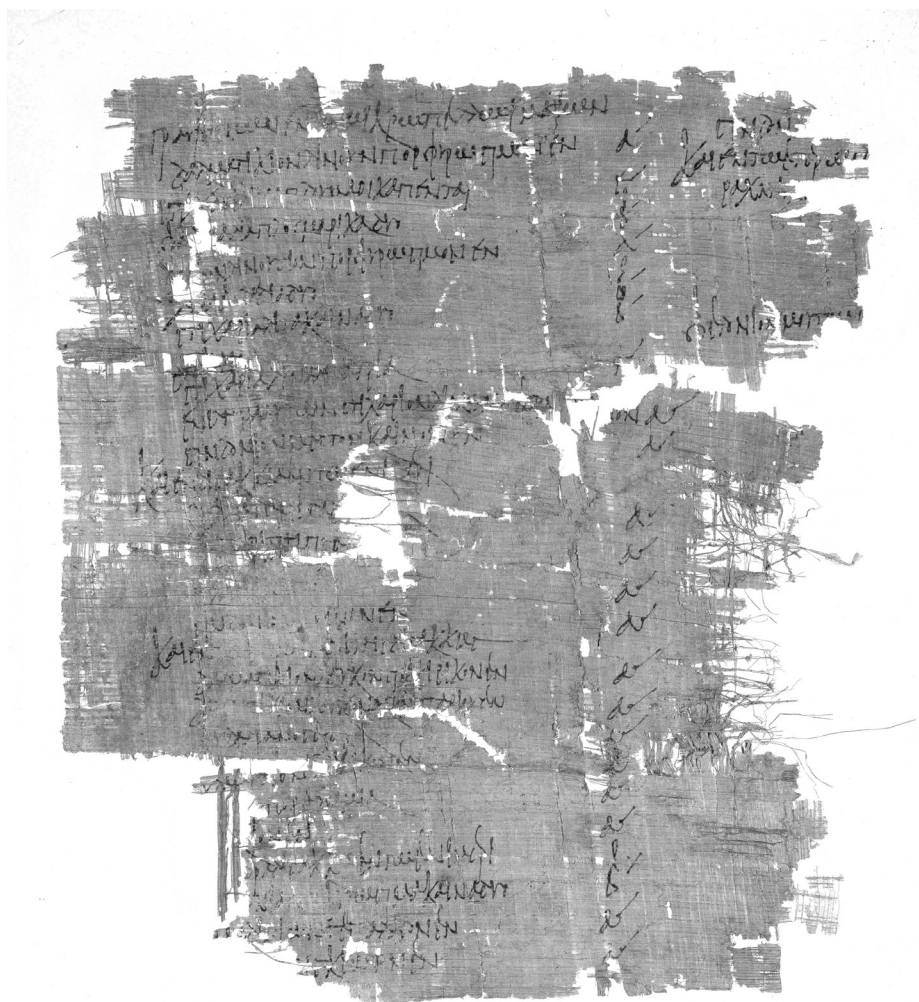
– τριβικόν: It is best to interpret this as a form of the adjective τριβακός (“old” or “worn”), commonly associated with worn clothing and other old household items; see *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59092 (257 BCE), *P.Mich* 9.576 (third century CE), *P.Oxy.* 6.921 (third century CE), *P.Bingen* 117 (third/fourth century CE), and *P.Oxy.* 14.1645 (308 CE). There is an adjective τριβικός, which means “based on experience,” which may have confused the scribe here.

26 ] . . ισκιοντον. This is a problematic line that is difficult to read. Perhaps after the lacuna we might expect an adjective ending in -τός.

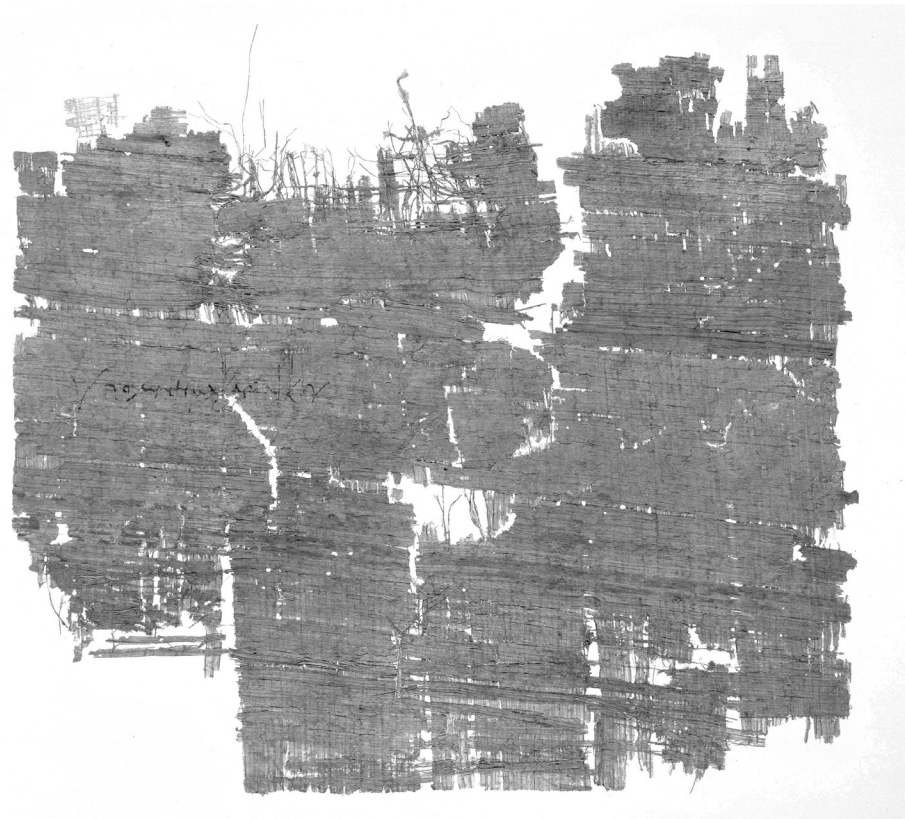
29 ῥάχνη. G. Ioannidou suggests translating the term as “blanket(?)” at *P.Oxy.* 59.4004.14 (fifth century CE), but ῥάχνη (Latin *racana* or *rachana*) also appears to designate a cloak or mantle, presumably without a hood, unlike the *paenula* mentioned in the subsequent line; see *P.Gen.* 1.80.7 (fourth century CE), *SB* 20.14204 (fifth/sixth century CE), *CPR* 8.65 (sixth century CE), and *P.Naqlun.* 1.11.12 (sixth century CE); see also Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 240 (Ed.Diocl. 7.60) and 262 (Ed.Diocl. 19.5) and Diethart, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 79.

30 φελόνιον. Refers to a type of outer garment, a hooded cape, or a cloak and is a diminutive form of φαινόλη (latin *paenula*); see *P.Oxy.* 59.4002.10 (fifth/sixth century CE), *P.Gen.* 1.80.14 (fourth century CE), *P.Heid.* 7.406.23 (fourth/fifth century CE), and *P.Mich* 14.684.6 (fifth/sixth century CE); for the word’s variants, see Gignac, *Gram.* 1:154; for a discussion of the article of clothing, see L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore 1938) 87-92 and F. Kolb, “Römische Mäntel: *paenula*, *lacerna*, μανδύη,” *MDAIR* 80 (1973) 73-116. J.P. Wild, “Bath and the Identification of the Caracalla,” *Britannia* 17 (1986) 352-353 suggests that the *paenula* was a common article of clothing among military and government officials, which would perhaps place it in proper context here.









# Villages, Requisitions, and Tax Districts: Two Greek Lists from the Eighth-Century Fayyūm

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Lajos Berkes *Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg*  
Brendan Haug *University of Michigan*

## Abstract

Edition of two 8th-century Greek lists from the southwestern Fayyūm organized by *choria*.

Published here are two 8th-century lists organized by *choria*, P.CtYBR inv. 379 and 461, held by Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.<sup>1</sup> They belong to Acquisition 1931a, which is comprised of 686 papyri acquired by Michael Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles in Egypt sometime before 10 February 1931 with funds donated by Edward Stephen Harkness and by the estate of Yale professor *emeritus* of Greek Horatio McLeod Reynolds. P.CtYBR inv. 379 and 461 belong to a lot purchased from Maurice Nahman in Cairo.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These texts are published under the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library's Open Access, No Reservations Policy: <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/research/library-catalogs-databases/guide-yale-papyrus-collection/beinecke-library-papyri-policy> (accessed 5 February 2016). Both papyri were studied in person by B. Haug at the Beinecke in 2013 and later by both authors from high-quality digital images that are no longer available at the Beinecke's website. We would like to extend our sincere thanks to Nikolaos Gonis for initially discovering these texts, to James G. Keenan for bringing them to our attention and critiquing our transcriptions, and to the anonymous referees for their numerous suggestions and corrections. Catalogue records: P.CtYBR inv. 379: <http://brbl-legacy.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=379%20fol>; P.CtYBR inv. 461: <http://brbl-legacy.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=461%20fol>. Accessed 1 June 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Acquisition 1931a – comprising P.CtYBR inv. 296-971, 2354, 2945, 2946, and 2969-2977 – represents eight separate purchases made by Rostovtzeff and Welles from dealers in Cairo, Fayyūm, and Luxor. Of these, the papyri purchased from Nahman are

Both papyri emanate from the official apparatus of the Fayyūm pagarchy and are composed in the prevailing script of the eighth-century Arsinoite chancery.<sup>3</sup> Operating trilingually in Greek, Coptic, and Arabic in the early Islamic period,<sup>4</sup> this bureaucracy produced the fiscal documentation and official correspondence that comprises the overwhelming bulk of the Greek papyri surviving from the 8th-century Fayyūm. It is nonetheless not altogether clear what level of the administration produced the texts published here. P.CtYBR inv. 379 preserves a register of payments or arrears in oil over four indiction years from an alphabetical list of fifteen village *choria* (local units of fiscal assessment) all located in the southwestern Fayyūm.<sup>5</sup> Such a text could have been drawn up centrally in Medinat al-Fayyūm or in the headquarters of the local district, but it is impossible to decide this with certainty. The second text, P.CtYBR inv. 461, however, seems to preserve a list of workers requisitioned from the southwestern Fayyūm. Such a document very likely derives from the lower echelons of the Fayyūm administration.

The list of *choria* preserved in P.CtYBR inv. 379 represents a formal administrative subdivision of the Fayyūm pagarchy, here named a *meros*, likely an equivalent to the contemporary Arabic term *ḥayyiz*.<sup>6</sup> This particular *meros* is overseen by a Muslim official by the name of ‘Abd Allāh. This individual may be identical with the ‘Abd Allāh bin As‘ad whose Arabic dossier has been studied by Petra Sijpesteijn (see below, note on l. 1).<sup>7</sup> Although the Arabic documents of ‘Abd Allāh bin As‘ad’s archive locate his headquarters at Narmūda/Narmouthis – the archaeological site of Medīnat Māḍī on the western edge of the Gharaq basin – they do not provide detailed evidence for the extent of the region he administered, beyond the fact that it was obviously located in the south/southwestern Fayyūm. P.CtYBR inv. 379, however, now reveals an

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inventoried as P.CtYBR inv. 296-319, 323-397, 399, 400, 409-414, 415 (in part), 416-432, 434-441, 443-462, 465-470, 475-479, and 481-488.

<sup>3</sup> L. Berkes, “Schreibübungen mit einem Psalm-Zitat. Neues aus der Verwaltung des Fayums im 8. Jh.,” *ZPE* 188 (2014) 241-244 at 241, esp. n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *CPR* 22.17 with L. Berkes and Kh. M. Younes, “A Trilingual Scribe from Abbasid Egypt? A Note on *CPR* XXII 17,” *APF* 58 (2012) 97-100.

<sup>5</sup> On the administrative division of the country into *choria* in the early Islamic period see now J. Gascou, “Arabic Taxation in the Mid-Seventh Century Greek Papyri,” in C. Zuckerman (ed.) *Constructing the Seventh Century* (Paris 2013) 671-677.

<sup>6</sup> In the early Arab period, *meros* tends to denote a local district placed under the authority of a tax collector. Cf. *SPP* 20.235 v° (8th cent.), which attests smaller districts than those in our papyrus and with Christian tax collectors, see N. Gonis, “Reconsidering Some Fiscal Documents in Early Islamic Egypt IV,” *ZPE* 186 (2013) 270-274 at 270-272.

<sup>7</sup> P. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* (Oxford 2013) 131-151.

eight-century ‘Abd Allāh administering a territory that encompassed much or all of the former *meris* of Polemon as well as portions of the former *meris* of Themistos, a territory roughly coextensive with the still-obscure Theodosiopolite nome attested between AD 455 and 644.<sup>8</sup> Whether or not this indicates that the Byzantine-era partition of the Fayyūm into northern and southern districts was reproduced in the eighth century is unclear, although ‘Abd Allāh bin As‘ad’s Arabic dossier obliquely references at least one additional *ḥayyiz* in the Fayyūm it as yet remains impossible to determine how many districts were active during this period.<sup>9</sup>

Although the ‘Abd Allāh of P.CtYBR inv. 379 may not be identical with ‘Abd Allāh b. As‘ad, as the head of a *ḥayyiz* he would still have served as an intermediary between the pagarch of the nome and the tax collectors of the countryside.<sup>10</sup> The administration of taxation within each *ḥayyiz* began with the governor in Fuṣṭāṭ, who determined the amounts to be levied from each pagarchy. These requisitions were then transmitted to the pagarch, who apportioned the requisitioned sum amongst the various districts of his pagarchy. The administrator of each *ḥayyiz* further subdivided his share of the requisitioned total amongst the discrete fiscal entities within his district, i.e. the country villages and their agricultural territories (Greek *choria*, Ar. *qurā*, s. *qarya*).

The administrative correspondence within ‘Abd Allāh’s dossier reveals that tax collection at the *ḥayyiz*-level might be facilitated by a *symmachos* (Ar. *simmāk*) dispatched by the pagarch to assist the district head. The pagarch’s *symmachos* was, in turn, assisted by further *symmachoi* and scribes (Ar. *kātīb*) belonging to the district head’s personal staff. At the level of the *chorion*, village headmen and members of the village elite apportioned the tax demands amongst the residents of each settlement and assisted in the collection and delivery of tax revenues. For the taxes on the land, for instance (*jizyat al-ard*), the collection and delivery of grain to the nome capital was facilitated by trustworthy and solvent locals, who supervised collection and provided draught animals for the transportation of grain to Medīnat al-Fayyūm. In return, these individuals were compensated to the amount of 1 *wayba* per *irdabb* of wheat delivered (1 *irdabb* = 6 *waybas*).<sup>11</sup> P.CtYBR inv. 379 may contain reference to such village headmen in lines 15-20, which preserve the names of individuals from several villages.

<sup>8</sup> T.M. Hickey, “Down and Out in Late Antique Tebtynis,” in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.) *Graeco-Roman Fayum: Texts and Archaeology* (Wiesbaden 2008) 135-142.

<sup>9</sup> Sijpesteijn, *Shaping* 137.

<sup>10</sup> The following is drawn from Sijpesteijn, *Shaping* 209.

<sup>11</sup> Sijpesteijn, *Shaping*, Texts 22 and 23.

The stream of communication between the pagarch and his subordinates flowed in both directions and the heads of each *ḥayyiz* regularly provided the pagarch with information on the amounts paid by individuals within their districts. Indeed, several letters from the pagarch Najīd b. Muslim command ‘Abd Allāh bin As‘ad to inform him of the progress of tax collection, unsobly reminding him of impending due dates and inquiring about various amounts in arrears. Since P.CtYBR inv. 379 contains an account of contributions in oil made over several years, it could represent a central compilation of considerable data transmitted by ‘Abd Allāh’s to the offices of the pagarch in Medinat al-Fayyūm.

Although P.CtYBR inv. 379 is clearly concerned with the collection of oil, the purpose of P.CtYBR inv. 461 remains more obscure. The papyrus contains a list of 17 Fayyūm villages each of which is followed by the names of several individuals. No payments are recorded, however, nor is there a heading that indicates the reason(s) for which the list was compiled. One possibility is that the text was intended as a list of fugitives but such documents show a unique structure and tend also to mention women unlike P.CtYBR inv. 461, whose personal names are entirely masculine.<sup>12</sup> The document is thus most likely to be a list of individuals requisitioned for some form of *corvée* labor.<sup>13</sup>

Both of these texts provide important data on the village topography of the Fayyūm in the eighth century. As a result of the administrative restructuring of the countryside during the previous century into independently-assessed *choria*, a “panorama of place names ... masses of Greek and Coptic microtoponyms” emerged, places otherwise unattested in the official documentation of the Byzantine period.<sup>14</sup> Although the majority cannot be linked with modern villages or known archaeological sites, the richness of the Fayyūm’s administrative toponymy allows for some precision. Although some recent work has focused on alphabetical village lists, texts like P.CtYBR inv. 379 and 461, which preserve clusters of toponyms from smaller subregions, offer the opportunity

<sup>12</sup> Cf. CPR 22.37 (provenance unknown, 8th cent.). The unpublished P.Heid. inv. G 119 (8th cent.) is styled as an ὀνομασί(α) τῶ(ν) φυγ(ά)δ(ων) and is structured according to the same scheme as CPR 22.37. (This papyrus is being prepared for publication by F. Morelli.) Closer Muslim control over tax collection resulted in a heavier tax burden upon the population, which in turn promoted an increase in tax-flight. On fugitives in general see Sijpesteijn, *Shaping* 100 with n. 361.

<sup>13</sup> For a similar document that does not indicate its purpose, but was likely a list of requisitioned workers cf. N. Gonis, “P.Vindob. G 14965 (= CPR IX 67) + 18880: Requisitioned Workers in Eighth-Century Egypt,” *ZPE* 145 (2003) 209-211. For requisitions of persons for labor see *idem*, at 175-176.

<sup>14</sup> Gascou (n. 5) 673.

for the reconstruction of Fayyūm village topography in late antiquity (for details see the notes below).<sup>15</sup> Similarly, the great number of personal names provides data on the rich onomastics of this period. Alongside the more commonly attested names, a handful of obscure names appear (see further below in the introduction to P.CtYBR inv. 461).

1. *Requisitions or Arrears in Oil from an Administrative District  
in the Southwestern Fayyūm*

P.CtYBR inv. 379

21.9 x 40.6 cm

8th century

Light brown papyrus. The writing in black ink runs parallel to the fibers both on the *recto* and the *verso*. There is a visible *kollesis* running down the center of the left-hand column in Section 2 of the text (i.e. ll. 18-24 of the *verso*). Apart from a rectangular piece apparently cut from the bottom-right corner, the papyrus and its text appear complete. It is possible that the missing rectangular part was cut out in antiquity for another document. Several vertical folds are also visible.

The papyrus contains an account of oil for four indiction years (years twelve to fifteen) and is structured in two sections.<sup>16</sup> Section 1 consists of a list of *choria* as well as two individuals from specific *choria*. The account is then divided into four pairs of columns, one pair per indiction year. Each of these pairs contains one column recording an amount of oil measured in *metra* while the second column records a remainder in *xestai*. A *metron* normally comprised 10 *xestai* (one *xestes* contains ca. 0.5 liter).<sup>17</sup> Amounts are not recorded for every *chorion* in every year; indeed some *choria* have no entries in the amounts columns during any of the four recorded indiction years. Further, no amounts whatsoever are reported during indiction years fourteen and fifteen from any *chorion*. Small stylized double strokes are used to indicate these zero-

<sup>15</sup> On alphabetic village lists see F. Morelli, “I χωρία in α dell’Arsinoite. Le liste alfabetiche SPP X 37, 40, 81, 87, 134, 135, 240 (= SPP XX 226), 265, 269, P. Münch. inv. 294, P. Prag. I 26,” *ZPE* 149 (2004) 125-137, and J. G. Keenan, “Fayyum Villages in SPP XX 229,” in J. Frösen, T. Puroila, and E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* 1 (Helsinki 2007) 487-496. For the approach to village topography adopted in this article, see most recently Appendix 3 in J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2007<sup>2</sup>) 241-250. See also Wessely’s 1904 *Topographie des Faijūm (Arsinoites Nomus) in griechischer Zeit* as well as Grenfell and Hunt’s Appendix II to *P.Tebt.* 2.

<sup>16</sup> For a similarly structured document cf. *CPR* 22.46, a register of rope requisitioned for the Arab navy (Fayyūm, 8th cent.).

<sup>17</sup> F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell’Egitto tardo V-VIII d. C.* (Firenze 1996) 7.

sum entries for a given year.<sup>18</sup> The final line of Section 1 contains the totals in both *metra* and *xestai* for the years twelve and thirteen.

Section 2 of the *recto* appears to be a continuation of the accounting in the first part. Requisitions or arrears of oil over the same four indiction years are recorded, both through individuals and from at least one *chorion*. Unlike Section 1, amounts of oil are recorded in year fourteen although damage to the text makes it impossible to know whether any requisitions or arrears were recorded in year fifteen. Finally, line 22 records the totals of Section 2 in *metra* and *xestai*, while line 23 repeats the totals from part one. These two subtotals are then combined and the final totals are listed in line 24. In no case are *xestai* converted to *metra*.

From lines 3 to 13 of Section 1, villages are alphabetized by initial letter. Between lines 14 and 21, however, the nature of the text's organization becomes unclear. The *chorion* recorded in line 14 breaks the alphabetical order; in lines 15 to 20 individuals appear from villages already listed, while in line 21 a *chorion*-entry appears once again. It is possible that these entries were added to the text at a later stage in its compilation.

Cereals, wine, and oil constituted the basis of the diet of late antique Egypt (as elsewhere in the Mediterranean) and oil is commonly attested in requisitions from early Islamic Egypt.<sup>19</sup> Texts 14 and 15 in Sijpesteijn's *Shaping a Muslim State*, letters addressed to 'Abd Allāh bin As'ad by the pagarch Najīd bin Muslim, show the pagarch overseeing and helping to organize the collection of requisitioned oil from 'Abd Allāh's district, an activity the current text clearly reflects. It remains unclear, however, whether inv. 379 preserves an account of actual collections of oil over four years or whether it records arrears in payments over the same period. If the former, the text would reveal significant problems of collection over four indiction years, evidenced by non-payment from multiple settlements over the entire period covered by the account. On the other hand, the text might be an account of arrears that reflects largely successful collection of the requisitioned oil with only several villages falling into arrears during the twelfth and thirteenth indiction years. If the first scenario is accepted, Narmouthis and Tebtynis clearly stand out as the most thriving centers since they contribute the majority of the oil. If the latter scenario is the correct interpretation, then apart from some problems in the twelfth and thirteenth indiction, requisitions were again on track in the following two years.

<sup>18</sup> At first glance these strokes appear to be thick dots, but closer inspection reveals them to be two tiny strokes swiftly written.

<sup>19</sup> On oil in the 5-8th cent. Egypt see Morelli, *Olio*, especially 80-122 for oil under the Arab administration.



## Section 1

† Of the district of 'Abd Allah son of ...

	Of oil, 12th indiction	Of oil, 13th indiction	Of oil, 14th indiction	Of oil, 15th indiction
	<i>metra xestai</i>	<i>metra xestai</i>	<i>metra xestai</i>	<i>metra xestai</i>
<i>Chorion</i> Aphanios	5 6	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Armatoura	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Eter	0 9	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Theagenis	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Theaxenis Kome	0 5	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Theaxenis Ousia	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Ibion	16 6 1/2	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Kerkesisphis	95 4 1/2 1/4	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Narmouthis	111 0	7 9 1/2	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Teptynis	0 1 1/2	0 0	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Tali	0 0	1 1	0 0	0 0
<i>Chorion</i> Kerkesoucha Orous	0 0	2 2	0 0	0 0
Ioannes s.o. Laeos from the <i>chorion</i> Kerkethoeris	0 0	22 6 1/2	0 0	0 0
Pekysios s.o. Aseph from Theagenis		<i>metra</i> 227, <i>xestai</i> 32 1/2 1/4	<i>metra</i> 32, <i>xestai</i> 19	

Section 1

1  $\rightarrow \dagger$  μέρους Αβδελλα . . . σ . δ

2 *vac.*

3 χωρ(τον) Ἀφανίου

4 χωρ(τον) Ἀρματούρης

5 χωρ(τον) Επιρ

6 χωρ(τον) Θεαγενίδος

7 χωρ(τον) Θεαζενίδ(ος) κώ(μης)

8 χωρ(τον) Θεαζενίδ(ος) οὐσία(ς)

9 χωρ(τον) Ἰβιώνος

10 χωρ(τον) Κέρκεσφρε(ως)

11 χωρ(τον) Νορμουθε(ως)

12 χωρ(τον) Τεπύνεως

13 χωρ(τον) Ἰαλι

14 χωρ(τον) Κερκ(εσσού)χ(ων) Ὀρους

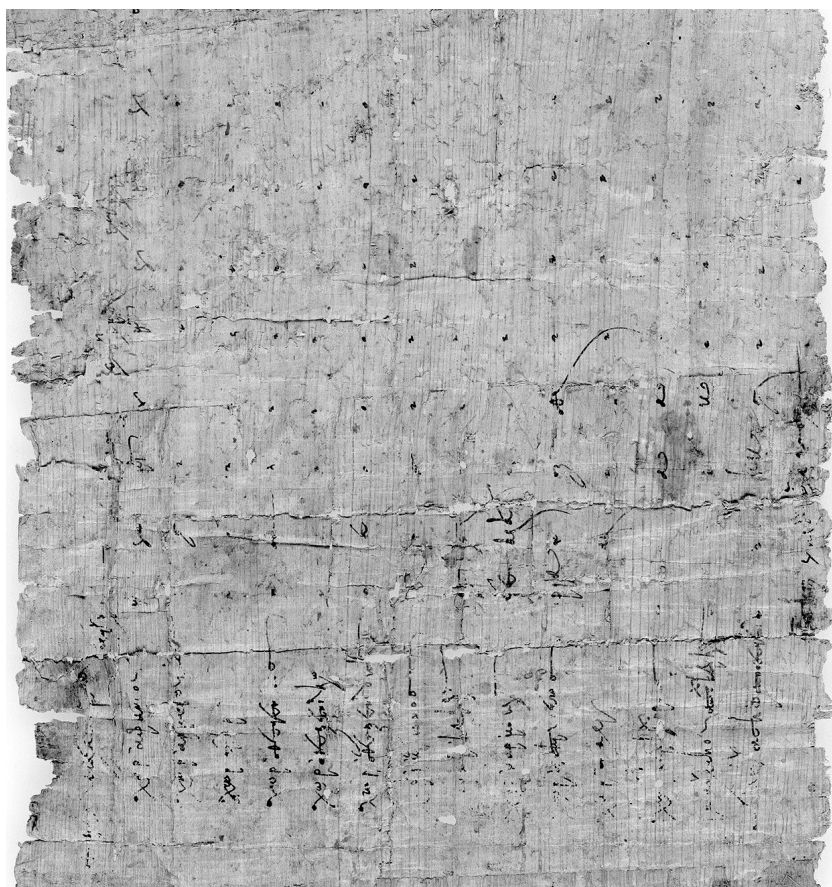
15 Ἰωάνου Λαήου ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Κερκ(ε)θ(οήρεως)

16 Πέικυσίου Ἀσήφ ἀπὸ Θεαγενίδ(ος)

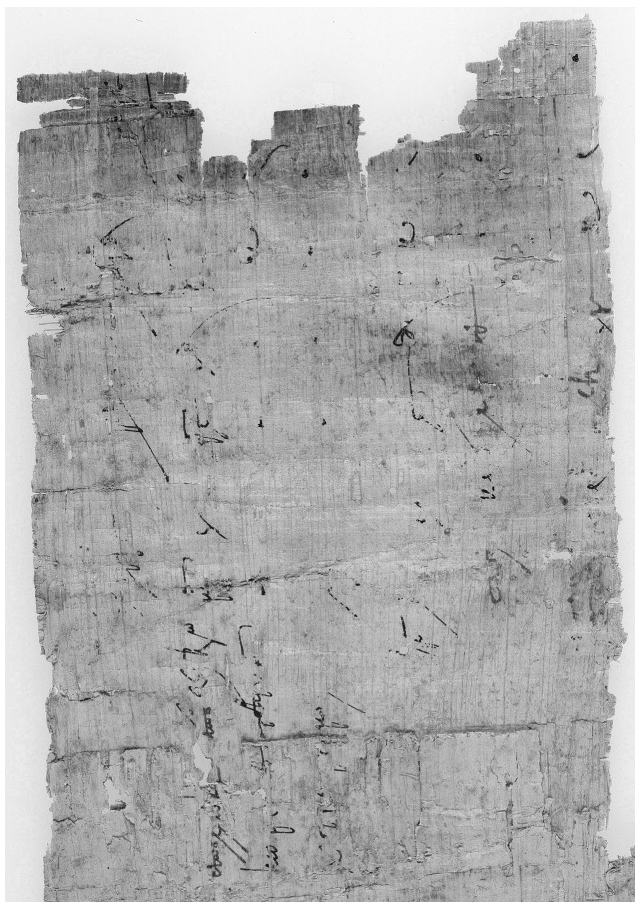
17 *vac.*

15 I. Ἰωάννου

ἐλάσιου ἰ(ν)δ(ικτ.) ἰβ	ἐλ[α]ῖου ἰ(ν)δ(ικτ.) ἰγ	ἐλάσιου ἰ(ν)δ(ικτ.) ἰδ	ἐλάσιου ἰ(ν)δ(ικτ.) ἰε
μέ(τραι) (ξέσται)	μέ(τραι) (ξέσται)	μέ(τραι) (ξέσται)	μέ(τραι) (ξέσται)
εῖ ς	// //	// //	// //
// //	// //	// //	// //
// θ	// //	// //	// //
// //	// //	// //	// //
// ε	// //	// //	// //
// //	// //	// //	// //
ις ς ζ	// //	// //	// //
ςε δ ζ δ'	// //	// //	// //
ρια //	ζ θ ζ	// //	// //
// α ζ	// //	// //	// //
// //	α α	// //	// //
// //	β β	// //	// //
// //	κβ ς ζ	// //	// //
μέ(τρ.) σκζ (ξέστ.) λβ ζ δ'	μέ(τρ.) λβ (ξέστ.) ιθ	// //	// //







1 † μέρους Αβδελλα . . . σ . δ: Following ‘Abd Allāh the traces are too slight to read the rest of the official’s name with certainty. Σ and δ are clear, however, and in conjunction with the southwestern village geography of the list it is tempting to restore the name as Αβδελλα υἱο(ῦ) Ασαδ. The patronymic Σαδ, however, is also a possibility. An unpublished Coptic declaration, P.Mich. inv. 5577a is addressed to a certain Αβδελλα υἱο(ς) Σαδ. Since this latter text is composed in the Fayyūmic dialect and belongs to the same 1928/1929 purchase as some Michigan documents pertaining to ‘Abd Allāh bin As‘ad,<sup>20</sup> it seems possible that the name refers to him. Furthermore, the unpublished Greek account, P.Heid. inv. G 1030 lists the requisitions of the *meros* of a certain Αβδελλα υἱο(ς) Σααδ from villages in the south-western Fayyūm, but there is no overlap with the settlements mentioned in our papyrus. Matters are further complicated by the fact that it seems to be more natural to identify Σααδ with the Arabic Sa‘d. Unfortunately, the reading of ‘Abd Allāh’s patronymic in the docket on the verso of the text is similarly unclear, so no obvious solution appears at present.<sup>21</sup>

3 Ἀφανίου: Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 137. This obscure toponym, whose nominative form is unknown, occurs only in papyri dated to the seventh and eighth centuries. Grenfell and Hunt<sup>22</sup> were already convinced of its location in the *meris* of Polemon based upon its appearance in a list of a southern Fayyūm *pittakion* list later published as SPP 20.265 (7-8th c.) which includes several of the settlements mentioned in the present papyrus.<sup>23</sup> In line 3 of the former papyrus, Aphaniou is paired with Beki as a single fiscal unit. The same pairing likely appears in the list of estate locales published as SPP 10.249 (ca. 620),<sup>24</sup> whose text has been plausibly restored at l. 4 as [Βεκί κ]αὶ Ἀφανί(ου). Beki was surely in the former *meris* of Polemon (cf. Wessely, *Topographie*, 44). In a list dating to the second or third century CE the latter village is grouped with a selection of toponyms spanning all three *merides* but all located toward the center of the Fayyūm, including four villages – Eleusis, Mouchis, Dikaiou Nesos, and Kynopolis – known to have been toward the

<sup>20</sup> See Sijpesteijn, *Shaping* 7-8, esp. footnote 25.

<sup>21</sup> Both P.Mich. inv. 5577a and P.Heid. inv. G 1030 are being prepared for publication by L. Berkes.

<sup>22</sup> *P.Tebt.* 2, p. 371.

<sup>23</sup> Kerkethoeris, Theagenis, Tali, Ibiou, Narmouthis.

<sup>24</sup> For the date cf. N. Gonis, “Notes on the Aristocracy of the Byzantine Fayum,” *ZPE* 166 (2008) 203-210 at 207, esp. n. 28.



north of the *meris* of Polemon.<sup>25</sup> Aphanion itself appears with some frequency with other southern villages such as Tristomon, Narmouthis, and Perkethaut.<sup>26</sup>

— μέ(τρα) (ξέσται): There is a short vertical stroke after μέ(τρα) in the column for indiction 13. It cannot be a number, since the numbers in the column add up without it. Is it perhaps a part of the abbreviation?

4 Ἀρματούρης: Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 182-183. Armatoura may have been located rather farther north than some of the other villages in 'Abd Allāh's *meros* although this is far from certain. Grenfell and Hunt linked the obscure χωρίον Ἀρματούρης to the *meris* of Polemon via a village list later published as *SPP* 10.250 (cf. Wessely, *Topographie*, 41).<sup>27</sup> *SPP* 10.250 itself is not exclusively southern/Polemon, however, since it includes two villages of the former Herakleides (Arabon and Syron). Further, in a long tax list published as *SB* 6.9583 Armatoura appears in a list of villages whose organization, if any, is not immediately clear, but which includes the nome capital and several other sites located in the northern stretches of the former *meris* of Polemon (e.g. Oxyrhyncha) and in the *meris* of Themistos (e.g. Magais). It is perhaps telling that P.CtYBR inv. 379 is the first village list in which Armatoura appears with villages located at the southern extremity of the Fayyūm, i.e. Tali and Tebtynis.<sup>28</sup>

— ξ: The reading can be made to match the remaining traces and is also necessary to ensure a correct total in l. 17.

5 Ἐτερ: Eter is another obscure and poorly attested locale, appearing in only eight published texts from the late Byzantine and early Islamic periods. Like Armatoura, Eter's strongest connections are to villages throughout the western half of the Fayyūm, since it occurs multiple times only with settlements from this region.<sup>29</sup> Three occurrences with Aphanion<sup>30</sup> and four with Beki,<sup>31</sup> including the aforementioned *SB* 6.9583 in which Eter appears between Theaxenis Kome and Theaxenis Ousia, may indicate relative proximity to these

<sup>25</sup> Aphrodites Berenikis Polis (Herakleides); Lysimachis (Themistos); Eleusis, Mouchis, Dikaiou Nesos, Kynopolis (Polemon).

<sup>26</sup> B. Haug, *Watering the Desert: Environment, Irrigation, and Society in the Premodern Fayyūm, Egypt* (dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 2012) 270-271.

<sup>27</sup> Then Paris inv. 90. The text was dated to the sixth century upon its publication but the presence of *choria* clearly indicate an Early Islamic date.

<sup>28</sup> Haug, *Watering the Desert* 269-270.

<sup>29</sup> Haug, *Watering the Desert* 276-277.

<sup>30</sup> *SPP* 10.147, 260, and 275.

<sup>31</sup> *SPP* 10.147, 260, 275, and *SB* 6.9583.



two settlements.<sup>32</sup> A seeming outlier is *SPP* 10.293, in which an *epoikion* Eter is placed under the oversight of a *comes* Ioannes *dioiketes* along with Tamauis (medieval and modern Tāmiyya) and Attinou (sc. Isieion), both securely located within the former Herakleides. This need not be regarded as conflicting evidence for Eter's location. *SPP* 10.293 has now been linked with *SPP* 10.138 (early 7th c.<sup>33</sup>), a list of administrators on a large estate (likely that of Strategios Paneuphemos) and the villages for which each was responsible.<sup>34</sup> The first administrator mentioned in *SPP* 10.138, a *megaloprepestatos* whose name is lost, oversees a group of seven villages ordered geographically from the northeast to the southwest of the Fayyūm, from Nestou (sc. *epoikion*, near Philadelphia and Karanis) to Tebtynis in the southwest.<sup>35</sup> In this particular case, the occurrence of southerly Eter with two more northerly villages appears unremarkable.

6 Θεαγενίδος: Bart Van Beek has located Theagenis (earlier Theogonis) in the far south somewhere to the north of Tālī (Kōm Tālīt).<sup>36</sup> Ptolemaic papyri establish that Kerkeosiris bordered Theogonis to the northwest (*P.Tebt.* 1.84) and at times shared administration with the former village. Theogonis is also attested as sharing a large embankment with Tālī and, for a time, a *grapheion*.<sup>37</sup> The village survived at least until the ninth century and is attested in an unpublished Vienna Arabic village list as Berbenūda, an Arabized form of its Coptic name Perpenoute, itself a translation of the Greek.<sup>38</sup>

7-8 Θεαξενίδ(ος) κώ(μης) and Θεαξενίδ(ος) οὐσία(ς): Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 6, 2633-2634. Bart Van Beek has also discussed the location of Theaxenis at the Fayyūm Village Project. During the earlier period, Theaxenis (as Theoxenis) was securely located in the *meris* of Themistos.<sup>39</sup> In the *narratio* published as *P.Sakaon* 35 (AD 332), Aurelius Sakaon alleges that water destined for Theadelphia has been misappropriated by the canal-

<sup>32</sup> The series is Beki, Okeos, Theaxenis Kome, Eter, Theaxenis Ousia, Andreou.

<sup>33</sup> For the date see B. Palme, "Die *domus gloriosa* des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos," *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95-125 at 107-112. For different views and the interpretation of the document see the summary in Gonis (n. 24) 209.

<sup>34</sup> On the relationship between the two texts see Gonis (n. 24) 208-209.

<sup>35</sup> Ll. 1-9: Nestou, Pelkeesis, Hierais, Ptolemais (sc. Hormou), Oxyrhynchos (l. Oxyrhyncha), Tebetny, Tebtynis.

<sup>36</sup> [http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2376.php?geo\\_id=2376](http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2376.php?geo_id=2376). Accessed 9 April 2014.

<sup>37</sup> *Perichoma: P.Tebt.* 1.74-75 (BC 113); *grapheion: P.Mich.* 5. 287 (1st cent. AD).

<sup>38</sup> Attested in the Vienna papyrus Inv. Ar. Pap. 11256. Described by Karabacek as *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung* 681, who read the village name as Berbetuda. The text is being prepared for publication by B. Haug and Usama Gad.

<sup>39</sup> *PSI* 8.921 r<sup>o</sup> (AD 143/144) and *P.Flor.* 1.9 (AD 255).

sharing vilages of Narmouthis, Hermoupolis, and Theoxenis “since they are at the front of the *pagi*.”<sup>40</sup> The geography of Sakaon’s complaint appears to move from the south to the north, with Narmouthis being the most southerly of the three. Theoxenis and Hermoupolis were direct neighbors and both lay relatively close to the border with the Polemon *meris*. Whether or not the village was in the same *pagus* with the more southerly Narmouthis,<sup>41</sup> it was located in the Theodosiopolite nome by mid-seventh century (*BGU* 1.320 [AD 643]).<sup>42</sup>

The division between the *kome* and *ousia* of Theaxenidos is attested only in the Arab period.<sup>43</sup> *CPR* 8.82 (AD 699/700) attests an *ousia* of the *caliph* (*protosymboulos*) in the eastern Fayyūm village of Sele (mod. Sila). *SPP* 10.121 (8th cent.) also preserves a fragment of a list of *ousiai* owned by Arabs in the Fayyūm.

9 Ἰβίωνος: Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 2, 902-903 and 3, 1127. A distinction has been made between two similarly-named villages attested in the later antique-early medieval village lists, Ibion Eikosipentarouron and Ibionos chorion.<sup>44</sup> Both, however, have clear south/southwestern connections and the distinction is likely illusory, the result of flexible onomastics. *SPP* 20.265 seems to indicate the latter since l. 7 contains a joint entry for χ(ωρίον) Εἰκ(οσι)[πέν]τ(ε) (καὶ) Ἰβιῶ(νος).

10 Κερκεσίφε(ως): Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 3, 1239. Earlier Κερκεσῆφης, the village was in the north of the *meris* of Polemon, near the border with the *meris* of Themistos. Though it is mentioned on occasion in connection with southern villages like Tebtynis, Kerkeesis, and Theogonis, its closest connections are with Samareia, another settlement of the northern Polemon. The village was apparently close to Pyrreia in the Themistos and, therefore, somewhere near the border with the latter *meris*. A reference in a Ptolemaic papyrus to the *pedion* of the village being inundated (κατακεκλύσθαι) suggests that the village itself or at least its farmland lay on the lower ground of the central Fayyūm, rather than toward the higher lands of the southern margins.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *P.Sakaon* 35.

<sup>41</sup> Van Beek locates Theoxenis, Hermopolis, and Narmouthis in the eighth *pagus*, though Tomasz Derda’s discussion places Narmouthis in the ninth.

<sup>42</sup> *BGU* 1.320 (AD 643).

<sup>43</sup> Trismegistos GEO ID 2385: *P.Prag.* 1.26 (7th cent.), *SPP* 10.24 (7<sup>th</sup>-8th cent.), *SB* 6.9583 (8th cent.), *SPP* 10.131 (8th cent.).

<sup>44</sup> See the respective entries in Trismegistos Geo database for Eikosipentarouron (GEO ID 885) and Ibion (GEO ID 872).

<sup>45</sup> *P.Tebt.* 1.56 (late 2nd cent. BC).

11 Ναρμούθε(ως): Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 4, 1734-1738. Arabized as Narmūda, the village was located at the well-known site of Medinat Mādī in the far southwest of the Fayyūm at the western extremity of the Gharaq Basin. In the eighth century it served as the administrative base of operations for ‘Abd Allāh bin As‘ad.<sup>46</sup>

12 Τεπτύνεως: Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 6, 2887-2892. In his survey of deserted sites along the the southern border canal, the so-called Baḥr Tanabṭawiyya (“Tebtynis Canal,” the ὀρεινὴ διώρυξ Πολέμωνος, roughly equivalent to the modern Baḥr al-Gharaq), al-Nābulṣī remarks in the *Ta’rikh al-Fayyūm* that several ancient settlements here at the base of the stone ridge surrounding the Fayyūm (*fi liḥf al-jabl*, “at the foot of the mountain”) had migrated from this higher ground toward the lower lands of the plain. Tebtynis was one such village and al-Nābulṣī remarks in his description of thirteenth-century Taṭūn that “to its south was the large village known as Taṭūn but it has become extinct and this one was built and took its name.”<sup>47</sup> This is often taken to be a reference to the site of ancient Tebtynis, which had made a northward migration to become Taṭūn. Yet al-Nābulṣī also references another long-abandoned site, Tanabṭawiyya, first in his list of abandoned villages along the southern border canal. It is possible that this latter site is the actual ancient Tebtynis at Umm al-Burēgāt, indicating that the village made two northward migrations rather than only one.<sup>48</sup> Since the current list also includes Tali, another southern border village that remained active into the ninth century (see following note), this “Teptunis” likely refers to the original village on its ancient site rather than later Taṭūn.

13 Τάλι: Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 6, 2474-2475. The archaeological site of Kōm Talit lying at the divide between the Gharaq and Tuṭūn basins is generally accepted as the site of ancient Tali/Talithis.<sup>49</sup> It was still occupied in the ninth century AD and it is attested in an unpublished Arabic village tax register at the Austrian National Library in Vienna as Ṭalit.<sup>50</sup> By the eleventh century the original village was abandoned and, like Tebtynis-Taṭūn, it had been replaced by a more northerly and homonymous settlement

<sup>46</sup> Sijpesteijn, *Shaping* 141-143.

<sup>47</sup> TF 86: *kān qiblīhā balda t’urif bi-Taṭūn datharat wa hiyya kabīra wa ‘umarit hādhihi wa simmiyyit b-ismihā*.

<sup>48</sup> TF 17.

<sup>49</sup> C. Kirby and D. Rathbone, “Kom Talit: The Rise and Fall of a Greek Town in the Faiyum,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 8 (1996) 29-31.

<sup>50</sup> See above, n. 38. Read by Karabacek in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung* 681 as Thulbeit.

closer to the Fayyūm's central plain. As al-Nābulṣī writes, "Ṭalīt on the mountain (*fi-l-jabl*) was deserted and a village also called Ṭalīt was built below it, and it is now cultivated."<sup>51</sup>

14 Κερκ(εσού)χ(ων) Ὀρους: Like the homonymous village of the former Herakleides *meris*, the name indicates a position along the border of the Fayyūm near the desert and the limestone ridge surrounding the depression. Paolo Gallo has identified<sup>52</sup> Kerkesoucha Orous with the twice-attested Coptic toponym Pelgisok, which survived as Buljusūq in al-Nābulṣī's day.<sup>53</sup> The original village site was in the far south of the Fayyūm along the southern border canal. Yet like Tebtynis-Ṭaṭūn and Tali-Talīt, it had migrated north to lower ground sometime in the early middle ages according to al-Nābulṣī: "So, Buljusūq On the Mountain was deserted and a village was built below it in its place, called by the same name Buljusūq al-Qibliyya, and is now cultivated."<sup>54</sup>

15 Κερκ(ε)θ(οήρεως): Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 3, 1241-1242. The village has been located by Paola Davoli at the southern Gharaq Basin site of Kōm al-Khamsīn to the west of Tali (Kōm Talīt), an identification previously suggested by Grenfell and Hunt.<sup>55</sup>

16 ἀπὸ Θεαγενίδ(ος): The abbreviation χ(ωρίου) before the toponym is expected at this point, as in l. 15, but is lost in a scribal omission.

17 λβ ζ δ': The fractions are clearly read but the λ and β are uncertain although both are necessary for correct arithmetic.

19 Κο[2-3]: Text heavily damaged and abraded at this point. The κ and ο suggest a genitive form of the common Fayyūmic name Κοσμῆς but the remaining traces are insufficient for a secure reading.

20 Κωρ . [2-3]: A personal name with patronymic is expected at this point but no name suggests itself from the remaining traces. Χ(ωρίου) has been restored on the model of χ(ωρίου) Κερκ(ε)θ(οήρεως) in l. 15, however the χ(ωρίου) may originally have been omitted by the scribe as in l. 16.

<sup>51</sup> TF 18: *Ṭalīt datharat fi-l-jabl wa 'umara taḥtiha balada tusammā bi-Ṭalīt wa-hiyya al'ān zārī'a*.

<sup>52</sup> *O.Narm.Dem.* 2, p. LXI.

<sup>53</sup> *P.Fay.Copt.* 45 (8-9th cent.), *CPR* 2.225 (8-9th cent.). The demotic *P3(-iw)-glg-Sbk* was likely, according to Gallo, pronounced \**Pelḡ* as demonstrated in the Greek variants Πελκεῆσις and Περκεῆσις.

<sup>54</sup> TF 18: *Buljusūq fi-l-jabl datharat wa 'umara taḥtiha balada 'iwaḍiḥa wa-summiyat b-i-smiḥa Buljusūq al-Qibliyya wa-hiyya al'ān zārī'a*.

<sup>55</sup> P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Naples 1998) 265-266.

21 χ(ωρίον) Τρι[σ]τόμμο[υ] . [ ]: The reading of the toponym is insecure but the traces seem to match the occurrence of the village in P.CtYBR 461 *verso* l. 35 below. The spelling of the toponym with a doubled μ is apart from P.CtYBR inv. 461, l. 35 (see below) unattested. The abbreviation of χωρίον with a simple χ differs from the practice in the first column. A diagonal stroke follows the restored toponym that we cannot resolve. The angle is too steep for λ.

25 The text in l. 1 of the *recto* is so abraded and that of l. 25 of the *verso* so faded that a detailed comparison is impossible. The ink in the docket on the *verso* is more lightly pigmented than that of the *recto* and seems to show a distinct rightward ductus in comparison to the upright script of the *recto*.

- Αβδελλα . . . σ . δ: Cf. Recto l. 1.
- λ(ό)γ(ω): Because this is not the heading of the account the nominative form is excluded and we have resolved the text λ(ό)γ(ω). For the abbreviation cf. e.g. CPR 22.47.2-4 (8th c.).

## 2. List of Requisitioned Workers (?)

P.CtYBR inv. 461

22.3 x 46.2 cm

8th c.

Like P.CtYBR inv. 379, inv. 461 was originally a large, light-brown single sheet written on the *recto* parallel to the fibers, on the *verso* perpendicular to them in a brownish ink. There is a *kollesis* ca. 10 cm from the left margin and several folds are also visible. The left, right, and bottom margins are preserved intact although there has been some damage along the top margin, which has caused the loss of an insubstantial amount of text in the right-hand column of both *recto* and *verso*. Apart from this, the text appears complete. A cross prefixed to the opening line on the *recto* indicates the beginning of the text and the final entry on the *verso* also survives in full.

The text preserves a list of seventeen village *choria* followed by either one or two lines of personal names, all heavily abbreviated and many of them obscure. The toponymy of inv. 461 again concentrates in the west/southwest of the Fayyūm. Eight of the seventeen toponyms appear in P.CtYBR inv. 379 – Ibion, Narmouthis, Theaxenis Kome, Theaxenis Ousia, Armatoura, Kerkesoucha Orous, Eter, and Tali. The remaining nine nevertheless still derive from the western portion of the nome, from the territory of the former *merides* of Polemon and Themistos. If our interpretation of the text as a list of requisitioned workers holds (see the general introduction above), we may try to infer the relative size of the villages. The following list summarizes the number of people

listed under each village in the order they appear on the papyrus (though some numbers are conjectured from traces):

Ibion: 8	Psimistous: 6 (?)	Barbariou: 3
Narmouthis: 8	Beki: 4	Tristomon: 4
Theaxenis Kome: 4 (?)	Armatoura: 6 or 8 (?)	Koimeterion: 4
Theaxenis Ousia: 4 (?)	Kerkesoucha Orous: 8	Tali: 8
Hermoupolis: 8 (?)	Psen: 8 (?)	Pesta: 4
Akanthon: 8	Eter: 4 (?)	

The villages can be roughly divided in three groups that contribute three-four, six or eight workers. Eight workers are provided by Ibion, Narmouthis, Theaxenis (Kome and Ousia together), Hermoupolis, Akanthon, Kerkesoucha Orous, Armatoura, Psen (?), and Tali; six perhaps by Psimistous or Armatoura; four by Beki, Eter, Tristomon, Koimeterion, and Pesta; three by Barbariou.

Personal names appear both in the nominative (e.g. l. 3) and in the genitive (e.g. l. 34 or 36). This does not seem to have any particular significance, since in late Byzantine and early Islamic texts genitive often appears in places where we would expect the nominative, e.g. in signatures.<sup>56</sup> The names are usually, but not always followed by a patronymic or the specification “priest” or “deacon.” Groups of two or three names are often connected with the next group with the sinusoid abbreviation of καί, but the scribe was not consistent in this respect.

The onomastic repertoire of the register both confirms the popularity of certain names in the Fayyūm (e.g. Kosmas and Apa Ioulios) and displays considerable variety. The radical abbreviations employed by the scribe prevent sometimes unequivocal resolutions. Furthermore, he uses multiple abbreviations for the same name (see e.g. Σενούθιος in ll. 2 and 21). The abbreviation Γε( ) (ll. 15, 18, 32, 40, and 43) most likely represents Γεώργιος but the scribe spells the name out at some places (l. 3). Since there are also other possible alternatives (Γερόντιος for instance), we choose not to resolve the abbreviation. Similarly, Αβρα( ) can represent both Ἀβρα(άμ) and Ἀβρα(άμιος). The resolution is not trivial; both Γεώργιος (l. 3) and Γεωργι (ll. 3 and 26) appear in the register what suggests that they were perceived as distinct names or variants. For convenience’s sake we resolve Ἀβρα(άμιος) throughout, but Ἀβρα(άμ) is equally possible. Several obscure names occur (for details see the commentary): Απιουτω (l. 2); Φηκεμε( ) (l. 3); Μεσα (30); Ανουλυλ( ) (l. 43).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. e.g. *O.Petr.Mus.* 559.5-6 (Thebes, ca. 726): Ὀννοφρίου στ(σι)χ(εῖ) or *P.Clackson* 39.3 (Bawit, 8th cent.): Μουσαίου ἔγρ(αψα).

*Recto*

*Col. 1*

1  $\rightarrow$  † χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ἰβιώνος

2 *vac.* Πτολομαῖ(ος) πρε(σβύτερος) Απιουτῶ Σε(νουθίου) (καὶ) Ἡλία(ς) Ἰωά(ννου) (καὶ) Στέφα(νος) πρε(σβύτερος)

3 *vac.* Κοσμά(ς) Φηκεμε( ) Γεώργ(ιος) Παλε( ) (καὶ) Οὐρίων Αντ . ( ) (καὶ) Γεωργι

*vac.*

4 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ναρμοσύθε(ος)

5 *vac.* Μηνᾶ(ς) Πεκυσίου) Κοσμά(ς) Π[ . . ] ( ) (καὶ) Βαρθ(ολομαῖος) Θεοδ(όρου) (καὶ) Κολλ(ούθ(ος) Σενοῦθ(ίου)

6 *vac.* Ἀβρα(άμιος) Ἐνῶχ Οὐρ(ί)ο(ν) Βίκτ(ωρος) (καὶ) Βίκτ(ωρ) Οὐρ(ί)ο(ν) (καὶ) Σευήρο(ς) Ἄπα Κ(ύρου)

*vac.*

7 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Θεαξενίδ(ος) κώ(μης)

8 *vac.* Ἀπολ(λὼς) Μακα(ρίου) πρε(σβύτερος) [ . ] . . ( ) [ ] Νειλ(άμμων) Μέλε( ) (καὶ) ἄπα Ἰούλ(ιος) Ἡλία

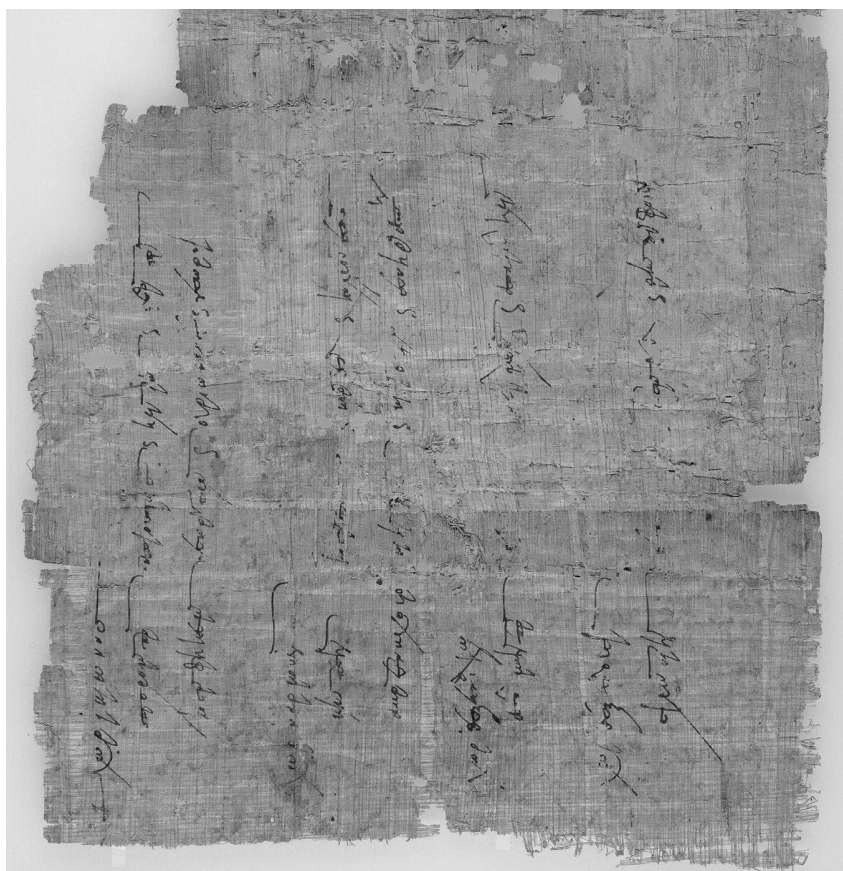
*vac.*

9 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Θεαξεν(ί)δ(ος) οὐσία(ς)

10 *vac.* Σύβα(νός) Βίκτ(ωρος) Ε . [ ] Κοσμά(ς) Θεοδ(όρου) (καὶ) Μηνᾶ(ς) διά(κονος) Φοιβά(μμωνος?)

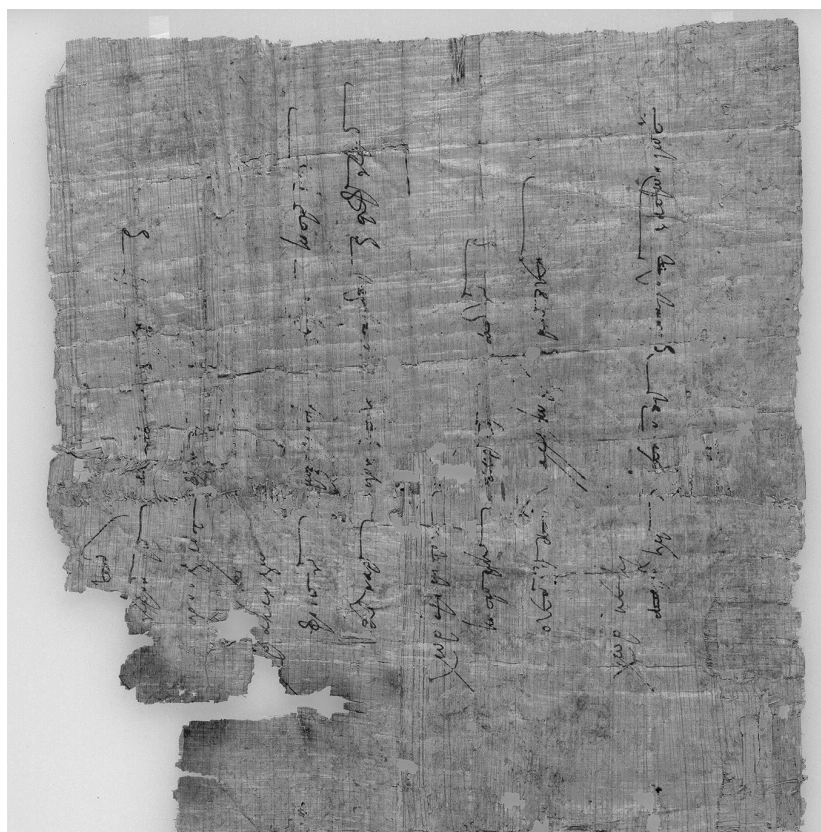
2 l. Πτολομαῖος





## Col. 2

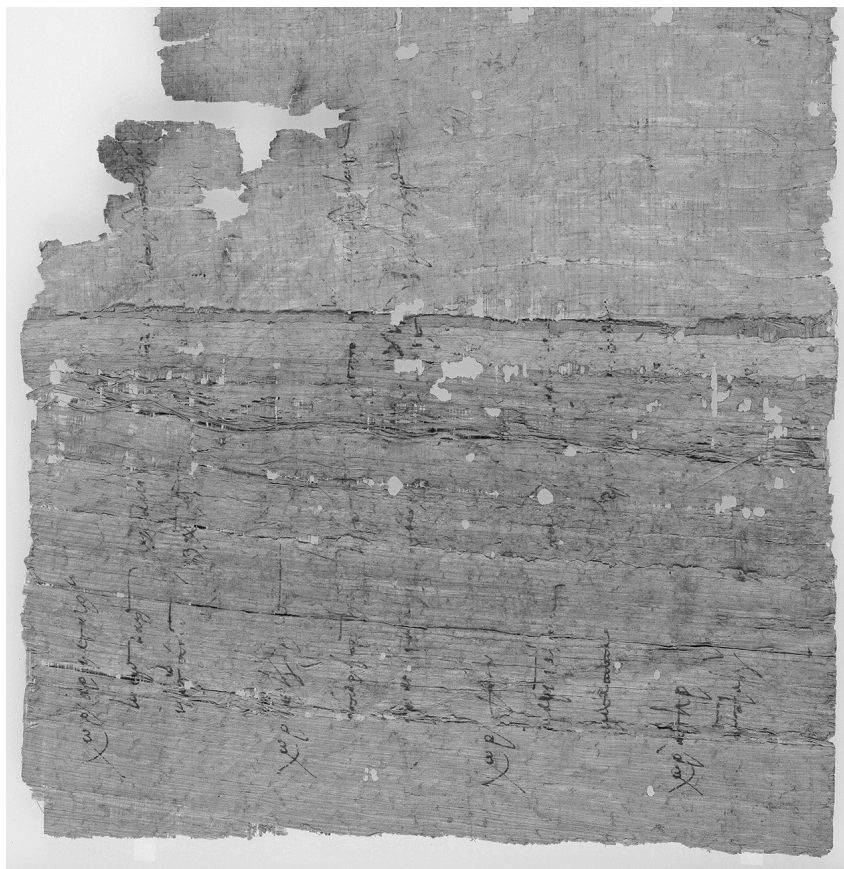
- 11 [χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ἑρμο]υπόλ(εος)  
 12 *vac.* Γερώντ(ιος) Ἰωά(ννου) Α . [ . ] . . . . . λ . ( ) Βίκτ(ωρος) (καί)  
 13 *vac.* Ἀγούνθ(ος) Λοτ Φοιβά(μμων) διά(κονος) [ca. 5] . [ . ] . [ . ]  
*vac.*  
 14 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ἀκανθῶ(νος)  
 15 *vac.* Φοιβά(μμων) Γε( ) Μαξ . . . . . σι (καί) Θεόδ(ωρος) . [1-2]( ) Κοσιμά(ς) Μακα(ρίου)  
 16 *vac.* Θεόδ(ωρος) Νααρα(ύ) Ἀγούνθ(ος) Ποῦσι (καί) ἄπα Ἰούλ(ιος) διά(κονος) (καί) Στέφα(νος) Γερωντ(ίου)  
*vac.*  
 17 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ψυμίστους  
 18 *vac.* Κοσιμά(ς) Μηνᾶ Ἀβρα(άμιος) πρε(σβύτερος) Ἀπολ(λώς) Γε( ) (καί)  
 19 *vac.* Οὐενά(φριος) Φ . ( ) Ἀπολ(λὼ?) Ἀλλῆ Κύρου (καί) Μηνᾶ(ς) Οὐένα(φρίου)  
*vac.*  
 20 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Βέκι  
 21 *vac.* ἄπα Ἰούλ(ιος) Ἠλία Σενούθ(ιος) διά(κονος) (καί) ἄπα Ἰούλ(ιος) πρε(σβύτερος) (καί) Ἀσίων Ἰωσή(φ)



*Verso*

## Col. 1

- 22 ↓ χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ἀρματούρη(ς)  
 23 *vac.* Κοσμάδ(ς) Ναορα(ῶ) Ἡλία(ς) Ἀβρα(αμίου) [ ] . ( ) . . . . ἄπα Ἰούλ(ιος) Παθερμουτ( )  
 24 *vac.* Βίκτω(ρ) Σενουθ(ίου) Ζαχα(ρίας) . . χ . ( ) [ ] . [ ]  
*vac.*  
 25 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Κερκ(εσού)χ(ων) Γ'Ο]ρους  
 26 *vac.* Γεωργι πρε(σβύτερος) Ἡλία(ς) Κ[ο]σίμᾱ (καί) . . . . . [ ] . η( ) ἄπα Ἰούλ(ιος) Ἰακώβου  
 27 *vac.* Ἰωάννου Μηνᾱ . . . . . Πεεῖβ . [ . . ] . ( ) (καί) . . . ου Ισ . (καί) Μηνᾱ(ς) Κοσμά  
*vac.*  
 28 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ψέν  
 29 *vac.* Λαμια(νός) Ἰακώβου ἄπα *traces*  
 30 *vac.* Μεσα Παπᾱ [ ] φ *traces α*  
*vac.*  
 31 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Επηρ  
 32 *vac.* Γε( ) Πιάκου *vac.* Ἀ . . . πρε(σβύτερος) [ ]



Col. 2

33 χ[ω]ρ[ί]ο(ν) ca. 3]ρβαρίου

34 *vac.* Πιῶκῶ Οὐένα(φρίου) [Ο]ὔενά(φριος) πρε(σβύτερος) (καὶ) Δαιμιανού διά[κο(νος)]*vac.*

35 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Τριστόμιου

36 *vac.* Θεοδώρου Πέτρου ἄπτα Ἰούλ(ιος) Σεனுθ(ίου) (καὶ) Σαρα(πάμμων) Πιήου (καὶ) Κοσμᾶ(ς) Ἀνδρέα*vac.*

37 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Κοιμητηρίου

38 *vac.* Κοσμᾶ(ς) Μακα(ρίου) Σενούθ(ιος) Πεειβ (καὶ) Βαρθ(ολομαῖος) Πεειβ (καὶ) Παῦλ(ος) πρε(σβύτερος)*vac.*

39 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Ταλι

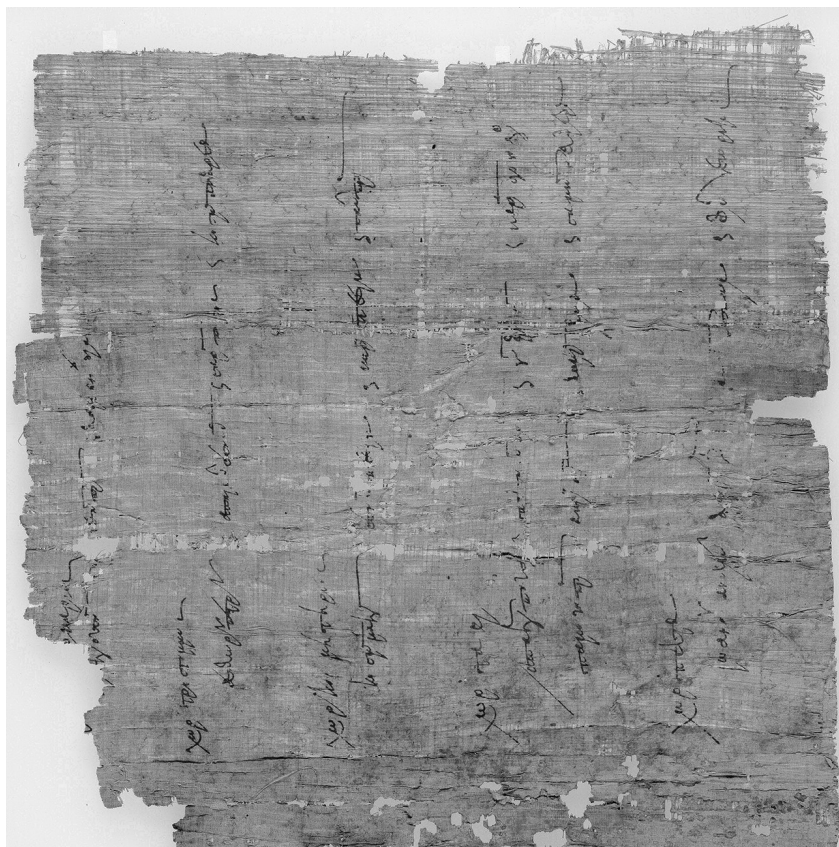
40 *vac.* / ἄπτα Κῶ(ρος) Ποῦσι Παπινόθ(ιος) Ἡλίᾱ (καὶ) Γε( ) Φοιβᾶ(μμωνος) (καὶ) Βαρθ(ολομαῖος) Ἀγούνθο(ν)41 *vac.* Παμοῦν πρε(σβύτερος) Ἀβρα(άμιος) διά(κονος) (καὶ) Δαιμια(νός) Ἡλία (καὶ) Σαιμβᾶ(ς) Νεφερά*vac.*

42 χωρ(ί)ο(ν) Πέστα

43 *vac.* Ἰωάννου Ανουλλ( ) Δάμια(νός) Γε( ) [ca. 2] . . . ( ) ἄπτα Ὡλ (καὶ) Φυλ( ) Γεωργίου

35 l. Τριστόμιου







*Recto*

Col. 1

† *Chorion* Ibion

Ptolomaïos priest, Apiouto s.o. Senouthios and Elias s.o. Ioannes and Stephanos priest

Kosmas s.o. Phekeme-, Georgios s.o. Pale- and Ourion s.o. Ant- and Georgi

*Chorion* Narmouthis

Menas s.o. Pekysios, Kosmas s.o. P- and Bartholomaïos s.o. Theodoros and Kollouthos s.o. Senouthios

Abraamios s.o. Enoch, Ourion s.o. Biktor and Biktor s.o. Ourion and Seoueros s.o. Apa Kyros

*Chorion* Theaxenis Kome

Apollos s.o. Makarios, priest ... Neilammon s.o. Mele- and Apa Ioulïos s.o. Elias

*Chorion* Theaxenis Ousia

Silbanos s.o. Biktor ... Kosmas s.o. Theodoros and Menas, deacon s.o. (?) Phoibammon

Col. 2

*Chorion* Hermupolis

Gerontios s.o. Ioannes ... s.o. Biktor and

Agounthos s.o. Lot, Phoibammon, deacon ...

*Chorion* Akanthon

Phoibammon s.o. Ge-, Max- .... and Theodoros ... Kosmas s.o. Makarios

Theodoros s.o. Naaraus, Agounthos s.o. Pousis and Apa Ioulïos deacon and Stephanos s.o. Gerontios

*Chorion* Psimistous

Kosmas s.o. Menas, Abraamios, priest, Apollos s.o. Ge- and

Ouenaphrios ... s.o. (?) Apollos, Alli s.o. Kyros and Menas s.o. Ouenaphrios

*Chorion* Beki

Apa Ioulïos s.o. Elias, Senouthios, deacon and Apa Ioulïos, priest and Asion s.o. Ioseph

*Verso*

## Col. 1

*Chorion* Armatoura

Kosmas s.o. Naaraus, Elias s.o. Abraamios .... Apa Ioulíos s.o. Pathermouti(o)s

Biktor s.o. Senouthios Zacharias s.o. ...

*Chorion* Kerkesucha Orous

Georgi, priest, Elias s.o. Kosmas and ... Apa Ioulíos s.o. Iakobos

Ioannes s.o. Menas ... s.o. Peeib and ... and Menas s.o. Kosmas

*Chorion* Psen

Damianos s.o. Iakobos, Apa ...

Mesa s.o. Papas ...

*Chorion* Eter

Ge- s.o. Piakou, A- priest ...

## Col. 2

*Chorion* Barbarios (?)

Piakou s.o. Ouenaphrios, Ouenaphrios, priest, and Damianos, deacon

*Chorion* Tristommon

Theodoros s.o. Petros, Apa Ioulíos s.o. Senouthios and Sarapammon s.o. Pieus and Kosmas s.o. Andreas

*Chorion* Koimeterion

Kosmas s.o. Makarios, Senouthios s.o. Peeib and Bartholomaïos s.o. Peeib and Paulos, priest.

*Chorion* Tali

/ Apa Kyros s.o. Pousis, Papnouthios s.o. Elias and Ge- s.o. Phoibammon and Bartholomaïos s.o. Agounthos

Pamoun, priest, Abraamios, deacon and Damianos s.o. Elias and Sambas s.o. Nephervas

*Chorion* Pesta

Ioannes s.o. Anoulyl-, Damianos s.o. Ge- ... s.o. Apa Hol and Phyl- s.o. Georgios

2 Απιουτω: The reading of the last letter is uncertain. Although the name has not yet been attested, it closely resembles Ἀπιουῆς which is found in the genitive form Ἀπιουῆτος in *O.Strasb.* 1.577 (Upper Egypt, 2nd cent. AD).

3 Φηκεμε( ): We have not been able to find parallels for this name. One could expect Φηκέμε(ως) the underlying nominative being Φηκέμευς.

– Παλε( ): The same abbreviation occurs in *CPR* 4.61.11 (Arsinoite, 7th cent.). It should perhaps be resolved as Παλε(ϥ).

– Αϣτ( ): The traces are difficult to read. One possibility is Ἄντου, the genitive form of the earlier name Ἄντος attested in *SB* 24.16007.12 (Karanis, 4th c.), 12 and *O.Berenike* 2.162.2-3 (Berenike, ca. 50-75 AD). Cf. also *P.Lond.* 4.1419.372 (Aphrodito, 716-717): (ὕπερ) Ἄντος, to which Preisigke, *NB* s.v. remarked “= Ἄνθου ?” It is difficult to be certain if the name Ἄντος derives from Ἄνθος or something else. A contracted form of Antonios is also a distinct possibility.

– Γεωργι: This form of Γεώργιος has been attested in *SB* 20.14282.34 (Apollonopolis, 7th cent.).

8 [ . ] . . ( ): Perhaps [Σ]εργ( )? If so, Serenos or Sergios may be possible.

– Μελε( ): Μελέαγρος, Μελέδημος and Μελέσιππος are unlikely candidates in this period (cf. Preisigke, *NB* s.v.). The Arabic Μελεχ is not an attractive alternative since the register does not otherwise include Arab onomastics and the abbreviation would also be unusual. Similarly, *P.Lond.* 4.1416 F (Aphrodito, 734 [?]) mentions a veredarius named Μελεε – almost certainly a Muslim – but this name does not suggest itself either.

10 Μηνᾶ(ς) διά(κονος) Φοιβά(μμωνος?): Although the patronymic is not expected after the title, the list usually adds a connective καί before the last name is introduced, cf. l. 3. Yet the scribe is not consistent in many respects and the possibility that Phoibammon is another person cannot be excluded.

11 Ἑρμο]υπόλ(εως): Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 3, 1106-1107. A village that likely bordered Theaxenis. See above, n. 7-8 to the first text.

13 Ἀγούνθο(ς): A name thus far attested only four times, all in late antique documents, three of which are provenanced from the Fayyūm. See Trismegistos at [www.trismegistos.org/name/14074](http://www.trismegistos.org/name/14074) (Accessed 28 May 2016).

– Λοτ: On the attestations of this Biblical name in papyri see P. Sarischouli, “Wiener Papyri aus byzantinischer Zeit,” *Tyche* 12 (1997) 179-188 at 186.

14 Ἀκανθῶ(ς): Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 4, 2024. The toponym appears in numerous alphabetical lists and only five late papyri provide any topographical evidence, none of which is sufficient to locate the village with any precision. It was one of four villages administered by a *comes* Georgios in SPP 10.138, the others being Kna, Psineuris, and Phanamet. Kna may be identical with Aqnā, a deserted ancient site in the northwestern Fayyūm south of Dionysias-Qaṣr Qārūn (al-Nābulṣī, TF 17).<sup>57</sup> Psineuris is likely identical with medieval and modern Sanhūr, about 14 kilometers northwest of Fayyūm City.<sup>58</sup> Phanamet cannot be located with certainty, though its connections are most often with villages of the north and northwestern Fayyūm.<sup>59</sup> Akanthon is thus also likely to have been located somewhere in the north or northwest of the Fayyūm.

15 Μαξ . . . σι: The letter following the initial μ might also be read as an o though α seems to match the shape better. Because several names begin with these letters, no restoration can be made with certainty. The traces preceding the σ could be read as a ν but this is far from secure.

16 ᾗπα Ἰούλ(ιος): The form of the name, with the λ directly connected to the υ differs from other attestations of the name in the text.

17 Ψιμίστους: Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 5, 2346-2348. The toponym bears a strong linguistic affinity with Arabic Samastūs, an abandoned site located by al-Nābulṣī along the eastern border canal, the Baḥr Wardān (TF 18) along with other sites including ancient Bakchias (Umm al-Athal).<sup>60</sup> Wessely already noted the improbability of a village in this location surviving in the seventh or eighth century AD (*Topographie*, 166) and cited a notice in the fifteenth century Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī mentioning a canal by the name Baḥr Samastūs, which was the second branch from the Baḥr Yūsuf after the latter's passage through the capital city. Since canals tended to be named by the primary settlement they watered, this would place this particular Samastūs somewhere to the northwest of Medīnat al-Fayyūm. Unfortunately there is little papyrological evidence to supplement the later Arabic material. Only SPP 10.263 (7th cent.) provides any minimally helpful topographical data. There, a Psimistous is included in a list with Syron Kome,

<sup>57</sup> Like Tutūn and others, ancient Aqnā may have been replaced by Minyat Aqnā, a site somewhat farther to the east but still the westernmost inhabited village in the thirteenth century Fayyūm.

<sup>58</sup> For Psineuris/Sanhūr, see Banaji, *Agrarian Change* 178.

<sup>59</sup> Haug, *Watering the Desert* 255 and 267. A village by the name of Binhamet is attested in the 9th cent. Vienna Arabic papyrus Inv.Ar.Pap.11256 (see above, n. 38).

<sup>60</sup> See J.G. Keenan, *Pap.Congr.* 24.1:495.

Piamoui, Kourabes, Pantikou, and Ammou. Syron and Pantikou were surely in the former *meris* of Herakleides, while Piamouei is Arabic Biāhmū just to the north of the capital. Following Wessely, we regard as specious the identification of this Psimistous with al-Nābulṣī's deserted eastern Samastūs.

19 Φ . ( ): Likely Φε( ), perhaps a personal name. However, in this case the line would contain five personal names; this does not fit the pattern of the register since the first half of each line before the connective καί usually contains two personal names with further identification by patronym or religious occupation (priest/deacon). The presence of five names in this line would imply an identification through both patronymic and papponymic for either Οὐενά(φριος) or Ἀπολ(λώς). Instances for this practice can be found in 8th c. official documents,<sup>61</sup> but this would be the only example in our text. It would be also difficult to interpret Φε( ) as an occupation, since nothing suggests itself *prima facie* and the only occupations otherwise attested are those of priests and deacons. Cf. also the note on l. 10.

23 . . . . : The second letter has a long, hooked descender, possibly an ι, μ, or ρ.

– Παθερμουτ( ): This is the genitive form deriving from a variant of the well-known name, Παθερμούθιος. Depending on the underlying nominative one may resolve the abbreviation either as Παθερμούτ(ιος), from Παθερμούτις, or Παθερμουτ(ίου), from Παθερμούτιος. For variants of Παθερμούθιος see Preisigke, *NB*, 286-287.

24 . . χ . ( ): The χ seems clear and the patronym is potentially Ζαχα(ρίου) but the traces are insufficient to be certain. Regardless, it would be unusual for the given name and patronym to be identical.

27 Πεειβ . [ : See notes on l. 38.

– Ισ . : There is a superscript letter above the *sigma* which is difficult to interpret, especially since it seems to connect with the preceeding superscript ου. There are also traces of a vertical stroke slanting down to the right above the lacuna right to the Ισ. Another superscript letter is a possibility. Although multiple superscript letters as abbreviations are not common, they do occur.

28 Ψέν: A mere eight attestations of the toponym survive and only in papyri of the seventh and eighth centuries AD (see Wessely's *Topographie*, 165 for an early discussion). Once again, *SB* 6.9583 provides the most usable

<sup>61</sup> Cf. e.g. *SB* 20.14234.1-2 (Heracleopolite, 716): ὁμῖν | Μην(ᾱ) Σ(ε)ν(ου)θ(ίου) Βαουχι ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Λευκο(γίου).

evidence, grouping Psen with a set of villages whose taxes are paid through an individual from Kerkethoeris (Kôm al-Khamsîn in the southern Gharaq basin). This district includes two equally obscure villages similarly featured on the verso of the present papyrus, Koimeterion and Pesta, which may now also be securely tied to the southwestern Fayyûm. Pesta also appears together with Psen in a small fragment of a wine account published as *P.Iand.* 8.155 (7th cent.) Two entries survive, referencing production in two *choria*, Pesta and Psen.<sup>62</sup> Koimeterion, Pesta, and Psen must all have been reasonably close to one another, all located within the vicinity of Kerkethoeris in the far southwest.

30 Μεσα: We have been unable to find any parallels for this name.

32 Traces may survive following πρε(σβύτερος) but this is uncertain from the digital image.

33 ]ρβαρίου: The toponym may be restored as [Βα]ρβαρίου on the basis of a *chorion mones* Barbarou attested in several late Fayyûm texts.<sup>63</sup> These papyri suggest the relative proximity of *mones* Barbarou to Tebetny (mod. Difinnû), which lay some 10 km southwest of the capital, and to nearby Oxyrhyncha.<sup>64</sup> The *chorion* also shows connections to the more northerly villages of Phentemin (mod. Fidîmîn), Psineuris (mod. Sanhûr), and Psenyris (mod. Sinnûris). As a result, Barbar(i)ou probably lay toward the center of the nome somewhere in toward the southwest of the capital city.

35 Τριστόμμον: Cf. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 6, 2848-2849. As discussed by Bart Van Beek, Tristomon was clearly a village of the southern Fayyûm. Its strongest connections are with villages of the former Polemon. At some point, the village shared a *komogrammateus* with Samareia, whose location in the north of the *meris* of Polemon near the border with the *meris* of Themistos is certain.<sup>65</sup> For the spelling see the note on P.CtYBR inv. 379, l. 21 above.

<sup>62</sup> On the text, see G. Azzarello, "P.Oxy. XVI 2039 e la nascita della domus gloriosa degli Apioni," *ZPE* 155 (2006) 207-228 at 226. She corrects the reading ἀ ἔσται in l. 1 of the *ed. pr.* to Πέστα.

<sup>63</sup> *SPP* 10.36 and 181 and *SPP* 20.225. In *SB* 8.9769 (7th cent.) a resident of the *chorion mones* Barbarou of the Arsinoite nome acknowledges a monetary debt to two residents of Tebetny. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* 2, 33.

<sup>64</sup> For the location of Oxyrhyncha (TM Geo ID 1523) see the 2008 Fayyûm Village Project article by W. Clarysse: [http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1523.php?geo\\_id=1523](http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1523.php?geo_id=1523). Accessed 27 April 2016.

<sup>65</sup> [http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2475.php?geo\\_id=2475](http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2475.php?geo_id=2475). Accessed 30 April 2014.

36 Πιήον: The reading is insecure but the relative frequency of the name makes it the most likely option. The traces might also permit the reading Πίζον although the name is only once attested in a Ptolemaic text (Preisigke, *NB*, 327). Compare, however, the genitive Πισοῦς in *P.Eirene* 1.33.36 (Hermopolite nome, first half of the 7th c.) and H. Förster's commentary *ad locum*.

37 Κοιμητηρίου: See above, n. 28. This is the first incidence of the full toponym. The village has otherwise been attested only twice and in abbreviated form. *SB* 6.9583 prints Κοιμήτ[η] while the alphabetical list *SPP* 10.282 preserves a clearly itacized version, Κιμοιτή. Trismegistos Geo contains separate entries for each (GEO ID 1131 and 1104, respectively) although \*Κιμοιτή should now be regarded as a ghost name.

38 Πειβ: This is a variant of the name Πειβ which occurs only in 7th c. Fayyūm and is thought to be deriving from Φειβ, see G. Fantoni's note on *CPR* 14.9.6. Cf. also l. 27.

40 /: This stroke is most likely a check mark although it shows up only here in the text.

42 Πέστα: The toponym is attested only six times in the published papyri. Of these, only the tax list published as *SB* 6.9583 provides any topographical evidence. See above, n. 28.

43 Ανουλυλ( ): Or Ανουλυ( )λ( ). This name has not yet been attested. We find Ἀνοῦλ in *SPP* 10.79 v<sup>o</sup> 7-8 (Fayyūm, 8th c. [7-8th c. ed. pr.]).

– ... ( ): The initial traces could be read as α but this is far from certain. The letter prior to the abbreviation is either an α or an ε.

– Φυλ( ): Clearly read on the papyrus, perhaps an itacized Φυλ(όθεος) for Φιλ(όθεος).



## A New Coptic Epitaph from the Petrie Museum

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Lincoln H. Blumell *Brigham Young University*  
Erik O. Yingling *Stanford University*

### Abstract

Edition of a Coptic epitaph from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology that invokes a litany of saints. The inscription likely dates to the seventh to ninth century and originates from Saqqara or Bawit.

Among the Coptic inscriptions in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology is a fragmentary limestone epitaph that bears the inventory number UC 16852.<sup>1</sup> While the inscription is fragmentary, it is nonetheless notable for a number of reasons: it is one of the longer Coptic inscriptions in the Petrie collection; it contains a litany of important and rarely mentioned saints; and it follows a pattern that is paralleled in only a handful of published Coptic inscriptions. Therefore, in this article we offer an edition of this previously unpublished piece along with a translation and commentary.<sup>2</sup>

UC 16852 is a limestone epitaph that measures approximately 39 x 30 x 4 cm (H x W x D) and contains a sixteen-line inscription written in the Sahidic dialect. The lines are scored throughout the inscription at an average height of 1.6 cm, and both the right and left margins are also scored so that the inscription is written in a rectangular grid; below the last line of text (l. 16) are five additional horizontal scored lines that contain no writing. In ll. 10-11 there are still traces of red paint in the inscribed letters. The stone has a diagonal break

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<sup>1</sup> We would like to thank Alice Stevenson, collection curator at the Petrie Museum, for permission to publish this inscription and image, as well as Pia Edqvist, a museum assistant who has been extremely helpful fielding our requests. We also want to thank Jacques van der Vliet for providing some initial direction on this inscription and the anonymous reviewers for giving insightful feedback.

<sup>2</sup> The brief catalogue record reads as follows: “? provenance, UC 16852. Part of a limestone tombstone? 16+ lines of Greek Coptic inscription incised. (unpublished) Coptic.” The acquisition date of the piece is unknown. This inscription is briefly discussed in B. Tudor, *Christian Funerary Stelae of the Byzantine and Arab Periods from Egypt* (Marburg 2011) 69, n. 507.

so that nearly half of the inscription is missing; the break runs from the bottom left corner of the inscription to the top right corner, with the result that only the last line of text is completely intact, while the first line contains little more than a single word. From the only complete line (l. 16) and the reconstruction of certain other lines it appears that the inscription contained between twenty-two and twenty-five letters per line. Notwithstanding the significant amount of text that is missing, most of it can be reconstructed with some confidence thanks to parallels from other inscriptions.

While the provenance of the inscription is unknown, upon closer examination it seems probable that it comes from one of two locations: the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit or the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara. The inscription contains a lengthy litany of saints for which distinct parallels from both Bawit and Saqqara can be adduced.<sup>3</sup> For example, correspondences in inscriptions from Saqqara provide exact parallels and span multiple lines; however, many similarities in formulation can also be found in inscriptions at Bawit, and the overall layout of the inscription, with a grid of scored lines and traces of red paint in the inscribed letters, is attested in certain inscriptions from the vicinity of Bawit.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, while the inscription probably comes from one of these two places, it is not possible to determine its place of origin with more precision.<sup>5</sup> Clues stemming from both provenances are not surprising given the close relationship between these monasteries.<sup>6</sup> The only geographic reference in the epitaph is the toponym ΠΣΥΝΗΥΡΟΣ (ll. 11 and 13-

<sup>3</sup> *SB Kopt.* 1.792 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 1.793 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 2.1142 (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002 (Bawit); J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo 1912) 59-60 (no. 203) (Saqqara). On Coptic litanies see A. Papa-constantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'appart des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris 2001) 387-402.

<sup>4</sup> R. Engelbach, "Coptic Stela of Serne of Damshir," *BSAC* 3 (1937) 6-8 (= *SB Kopt.* 1.793); W. Brunsch, "Bemerkungen zu koptischen und griechischen Inschriften aus Kairo," *Orientalia* 60 (1991) Pl. 3, no. 8; and stela BM EA 673 and BM EA 1494 of the British Museum; Tudor (n. 2) 203.

<sup>5</sup> Tudor (n. 2) 69, n. 507, suggests that the present inscription might come from Bawit.

<sup>6</sup> The epigraphic similarities shared between the monastery of Apa Jeremias and the monastery of Apa Apollo may be attributed to the fact that a satellite monastery of Apa Jeremias was established in the immediate vicinity of the monastery of Apa Apollo and served as a vehicle for the exchange of artistic, epigraphic, and hagiographic developments between Saqqara and Bawit. Quibell (n. 3) 48 notes: "The connection with the Bawit monastery [and Saqqara] seems to have been a close one; not only were the saints of one monastery honored at the other and vice versa, but the style of art in the two buildings is so similar that it must be derived from a common source. A connecting link might be found in the small monastery of Apa Jeremias nearly opposite Bawit, which

14), a village located in the Fayum, but this need not have any direct bearing on the provenance of the inscription.<sup>7</sup>

Except where damaged, the extant text of the inscription is clear and is inscribed with a uniform hand. Letters are generally inscribed with rounded forms and lack ornamentation, although τ occasionally contains subtle roundels on each end of the crossbar, and there is a noticeable hook that protrudes from the top of the Δ. The horizontal border at the bottom of the inscription is decorated by a band of continuous guilloche (twisted ropes around central points).<sup>8</sup> Apart from these decorations the surface of the inscription contains no ornamentation apart from three crosses in l. 15 that take the form of a cross “fourchée.”<sup>9</sup> Orthographically the inscription is rather unremarkable: ψ is substituted with nc, and there are a couple of phonetic shifts.<sup>10</sup>

While the inscription contains a dating formula with a month and an indiction year, establishing a precise date for the epitaph is challenging. Paleographically the epitaph shares similarities with a few inscriptions at Bawit and Saqqara, but these are undated.<sup>11</sup> The dated inscriptions from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit range from the eighth to the early tenth century,<sup>12</sup> and those from the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara range from the late sev-

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seems to have been an offshoot of the parent house at Saqqara.” On the monasteries of Apa Jeremias see *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 22-24.

<sup>7</sup> This toponym is not mentioned in any text from Saqqara or Bawit. On this village and its Christian remains, see P. Grossmann, T. Derda, and J. van der Vliet, “Monuments of Christian Sinnuris (Fayyum, Egypt),” *ECA* 8 (2011) 29-48.

<sup>8</sup> A similar type of guilloche may be found on another Egyptian stela that is located at the Musée de Beaufort en Vallée, *BF* 913.00.74, and is published by F. Calament, “Rive gauche, rive droite: des éclaircissements sur un toponyme de l’Hermopolite. Autour de la stèle Louvre E 27221,” in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d’études (Rome, 11-13 juin 2009)* (Paris 2013) 37-46.

<sup>9</sup> For a description of this cross see J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (Darmstadt 2012) 81. On the use of this cross in Coptic epitaphs, see I. Kamel, *Coptic Funerary Stelae of the Coptic Museum* (Cairo 1987) 36.

<sup>10</sup> B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect. Second Edition, Revised and Expanded with an Index of Citations* (Wiesbaden 2004) 16 does not consider ψ > nc a phonetic shift.

<sup>11</sup> Bawit: Brunsch (n. 3) Pl. 3, no. 8; Engelbach (n. 3) 6-8. These texts share a similar rounded script. Saqqara: J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)* (Cairo 1909) Pl. 44, no. 3.

<sup>12</sup> A. Delattre, “Remarques sur quelques inscriptions du monastère de Baouît,” *BIFAO* 108 (2008) 74-75.

enth to the early ninth century.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the date of this inscription is probably not earlier than the seventh century and not later than the ninth century.<sup>14</sup>

It is possible that the first extant line is also the first line of text since there are no remnants of letters above. In l. 1 the only complete word is ἀπα, which completes the line and is preceded by what appears to be a ⲅ. Given that the closest parallel inscriptions from Bawit and Saqqara typically begin with an invocation to the Trinity, it is tempting to reconstruct l. 1 as [ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁ]ⲅ ἀπα. In ll. 2-11 a litany of saints appears that includes at least eighteen different fathers, many of whom are attested in inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit. After this litany, the epitaph commemorates an individual identified as ⲡⲁⲛⲁ ⲓⲱⲗⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲥϩⲛⲛⲏⲩⲣⲟⲥ. The inscription concludes by citing the date of his death followed by the formula “in the peace of God, amen,” and then terminates with the isopsephy ϥϥ.

- [ ca. 20 ]ⲅ ἀπα  
 [ ἀπα ἀ]ⲛⲁ ⲟϩⲉⲛⲟϥ-  
 [ⲣⲉ ἀπα ἀ]ⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉ  
 [ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲛⲣⲉ ἀπα ⲙⲱϩⲥⲏ]ⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥ-  
 5 [ⲥⲛⲏϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲛ]ⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧϩⲣ-  
 [ⲟⲥ ἀπα ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲁ]ⲛⲁ ⲑⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ  
 [ἀπα ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ἀπα ⲑⲉⲱ]ⲣⲑⲉ ἀπα ⲕϩⲣⲓⲁ-  
 [ⲕⲟⲥ ἀπα ⲑⲓⲕⲟⲑⲉ]ⲟⲥ ἀπα ϩⲱⲣ ἀπα  
 [ⲡⲱⲟⲓ ἀπα ⲓⲱⲗ]ⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ἀπα ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ-  
 10 [ⲭⲉ ἀπα ⲁⲁⲛ]ⲓⲛⲁ ἀπα ⲁⲣⲥϩⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ-  
 [ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏϩ ⲣⲙ]ⲡⲥϩⲛⲛⲏⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟϩⲁⲁⲃ  
 [ⲧⲏⲣⲟϩ] ⲛⲧⲁϩⲣ ⲡⲟϩⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲛⲟϩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲓ  
 [ⲡⲙⲉ]ⲉϩⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲁ ⲓⲱⲗⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲣⲙⲡ-  
 [ⲥϩⲛ]ⲏⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁϩⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟϩ  
 15 [ⲙ]ⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲣ + + + <ⲓ>ⲛⲁ<ⲓ>ⲕ<ⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ> ⲓ ϩⲛ ⲟϩ-  
 ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟϩⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϥϥ

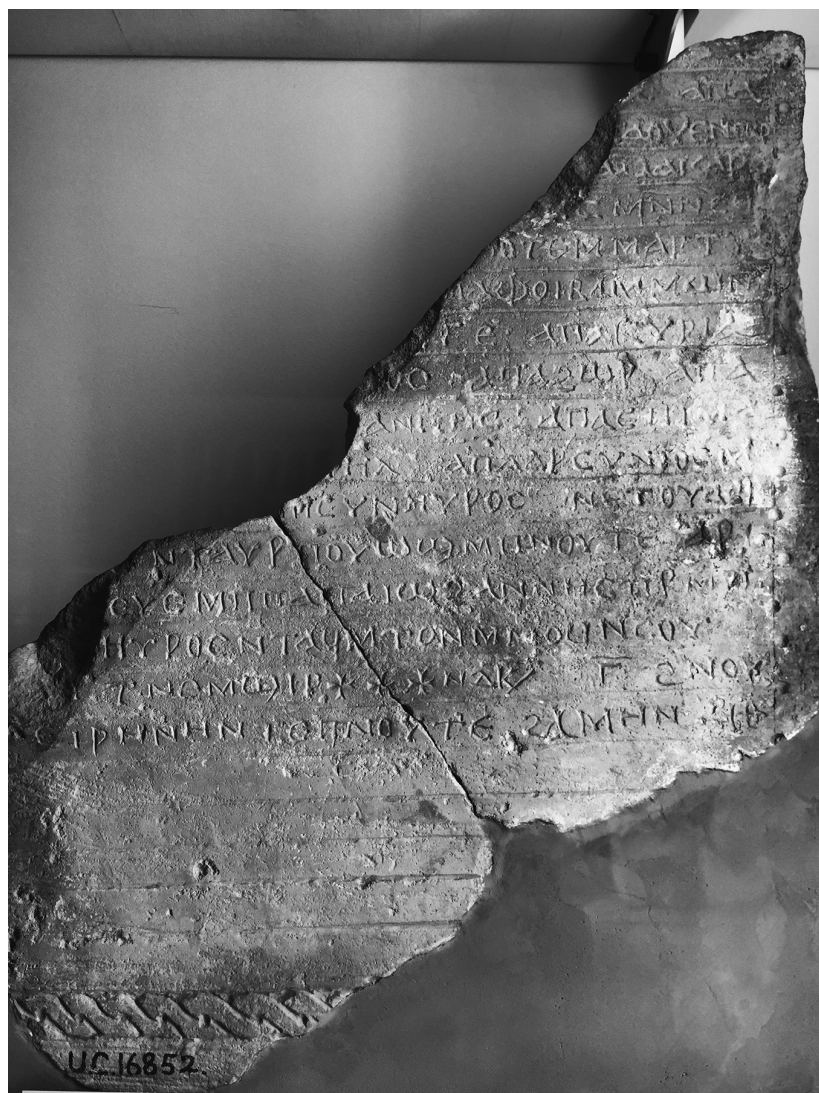
5-6 μάρτυρος 15 <ἰ>νδ<ι>κ(τίωνος) 16 εἰρήνη, ἀμήν

“[ . . . ] Apa [name (?), Apa name (?)], Apa Onnophrius, [Apa name (?)],  
 Apa Macarius with his sons, Apa Moses with all his brethren, our fathers the

<sup>13</sup> C. Wietheger, *Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften* (Altenberge 1992) 196-98.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Tudor (n. 2) 344.

martyrs Apa Victor, Apa Phoibamon, Apa Menas, Apa George, Apa Cyriacus, Apa Philotheus, Apa Hor, Apa Pshoi, Apa John, Apa Epimachus, Apa Daniel, Apa Arsenius with his brethren the men of Psuneuros, and all the saints who did the will of God. Remember Papa John the man of Psuneuros who rested on day ten of Mecheir in the third indiction. In the peace of God amen, (amen)."



1 [ ca. 20 ]ϩ. While the traces of the ϩ are faint, they resemble the form of the ϩ in l. 6. Epitaphs from Saqqara and Bawit that are similar to the present inscription tend to begin with an invocation to the Trinity, e.g. *SB Kopt.* 1.792.1 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 1.793.1 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 2.1142.1-2 (Saqqara); Quibell (n. 11) 59 (no. 203.1-2) (Saqqara). Therefore, a possible reconstruction for this line could be: [ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΔ]ϩ. On the use of Trinitarian formulae at Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 132; Tudor (n. 2) 193-196.

1-3 ΔΠΑ | [ name (?) ΔΠΑ name (?) Δ]ΠΑ ΟΥΕΝΟΥ|[ΡΕ ΔΠΑ name (?)]. If this epitaph comes from Saqqara then ll. 1 and 2 could potentially be reconstructed as follows: ΔΠΑ | [ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΔΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ Δ]ΠΑ. In the litanies of saints listed on epitaphs from the monastery of Apa Jeremias they often begin with ΔΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ and then ΔΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ after the invocation to the Trinity; e.g. *SB Kopt.* 1.403.3-4; *SB Kopt.* 2.1154.3-4; *SB Kopt.* 3.1605.2-3; *SB Kopt.* 3.1606.2-3; *SB Kopt.* 4.1973.3-4; *SB Kopt.* 4.1977.3-4. At Bawit, litanies appear to be introduced in a less formulaic manner, and therefore if this inscription comes from this location, it would be difficult to determine with confidence what saints commence the litany.

From the end of l. 2 it is evident that the name of the saint that follows is some variation of “Onnophrius,” for which there are many attested forms; see *NB Kopt.* s.v. ΟΥΕΝΟΥΕΡ. For notable saints bearing this name see Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 161-62. On the use of the name Onnophrius at Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 233. Saints bearing this name are also attested in an inscription from Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 1.792.16; see also *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 52.2.

As references to ΔΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ are attested in comparable inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit it is possible that this saint is referenced in the lacunae; *SB Kopt.* 2.1142.15 (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 1.792.7 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 1.793.10 (Bawit).

3-5 ΔΠ]Δ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ | [ΜΝ ΝΕΨΩΗΡΕ ΔΠΑ ΜΩΥΣΗ]C ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΨ|[CΝΗΥ]. This exact phrase is found in *SB Kopt.* 2.1176.10-11 (Saqqara) and in *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.10-12 (Bawit); the latter part of this phrase ΔΠΑ ΜΩΙCΗC ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΨCΝΗΥ is found in two other inscriptions from Saqqara: *SB Kopt.* 1.790.16-17 and Quibell (n. 3) 75 (no. 240.12). An ΔΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ is also mentioned in the following inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 2.1142.17 (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 1.792.13 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.10 (Bawit).

4-5 ΝΕΨ|[CΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ]. This phrase is attested in: *SB Kopt.* 1.425.2; *SB Kopt.* 2.839.11; *SB Kopt.* 4.2081.1.

5-6 [ΝΕΝ]ΙΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΑΡΤΥΡ|[ΟC]. This phrase appears in the following inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 4.1887.3 (Saqqara); Quibell (n. 3) 59-60 (no. 203.8) (Saqqara); M. Cramer, *Koptische Inschriften im Kaiser-*



*Friedrich-Museum zu Berlin. Ihre sachliche, örtliche und zeitliche Einordnung in das Gesamtgebiet koptischer Grabinschriften* (Cairo 1949) 9751.11-12 (probably from Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 1.793.6 (Bawit); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.1-2 (Bawit).

6-8 [ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Δ]ΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ | [ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩ]ΡΓΕ ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ|[ΚΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ]ΟΣ. This exact phrase occurs twice, once in an epitaph from Saqqara and once in an epitaph from Bawit: Quibell (n. 3) 59-60 (no. 203.8-10) (Saqqara); *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.1-4 (Bawit). Tudor (n. 2) 189 notes that the martyrs Victor, Phoibamon, Menas, George, Cyriacus, and Philotheus sometimes occur together in epitaphs from Saqqara.

6 [ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Δ]ΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ. The reconstruction ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ is attested before Phoibamon in the list of martyrs (see n. 6-8 above). On the attestation of this martyr in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 223; see also Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 62-68. Given that ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ is mentioned among the martyrs, this individual might be the well-known martyr bearing this name who was allegedly executed in the early fourth century under Maximian. See Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 212-14; Tudor (n. 2) 190. On ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 240. This name is also attested in a single epitaph from Bawit: *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.2-3, 23.

7 [ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩ]ΡΓΕ. The reconstruction ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ is attested before ΓΕΩΡΓΕ in the list of martyrs (see n. 6-8 above). On ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ and ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 224, 232; for Bawit see *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.3.

7-8 ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ|[ΚΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ]ΟΣ. On ΑΠΑ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ and ΑΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 230, 240; for Bawit see *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.4.

8-9 ΑΠΑ ΖΩΡ ΑΠΑ [ΠΩΟΙ]. These two saints are mentioned in order in *SB Kopt.* 2.1252.5 (Saqqara) and in Quibell (n. 11) 35 (no. 26.3-5) (Saqqara). On ΑΠΑ ΖΩΡ and ΑΠΑ ΠΩΟΙ in inscriptions from Saqqara see Wietheger (n. 13) 237, 241. Neither of these saints is presently attested in an epitaph from Bawit.

9 [ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣ]ΔΑΝΝΗΣ. ΑΠ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΔΑΝΝΗΣ is attested in a two inscriptions from Saqqara: Quibell (n. 11) 70 (no. 150.6) and Quibell (n. 3) 51 (no. 175.1).

9-10 ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΜΑ|[ΧΕ ΑΠΑ ΔΑΝ]ΙΗΛ. The name ΕΠΙΜΑΧΕ is attested in *SB Kopt.* 1.467.4 and *SB Kopt.* 3.1415.1. While this reading is probable given the space provided in the lacuna at the start of l. 10, this name is not presently attested in epitaphs from Saqqara or Bawit. However, there is a well-known ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΜΑ from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see T. Mina, *Le Martyre d'Apa Epima* (Cairo 1937). For ΕΠΙΜΑΧΟΣ see Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 79-80.



The reconstruction [ΑΠΑ ΔΔΝ]ΙΗΛ in l. 10 seems probable as there are relatively few names that end in -ΙΗΛ besides ΔΔΝΙΗΛ. The only names ending in -ΙΗΛ that appear in inscriptions from the monastery of Apa Jeremias are ΔΔΝΙΗΛ, ΓΔΒΡΙΗΛ, and ΙΕΡΗΜΙΗΛ. While ΓΔΒΡΙΗΛ is the most common, it typically appears at the start of an inscription after the invocation of the Trinity and refers to the Archangel Gabriel. ΙΕΡΗΜΙΗΛ appears only once and refers to an angel, see Wietheger (n. 13) 227-228, 367. ΔΔΝΙΗΛ is the only one that appears as a personal name used with the title ΑΠΑ: Quibell (n. 3) 94 (no. 304.7). See also Wietheger (n. 13) 224.

10-11 ΑΠΑ ΑΡCΥΝΙΟC Μ[ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΡΜ]ΠCΥΝΗΥΡΟC. Because of the presence of the Μ at the end of l. 10 one anticipates that ΜΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ, or possibly ΜΝ ΝΕCΩΗΡΕ, will follow in the lacuna (see ll. 3-4 and 4-5). The present reconstruction is based on a parallel found in *SB Kopt.* 4.2002.5-6 from Bawit: ΑΠΑ ΜΕΛΙΤΟΥ ΜΝΕCΝΗΥ ΡΜΝΤΕΡΩΤ ΝΩΟΝC “Apa Melitus and his brethren the men of Terot Neshoons [village in the Hermopolite].” The word ΠCΥΝΗΥΡΟC, which immediately follows the lacuna in l. 11, is a toponym and further secures the reconstruction.

ΠCΥΝΗΥΡΟC is often rendered ΠΕΨΙΝΕΥΡΗC or ΠΨΙΝΟΥΡΕC (see also ΩΗΝΑΡΩ); in Greek it is typically rendered ΨενῦριC or ΨινεῦριC. See S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1984-1992) 4.2034-35 (s.v. Psenyris) and 5.2355-56 (s.v. Sinauris) and *P.Naqlun* 2, p. 143, n. 7. On the interchange ι > γ and ε > η see *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 70-71, 88; on ε > ο see p. 75. This village is the modern-day Sinnuris that is situated 15 km north of Medinet el-Fayum; it is attested already in the early Ptolemaic period and is especially well represented in the seventh and eighth centuries AD. This toponym is again mentioned in the inscription in ll. 13-14 as the home of the deceased. On the limited Christian evidence from Sinnuris see Grossmann, Derda, and van der Vliet (n. 7) 29-48.

ΑΠΑ ΑΡCΥΝΙΟC: l. ΑΡCΕΝΙΟC. On an ἄββα Ἀρσένιος see Papaconstantinou (n. 3) 59 and De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London 1937) 134. On the interchange ε > γ see Gignac, *Gram.* 1:274 and *P.Bal.* 1, pp. 56-57. An ΑΠΑ ΑΡCΕΝΙΟC is also mentioned in *SB Kopt.* 3.1456.14; see also *SB Kopt.* 1.311.2-3 and *SB Kopt.* 2.932.10.

11-12 ΝΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ | [ΤΗΡΟΥ] ΝΤΑΥΡ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. At Bawit this phrase appears in *SB Kopt.* 1.793.12-13. At Saqqara it is attested in Quibell (n. 11) 45 (no. 54.3-4), 47 (no. 65.7-8), Quibell (n. 3) 53 (no. 180.3-4) and 59-60 (n. 203.12-13), and 101 (324.6).

13-14 ΜΠΑΠΑ ΙΩΔΑΝΝΗC ΠΡΜΠ[CΥΝ]ΗΥΡΟC. The spelling ΠΠΑΠΑ is widely attested in volumes 1 and 2 of *SB Kopt.* On the meaning of the title

ⲡⲁⲡⲁ see T. Derda and E. Wipszycka, “L’emploi des titres abba, apa et papas dans l’Égypte byzantine,” *JJP* 24 (1994) 23-27. ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱⲛⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ is attested in the following inscriptions from Saqqara: Quibell (n. 11) 35 (no. 26.14-15) and Quibell (n. 3) 106 (no. 339b.1). At Bawit a ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱⲛⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ is attested in *SB Kopt.* 4.1997.9.

The use of ⲡⲣⲙ “the man of” establishes that what follows is a toponym. For instance, ⲫⲱⲣ ⲡⲣⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲙ ⲁⲕⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲁⲑⲱⲣ “Hor the man of Iom who rested on day ten of Hathyr” is found in *SB Kopt.* 2.1112.2-4. See also *SB Kopt.* 1.790.12-14, *SB Kopt.* 1.792.18-19, and *SB Kopt.* 2.1081.11. For the toponym ⲛⲥⲩⲛⲏⲩⲣⲟⲥ see n. 10-11. It is not apparent what the connection was between ⲛⲥⲩⲛⲏⲩⲣⲟⲥ and Saqqara or Bawit; however, Grossmann, Derda, and van der Vliet (n. 7) 39-40 have pointed out shared iconographic parallels between the three locales.

14 ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ. This is a widespread formula in Coptic epitaphs and most often serves to introduce the date of death. The phrase ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ is equivalent to the Greek ἀναπαύομαι and is not merely a euphemism for death but expresses hope in a future resurrection: J. van der Vliet, “‘What is Man?’ The Nubian Tradition of Coptic Funerary Inscriptions,” in A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2011) 171-224.

14-15 ⲛⲥⲟⲩ | [ⲙ]ⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲣ. The month of ⲙⲱⲣ is most often rendered ⲙⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣ in Coptic inscriptions; the present spelling ⲉⲙⲱⲣ is attested elsewhere, including a few inscriptions from Saqqara: *SB Kopt.* 1.694.6-7, *SB Kopt.* 3.1610.14, and *SB Kopt.* 4.1977.9-10. The dating phrase ⲛⲥⲟⲩ + day of the month + month is widely attested in Coptic epitaphs; on the use of this formula at the monastery of Apa Jeremias see Wietheger (n. 13) 199-200.

15 (ⲓ)ⲛⲁ(ⲓ)ⲕ(ⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ). While the abbreviation ⲛⲁⲕ is unattested, similar forms are found: ⲛⲁⲓⲕ (*SB Kopt.* 1.119.2), ⲛⲓⲁⲕ (*SB Kopt.* 1.214.1).

15-16 ⲛⲱ ⲟⲩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲕⲑ. The phrase ⲛⲱ ⲟⲩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ could be taken as a wish that the deceased might have a peaceful afterlife, and should be understood in the sense of a future eschatological salvation; see E. Dinkler, “Schalom – Eirene – Pax: Jüdische sepulkralinschriften und ihr Verhältnis zum frühen Christentum,” *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 50 (1974) 131-134. In the context of finding “peace” in the grave LXX Isa. 57:2 is particularly noteworthy: ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ ταφὴ αὐτοῦ “his burial shall be in peace.” In Coptic epitaphs the phrase ⲛⲱ ⲟⲩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ appears occasionally, and most of these attestations are in epitaphs from Saqqara: *SB Kopt.* 1.471.9-10; *SB Kopt.* 1.735.14-17; *SB Kopt.* 1.774.9-11; *SB Kopt.* 2.1176.17; *SB Kopt.* 4.1975.10-12; *SB Kopt.* 4.1977.10-11; *SB Kopt.* 4.2108.4-6.

The isopsephic spelling  $\vartheta\theta$  signifies “amen”:  $99 = \alpha (=1) + \mu (=40) + \eta (=8) + \nu (=50)$ . Though the first letter in this isopsephy is inscribed just like a  $\vartheta$ , it should be understood as a koppa ( $\var�$ ), which has the numeric value of 90. This isopsephy is widely attested in Coptic and Greek (Christian) epitaphs from Egypt. It is first attested in the second century when Irenaeus of Lyon notes that certain Christians, namely the Marcosians whom he criticizes, associated  $\alpha\mu\eta\nu$  with the number 99 (*Haer.* 1.16.1; cf. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 34.12.6). The isopsephy is first attested in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries in certain early Christian letters; see L.H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christian Letters and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden 2012) 47.

## Un nouveau sauf-conduit du monastère d'Apa Jeremias à Saqqara?<sup>1</sup>

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Perrine Pilette *Université catholique de Louvain*  
and Naïm Vanthieghem *Princeton University*

### Abstract

Edition of an Arabic safe-conduct for an inhabitant of a monastery in the Memphite nome, probably the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, from AD 729.

Aux deux premiers siècles de la conquête arabe, les Égyptiens ne pouvaient pas circuler à leur guise. Avant de quitter, même temporairement, le district fiscal dont ils relevaient, ils devaient obtenir un sauf-conduit qui leur était délivré, après un délai d'attente parfois long, pour une période allant de un à six mois. Ce n'était que dûment munis de cette autorisation que les contribuables pouvaient alors voyager librement entre leur lieu de résidence et une ville ou une région données de l'Égypte. Les contrevenants s'exposaient à de lourdes pénalités financières, à des châtiments corporels ou à des peines de prison.<sup>2</sup> Dans le troisième quart du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la situation évolua et il devint alors possible de circuler librement sans sauf-conduit, pourvu que le contribuable se soit acquitté de ses taxes. Celui-ci recevait alors une quittance qui, outre la

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<sup>1</sup> Les auteurs remercient Roger Bagnall pour son aide précieuse. Les sigles utilisés pour signaler les éditions de textes arabes ainsi que les ouvrages lexicographiques sont ceux repris dans la *Checklist* de papyrologie arabe (disponible sur le site <http://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/isapchecklist>).

<sup>2</sup> Pour une synthèse sur les sauf-conduits, cf. Y. Rāḡib, «Sauf-conduits d'Égypte omeyyade et abbasside», *AnIsl* 31 (1997) 143-168; P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford 2013) 96-98, 241-244 et 311-312; N. Vanthieghem, «Le plus ancien sauf-conduit arabe», *Der Islam* 91 (2014) 266-271, ainsi que A. Delattre, «Checkpoints, sauf-conduits et contrôle de la population en Égypte au début du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle», in A. Delattre, M. Legendre et P.M. Sijpesteijn (éd.), *Authority and Control in the Countryside, Late Antiquity and Early Islam: Continuity and Change in the Mediterranean 6th-10th Century* (à paraître, Princeton 2016).

somme payée, spécifiait que l'on ne devait pas maltraiter le contribuable en règle s'il quittait son district fiscal.<sup>3</sup>

De nombreux exemplaires de sauf-conduits écrits sur papyrus ont été mis au jour en Égypte et publiés.<sup>4</sup> Nous en avons identifié un nouveau dans les collections papyrologiques de la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York.<sup>5</sup> Le document a été acquis vers 1920 auprès de l'antiquaire M. Nahman par Fr.W. Kelsey (1858-1927), puis emmené à Rome par ce dernier où il fut finalement acheté par H. Hyvernât pour le compte de John Pierpont Morgan Jr.<sup>6</sup> Le papyrus que nous éditons a ceci d'intéressant qu'il provient, comme le montre la l. 4, de la *kūra* de Manf (Memphis), une province d'Égypte pour laquelle on ne dispose que d'un matériel arabe réduit. On dénombre sept textes seulement qui proviennent assurément de cette région.<sup>7</sup> Quatre d'entre eux sont des sauf-conduits découverts au monastère d'Apa Jeremias à Saqqara<sup>8</sup>; un

<sup>3</sup> Six exemplaires de ce genre de quittance sont attestés: il s'agit de *CPR* 16.1; *P.Diem Frühe Urkunden* 7 et de *P.Grohmann Urkunden* 18 ainsi que des inédits P.Cambr. UL inv. Michael. B 012; P.Louvre inv. E 6414 et inv. E EB 0115.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. en dernier lieu N. Vanthieghem (n. 2). Une intéressante source d'informations complémentaires et contextuelles concernant ce type de document est le texte arabe de l'*Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*. Pour une nouvelle édition critique de ce texte, voir P. Pilette, «L'*Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*. Une nouvelle évaluation de la configuration du texte en recensions», *Le Muséon* 126 (2013) 419-450, et le *International Coptic-Arabic Historiography Project* (cf. <https://www.uclouvain.be/443718.html>).

<sup>5</sup> Sur cette collection, voir le bref aperçu dans P.M. Sijpesteijn, «North American Papyrus Collections Revisited», *Bardiyat* 1 (2002-2003) 11-20, en part. 15. En dehors des célèbres papyrus bilingues arabe-grec et monolingues (seulement en arabe) provenant des fouilles de Nessana (publiés dans *P.Ness.* 3.56 et 60-67), personne ne s'est penché sur les documents arabes de cette collection. On notera que d'autres papyrus provenant de Nessana et encore inédits se trouvent à la Pierpont Morgan Library et au Rockefeller Museum; l'un d'entre eux a été récemment publié dans R. Hoyland, «The Earliest Attestation of the Dhimmā of God and His Messenger and the Rediscovery of P. Nessana 77 (AH 60s/AD 680)», in B. Sadeghi, A.Q. Ahmed, A. Silverstein and R. Hoyland (éd.), *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honor of Professor Patricia Crone* (Leiden 2014) 51-71.

<sup>6</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Leuven 1993) lxxvii-lxxviii.

<sup>7</sup> *P.Cair.Arab.* 1.31 et son verso *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.201 ainsi que Rāḡib (n. 2) n<sup>os</sup> 5-8.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rāḡib (n. 2), n<sup>os</sup> 1 et 5-8. Trois ont été découverts par le consul de France B. Drovetti dans des circonstances qui sont évoquées dans A. Silvestre de Sacy, «Mémoire sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe et récemment découverts en Égypte», *Journal des savants* (août 1825) 462-473. Trois autres ont été mis au jour par une mission du Louvre sur le site dans les années 1990 dont l'un a été publié par Y. Rāḡib en 1997 (cf. Rāḡib [n. 2] n<sup>o</sup> 6).

cinquième a de fortes chances d'en provenir.<sup>9</sup> Dès lors, il est fort probable que notre texte provienne lui aussi de ce même couvent d'autant que dans le verre qui abrite notre sauf-conduit se trouve un entagion grec qui provient, lui, assurément du monastère d'Apa Jérémias, comme le montre l'incipit: + Σὺν Θ(εῳ). Σζαραβηλ υ(ἰδς) Αβουαληδ ὁμῖν Εὐδαίμου Ταυρίνου ἀπὸ μονα(στηρίου) ἁγίου Ἰερε(μίου) παγ[α]ρχ(ίας) Μέμφε(ως).<sup>10</sup>

Le document est émis par un agent fiscal (*ʿāmil*), un certain ʿĪsā, dont le patronyme est perdu. Le nom du bénéficiaire du laisser-passer n'est pas conservé (l. 2), mais bien sa description physique (l. 3) ainsi que son lieu de résidence (l. 4). Le contribuable reçoit l'autorisation de se rendre à Fustāṭ pour y travailler pour une période d'un à deux mois (cf. le comm. à la l. 5). Étonnamment le document ne comporte pas la clause *fa-man laqiyahu ba'd al-ʿaḡal ʿallāḡi ʿaḡal-tuhu fa-l-yardudhu ʿilā madīna* («celui qui le rencontrera après le terme que je lui ai fixé, qu'il le ramène à une ville»)<sup>11</sup> ou la variante un peu plus tardive *fa-man laqiyahu min ʿummāl al-ʿamīr ʿaḡlahahu llāh fa-lā yaʿriḡ lahu ʿilā dālik min al-ʿaḡal ʿillā bi-ḡayr* («celui des agents de l'émir – que Dieu le fortifie – qui le rencontrera ne lui montre que du bien jusqu'à la fin de ce terme»)<sup>12</sup> Par ailleurs, on notera l'absence de la formule *wa-l-salām ʿalā man ittabaʿa al-hudā* («que le salut soit sur celui qui suit la voit juste!»), pourtant courante dans les documents de cette époque adressé par des Musulmans à des Chrétiens.<sup>13</sup>

P.Pierpont Morgan inv. Ms M. 662 B.35e

14,2 × 12,2 cm

Saqqara(?), février-mars 729

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair. Les marges supérieure et inférieure ainsi que celle de droite sont conservées; si nos restitutions sont correctes, il manquerait à gauche une bonne moitié du coupon. On notera que la marge inférieure est surdimensionnée par rapport aux autres; ceci est cependant normal puisque la partie basse des sauf-conduits était scellée, même si aucune information ne figurait dans cette partie.<sup>14</sup> La surface du document est fort

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Rāḡib (n. 2), n° 1 et la photographie reproduite. Étant donné que le lieu de résidence est restitué à partir des minces traces qui subsistent sur le papyrus, il est difficile d'en être parfaitement certain.

<sup>10</sup> Cet entagion sera publié prochainement par Alain Delattre et Naïm Vanthieghem.

<sup>11</sup> Pour des attestations de cette formule, cf. entre autres Rāḡib (n. 2) n° 2.4-5 et Vanthieghem (n. 2) ll. 2-3.

<sup>12</sup> Pour des attestations de cette formule, cf. entre autres Rāḡib (n. 2), nos 4.7-9 et 5.7-8.

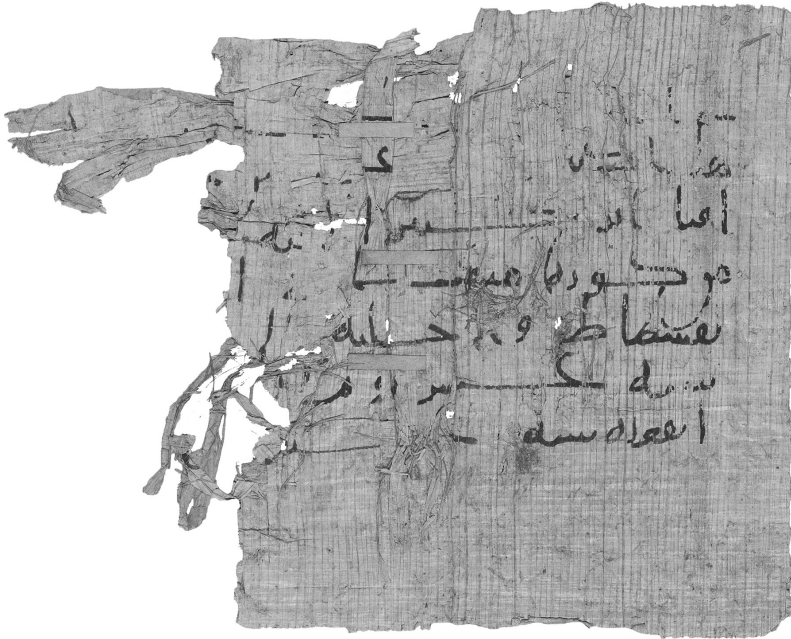
<sup>13</sup> On lit cette formule dans Rāḡib (n. 2) n° 1 ainsi que dans l'inédit P.Stras. inv. Arab. 33.5.

<sup>14</sup> Les sceaux des sauf-conduits Rāḡib (n. 2) nos 2, 4 et 6-8 sont conservés. Dans le cas de notre document, le marchand qui l'a vendu a pu faire sauter le sceau, à moins que celui-ci n'ait disparu dès le Moyen Âge.

abîmée. L'écriture, ample et de facture élégante, est typique des écritures de chancellerie de cette époque (cf. par ex. l'écriture des documents publiés dans Rāḡib [n. 2]). Les points diacritiques ne sont jamais utilisés. Le verso est vierge, comme il est usuel dans le cas des sauf-conduits.

↓ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [ح-م-ن] [الرحيم]  
 هذا كتاب [م-ن] ع[يس-ي] بن. [العامل ل...]  
 اقنا انزع كبير السنة [من اهل دير ابي هرميس (٩)]  
 من كورة منف [ن-ي] ا[ذنت له ان يعمل]  
 5 بفسطاط واجلته الى [انسلخ ذي]  
 سنة عشر وماي[ة] وكتب في شهر ذي  
 القعدة سنة عشر وم[ائة]

«<sup>1</sup>Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. <sup>2</sup>Ceci est une lettre de 'Isā, fils de ..., l'agent fiscal, à ..., <sup>3</sup>(un homme) au nez aquilin, aux tempes dégarnies et au front large, habitant du monastère de Jérémie(?) <sup>4</sup>du district de Manf. Je l'ai autorisé à travailler <sup>5</sup>à Fustāṭ et je lui ai fixé comme terme la fin





(du mois de) ... <sup>6</sup>de l'année cent dix. Écrit au mois de dū <sup>7</sup>*al-qa'da* de l'année cent dix.»

2 *kitāb* («lettre»): Le terme *kitāb* désigne, dans la documentation papyrologique, tout type de document, qu'il s'agisse de lettres, d'actes juridiques ou encore de documents fiscaux. L'administration arabe disposait cependant d'une terminologie plus précise pour nommer les sauf-conduits. Deux requêtes inédites d'Oxford adressées au surintendant des finances al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh et écrites au dos de papyrus du monastère de Balā'izah en témoignent: dans ces deux documents, le pagarque de l'Hermopolite qui demande au surintendant d'émettre des sauf-conduits utilise précisément le terme *siğill* pour désigner le document qui permettra aux contribuables de travailler en dehors de leur district fiscal. Sur ces deux documents, cf. P.M. Sijpesteijn, «Coptic and Arabic Papyri from Deir al-Balā'izah», *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie. Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Genève 2012) 707-713, en part. 708-709 ainsi que les remarques dans N. Vanthieghem (n. 2) 267-268, n. 7.

– [*al-ʿāmil*] («l'agent fiscal»): Les sauf-conduits sont toujours émis par un ou deux agents fiscaux (cf. Rāgib [n. 2] 147-148). Le titre *al-ʿāmil* devait dès lors figurer après le patronyme perdu de ʿIsā.

3 <sup>ʾ</sup>*aqnā* <sup>ʾ</sup>*anza* <sup>ʾ</sup>*kabīr al-sunna* («au nez aquilin, aux tempes dégarnies et au front large»): Lorsque parvenait aux autorités une demande d'émission de sauf-conduit, celles-ci requéraient, semble-t-il, qu'on leur fournisse un signalement de la personne. Ainsi dans *P.CLT* 3, une requête visant à obtenir un sauf-conduit pour trois personnes, l'expéditeur précise-t-il la description physique des individus. Les sauf-conduits sur papyrus que nous possédons conservent pour la plupart des signalements (cf. les documents publiés dans Rāgib [n. 2] n<sup>os</sup> 1.2; 3.4; 5.3-4; 6.3; 7.3; 8.3 et *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.175.4-5). La mention d'hommes «au nez aquilin» (<sup>ʾ</sup>*aqnā*) est très commune (cf. entre autres Rāgib [n. 2] n<sup>os</sup> 7.3 et 8.3); on ne trouve qu'une seule attestation du qualificatif «aux tempes dégarnies» (<sup>ʾ</sup>*anza*) dans le P.Paris BnF Inv. 4633 (publié dans Rāgib [n. 2] n<sup>o</sup> 8) où l'éditeur avait lu l'adjectif <sup>ʾ</sup>*amrad* («imberbe») alors qu'une photographie montre que c'est le mot <sup>ʾ</sup>*anza* que l'on doit déchiffrer. Quant à l'expression *kabīr al-sunna* («au front large»), il s'agit à notre connaissance de la première attestation papyrologique.

– [*min ʾahl dayr Abī Hirmīs*] («habitant du monastère de Jérémie»): La restitution repose sur les parallèles dans Rāgib [n. 2] n<sup>os</sup> 1.3; 5.4; 7.4 et 8.3-4). Une autre solution consisterait à considérer que l'homme en question vient d'une localité (*ṣubrā*) proche du monastère comme dans Rāgib [n. 2] n<sup>o</sup> 6; dans ce cas, il faudrait imaginer une restitution [*min ʾahl ṣubrā kaḏā*].

4-5 'i[nn]i' a[*ḏintu lahu'an ya'mal*] | *bi-Fuṣṭāṭ* («Je l'ai autorisé à travailler à Fuṣṭāṭ»): Pour la restitution, cf. entre autres Rāḡib [n. 2] n<sup>os</sup> 1.4 et 3.5 ainsi que *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.175.6. Le sauf-conduit ne mentionne pas pourquoi la personne est autorisée à se rendre à Fuṣṭāṭ pour y travailler, mais les exemplaires publiés précisent que les demandeurs de sauf-conduits partent travailler dans une autre région d'Égypte pour pouvoir payer la capitation (*ḡizya*) et subvenir à leurs besoins (*ma'īša*) (cf. entre autres Rāḡib [n. 2] n<sup>os</sup> 7.6 et 8.5). Fuṣṭāṭ, en tant que nouvelle capitale de l'Égypte, apparaît comme une des destinations possibles où se rendent les porteurs de sauf-conduits (cf. Rāḡib [n. 2] n<sup>o</sup> 5.5). On notera que les papyrus arabes présentent toujours une forme déterminée pour la ville de Fuṣṭāṭ: on attendrait dès lors *bi-l-Fuṣṭāṭ* ou *bi-Fuṣṭāṭ Miṣr*.

5 *wa-'aḡḡaltuhu 'ilā [insilāḥ ...]* («et je lui ai fixé comme terme la fin ...»): La durée de validité du document est perdue. Néanmoins, comme le terme de la validité se situe encore en l'an 110 de l'Hégire et comme le document a été rédigé au mois de *ḏū al-qāda* de l'année 110, il faut nécessairement que le terme de validité du sauf-conduit se soit placé en *ḏū al-qāda* ou en *ḏū al-ḥiḡḡa*. En d'autres termes, le contribuable muni de ce document ne pouvait guère espérer circuler en dehors de son district fiscal plus de deux mois.

## Two Arabic Papyrus Documents Relating to Payments in Kind<sup>1</sup>

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Khaled Younes *University of Sadat City*

### Abstract

Edition of two Arabic papyrus documents from third/ninth-century Egypt, P.Cam.Michaelides B 718 and B 118, currently kept at the Michaelides papyrus collection at Cambridge University Library, related to payments in kind. The first document relates to a sale with postponed delivery of four *irdabbs* of wheat, while the second records the payment of one thousand and three hundred baskets of trefoil as rent.

While the two documents, whose editions and translations appear below, exhibit the same formulae and structure, the subject matter is different. The first document is a sale for future delivery which is known in Islamic law as *bay' salam* or *salaf*.<sup>2</sup> In this document, a certain Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abū 'Allūš acknowledges that he will pay to a certain Abū Ġa'far the textile merchant (Ar. *al-bazzāz*) four *irdabbs* of wheat (Ar. *qamḥ*) at the time of the harvest (Ar. *al-ġalla*). The document is not dated, but the handwriting points to a date in the third/ninth century.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the document, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan states

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<sup>1</sup> The papyrological abbreviations used in this paper follow "The Checklist of Arabic Documents," available online at <http://www.naher-osten.lmu.de/isapchecklist> (accessed April 10, 2016). – I would like to thank Jelle Bruning for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions. Any remaining mistakes are of course my own.

<sup>2</sup> See J.D. Latham, "*salam*," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, vol. 8, pp. 914-915; J.D. Latham, "*salaf*," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, vol. 8, pp. 899-900. See also the references cited in note 7.

<sup>3</sup> For dating Arabic papyrus documents on the basis of the script, see E.M. Grob, "A Catalogue of Dating Criteria for Undated Arabic Papyri with 'Cursive' Features," in A. Regourd (ed.), *Documents et histoire. Islam, VIIe-XVIe siècle* (Geneva 2010) 115-135; P.Khalili 1, pp. 27-44.

that he wrote the document in his own handwriting and adds a star-shaped graphic as a signature.<sup>4</sup> No witnesses' testimonies are recorded.<sup>5</sup>

*Bay' salam* is frequently attested in the papyri in the form of a *dīkr ḥaqq* (pl. *aḍkār ḥudūq*, "documents stating the creditor's legal claim")<sup>6</sup> in order to

<sup>4</sup> For the attestation and explanation of the star-shaped signs in the papyri, see *P.Khalili* 1, pp. 109-110; *P.Khurasan*, p. 88; G. Khan, "Newly Discovered Arabic Documents from Early Abbasid Khurasan," in P.M. Sijpesteijn et al. (eds.), *From al-Andalus to Khurasan: Documents from the Medieval Muslim world* (Leiden 2007) 201-215 at 207; P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Seals and Papyri from Early Islamic Egypt," in I. Regulski et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on "Seals and Sealing Practices from Ancient Times till the Present Day: Developments in Administration and Magic through Cultures,"* Cairo, Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo (Leuven 2012) 171-182; P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Making the Private Public: a Delivery of Palestinian Oil in Third/Ninth-Century Egypt," *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 2 (2014) 74-91 at 77, 86; G. Khan, "The Development of Early Arabic Documentary Script," in R.M. Kerr and T. Milo (eds.), *Writings and Writing: Investigations in Islamic Text and Script in Honour of Dr. Januarius Justus Witkam* (Cambridge 2013) 229-247 at 232-233; G. Khan, "Documents arabes du début de l'Islam, récemment découverts dans le Khorassan," in A. Regourd (ed.), *Documents et histoire. Islam, VIIe-XVIe siècle* (Geneva 2010) 175-196 at 181-182.

<sup>5</sup> According to Islamic law only two accredited (Ar. pl. *ūdūl*, sing. *ādīl*) men or one man and two women are required as witnesses (Ar. pl. *šuhūd*, sing. *šāhid*) to validate the legal transaction. It has been noticed by Geoffrey Khan that autograph witness testimonies and signatures are only attested in Arabic papyri from the end of the second-the beginning of the third/eighth-ninth centuries onwards; before that witnesses only gave oral testimony. Written testimonies were at first recorded in separate documents of testimony after that they were written at the bottom of the legal deeds themselves. The earliest papyrus document in which the witnesses write their testimonies in their own handwriting is dated 178/795 (*CPR* 26.17, provenance Fayyūm). See J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford 1964) 193; Sijpesteijn, "Making the Private Public" (n. 4) 84; *P.Genizah*, p. 29; G. Khan, "An Early Arabic Legal Papyrus," in L. Schiffmann (ed.), *Semitic Papyrology in Context, A Climate of Creativity. Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levine* (Leiden 2003) 227-237 at 234 with note 15; G. Khan, "An Arabic Legal Document from the Umayyad Period," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4 (1994) 357-368 at 365-366, 368.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *CPR* 26.17, dated 178/795; 18, dated 207/823; 19, beginning of the third/ninth century; all from Fayyūm; 20, dated 277/891, provenance Ušmūn; W. Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf. Ein Beitrag zur Rechts-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ägyptens im 8. Bis 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2006) no. 1, dated 200/816, provenance Fayyūm; 2, dated 285/897-898, provenance Ušmūn; 3, dated 289-901-902, provenance Ušmūn. All aforementioned *dīkr ḥaqq* documents record debts of wheat and linen paid for in advance. A series of *aḍkār ḥudūq* recording the sale of linen pieces (Ar. *aḥyāṣ*) and cloths (Ar. *aṭwāb*) with advance payment are published by Yūsuf Rāḡib in *P.Marchands* 1.2-9, date from between the years 250 and 264, all from Fayyūm. References to advance

circumvent the problematic nature of this type of sale.<sup>7</sup> The classical *ḍikr ḥaqq* documents usually start with the standard opening formula: *ḍikr ḥaqq fulān b. fulān ‘alā fulān b. fulān lahu ‘alayhi*, “statement of what is due to *so and so* from *so and so* due to him from him.” This is usually followed by the mention of the debt, term of repayment, witnesses’ clauses and finally the date on which the document was concluded.<sup>8</sup> Our document neither follows the model of the contemporary *ḍikr ḥaqq*s nor agrees with the legal prescriptions (Ar. *ṣūrūt*) of *bay’ salam* as recommended in the oldest manual of *ṣūrūt* of al-Ṭahāwī (d. 321/933). According to al-Ṭahāwī, such contracts should start with the opening formula: *hādā mā aslama fulānun ilā fulānin aslama ilayhi kadā wa-kadā*, “this is what *so and so* has delivered to *so and so*. He has delivered to him *so and so*.”<sup>9</sup> No papyrological evidence of this formula has been found so far.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, our document starts directly after the *basmala* with (1) the identification of the purchaser using the preposition *li-*, (2) the indication of the vendor using two prepositions (*‘alayya wa-qibālī*, “I owe and hold in my possession”), (3) the amount of the merchandise, (4) the term of payment, and finally (5) a clause stating that the vendor wrote the document himself.

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payments (*salaf*) are also attested in letters, cf. *fa-tursila ilayya bi-dīnār salaf* (P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: the World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* [Oxford 2013] no. 24.4, c.730-750, provenance Fayyūm); *wa-lawlā jā’a al-ḥabl minka la-qaḍaynā salaf Ubayd* (Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* no. 26.13, c.730-750, provenance Fayyūm). An ostrakon from Edfou record an order for the payment of one *irdabb* of barley which was paid for in advance *‘Idfā’ ilā Sa’d b. Yūsuf al-Ḥarrās irdabb šīr lahu salaf*: (D. Rémondon, “Cinq documents arabes d’Edfou,” *Annales Islamologiques* 2 [1954] 103-112, no. 4, dated 310/922, provenance Edfou). See also M.H. Thung, “Written Obligations from the 2nd/8th to the 4th/10th Century,” *Islamic Law and Society* 3 (1996) 1-12 at 5-6 with note 19; Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* 391; K.M. Younes, “Textile Trade between the Fayyūm and Fustāt in the IIIrd/IXth Century According to the Banū ‘Abd al-Mu‘min Archive,” in A. Regourd (ed.), *Documents et histoire. Islam, VIIe-XVIe siècle* (Geneva 2010) 313-334 at 321-322.

<sup>7</sup> For the legal discussion on *bay’ salam* in Islamic law and its use in the papyri, see J.A. Wakin, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law: The Chapters on Sale from Ṭahāwī’s Kitāb al-Shurūt al-Kabīr* (New York 1972) 193-200; N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful Gain and Legitimate Profit in Islamic Law* (Cambridge 1986) 71; A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton 1970) 72, 79; Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf* (n. 6) 28-66; P.Marchands 1, 6-7; CPR 26, 98; Thung, “Written Obligations” (n. 6) 5-6; Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* 391.

<sup>8</sup> Thung, “Written Obligations” (n. 6) 2-10; J. Bruning, “A Legal Sunna in *Dhikr Ḥaqq*s from Sufyanid Egypt,” *Islamic Law and Society* 22 (2015) 352-374 at 358; CPR 26, p. 93.

<sup>9</sup> Wakin, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law* (n. 7) 193-200; Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf* (n. 6) 28-29, 34, 47.

<sup>10</sup> See Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf* (n. 6) 34, 47.

According to Islamic law, written documents have no probative legal value unless they have been confirmed by the oral statement of the witnesses who had witnessed the transaction.<sup>11</sup> Only the documents that were carefully executed by professional notaries according to the detailed *šurūt* prescribed in legal literature and approved by at least two accredited witnesses can function as valid legal proofs (Ar. pl. *ḥuḡaḡ*, sing. *ḥuḡḡa*).<sup>12</sup> However, many preserved sale contracts,<sup>13</sup> agricultural and house leases,<sup>14</sup> and *aḍkār ḥuqūq*<sup>15</sup> lack witnesses' testimonies and omit many important legal formularies. Petra Sijpesteijn suggests that "this appears to have been the case when familiarity and trust between the parties made it unnecessary to complete the documents in such a way that they could be used in court."<sup>16</sup> In other words, these private legal documents were not drawn up as legal proofs to be submitted to court when needed, but just as a documentation of private transactions between acquaintances. That is why these documents are always concise and do not follow *šurūt*.

Let us now move on to the second document. In this document, a certain Sufyān b. Muḥammad states that he has fulfilled his rent in crops; i.e. one thousand and three hundred baskets of good trefoil, from the canal (*qurṭ ḡayyid baḥrī*, l. 3-4). The payment has been delivered to a certain Abū 'Abd Allāh the agent of a certain Abū al-Ḥasan. Both are referred to by their patronymic (Ar. *kunya*) rather than their names (Ar. pl. *asmā'*, sing. *ism*).<sup>17</sup> The document is

<sup>11</sup> See Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (n. 5) 82, 192-195; Wakin, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law* (n. 7) 66-67; Sijpesteijn, "Making the Private Public" (n. 4) 84-85; *P.Genizah*, pp. 7-8, 29.

<sup>12</sup> See Sijpesteijn, "Making the Private Public" (n. 4) 84-85.

<sup>13</sup> Y. Rāḡib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale* 1 (Cairo 2002) 48-61, nos. 16-23, provenance not mentioned.

<sup>14</sup> See P.M. Sijpesteijn, "An Arabic Land Lease from Ṭuṭūn," in R. Ast et al. (eds.), *Papyrological Texts in Honor of Roger S. Bagnall* (Durham, NC 2012) 301-306 at 301 with note 6; K.M. Younes, "Two Arabic Deeds of House Lease Agreement on Papyrus" (forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup> See Bruning, "A Legal Sunna" (n. 8) 356-374. See also *Chrest.Khoury* 1.37 [= *PERF* 744], dated 225/840, provenance not mentioned.

<sup>16</sup> Sijpesteijn, "Making the Private Public" (n. 4) 85.

<sup>17</sup> A comprehensive and systematic study on the identification of the parties (Ar. *ta'rīf al-muta'āqadayn*) in Arabic legal documents on papyrus is still absent from papyrological research, but see the short treatise done by Yūsuf Rāḡib on a number of Arabic slave and animal contracts in Y. Rāḡib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale* 2 (Cairo 2006) 15-19. On the contrary, a full treatment of this subject on Cairo Genizah documents has been done by Geoffrey Khan in *P.Genizah*, pp. 11-20. The ways of identifying the parties in papyri do not differ that much from those found in Cairo Genizah documents. The vast majority of the published papyrus legal docu-

written by Sufyān himself in the month of Muḥarram of the year 262/October 875.

The document is very short and does not tell us much about the origin of the transaction that took place between Sufyān and Abū ʿAbd Allāh. As mentioned above, the document is similar in formulae and structure to the first document. However, the document does not seem to fall into the same legal category for two reasons. First and foremost, the word *kirāʾ* (rent) that appears in line 4 is not a usual word in the context of both *ḍikr ḥaqq*s and *bayʿ salam*; the word *taman* (price) is commonly used instead. Secondly and most importantly, the terminology of the document indicates an agrarian context. Some published agricultural receipts and land leases show agents (Ar. pl. *wukalāʾ*, sing. *wakīl*) administering estates for their landlords.<sup>18</sup> These documents show that the agents were authorized to conclude agricultural rental contracts in their names, receive payments, and issue receipts.<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, it seems likely that Abū al-Ḥasan, whom the agent Abū ʿAbd Allāh represents, is such an estate holder.<sup>20</sup> Sufyān b. Muḥammad is in this case a leaseholder. The document is therefore most likely a record of Sufyān documenting the payment of his rent to the agent of Abū al-Ḥasan.

One final remark is to be made before we move on to the editions. As mentioned above, both documents are written in the hands of the two indi-

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ments mention the name of each party in two generations. In a few cases the genealogy is given in three generations. The mention of the patronymic, profession, title, and tribal affiliation (Ar. *nisba*) is not always systematic. It is quite common in the papyri that the identification of one party is longer than the other. See P. Genizah, pp. 11-20; G. Khan, "An Arabic Document of Acknowledgement from the Cairo Genizah," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 53 (1994) 117-124 at 120-123; Y. Rāḡib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale* 2, pp. 15-19; Bruning, "A Legal *Sunna*" (n. 8) 364-365 with references cited in note 47.

<sup>18</sup> CPR 21, pp. 17, 37, 121 with references cited in note 179; Sijpesteijn, "An Arabic Land Lease from Ṭuṭūn" (n. 14) 301-303.

<sup>19</sup> See CPR 21.7 [= *Chrest. Khoury* 1.67, dated 212/827-828, provenance Uṣmūnayn]; 8, dated 249/863, provenance Uṣmūn; 20, dated 268-269/882-883, provenance Uṣmūnayn; 28, dated 310/922, provenance Uṣmūnayn; 79 [= *PERF* 906], dated 315/927-928, provenance unknown; Sijpesteijn, "An Arabic Land Lease from Ṭuṭūn" (n. 14) 302-304. See also a *ḍikr ḥaqq* document mentioning *wakīl* in Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf* (n. 6) no. 1, dated 200/816, provenance Fayyūm.

<sup>20</sup> The earliest Arabic land leases, mentioning Arab landholders, date from 159-161/775-776. See CPR 21, pp. 56-61. For more about the impact of the Arab conquest on rural society and fiscal organization as well as landholding patterns in Early Islamic Egypt, see P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Landholding Patterns in Early Islamic Egypt," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9 (2009) 120-133.



viduals; Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan in the first document and Sufyān b. Muḥammad in the second. Both hands show no difficulties in writing or handling the pen in general with very few spelling and grammatical mistakes which give the impression that both of them must have been trained and received some education to be able to write Arabic fluently.<sup>21</sup>

### 1. *Sale with Postponed Delivery of Four irdabbs of Wheat*

P.Cam.Michaelides B 718

H × W = 14.5 cm × 9.5 cm

Provenance unknown

3rd/9th cent.

Dark-brown papyrus cut from a larger sheet. The original cutting lines are preserved on all four sides. The text is written in four lines in black with a medium-thick pen in a flowing hand parallel to the fibers against the common practice in the Islamic period.<sup>22</sup> There are some lacunae and tears on the top and at the left hand side causing practically no damage to the text. The papyrus was folded five times horizontally and four times vertically. The *verso* contains traces of the text from the original sheet written in black ink at the right angle to the fibers. There are no diacritical dots. *Sīn* is written consistently with teeth (l. 1 *bi-sm*; l. 2 *al-Ḥasan*), while *šīn* is written as a straight line with an oblique stroke above it (l. 4 *ʿAllūš*).

A short description of the papyrus is given in the catalogue of the Arabic papyri in the Michaelides collection.<sup>23</sup>

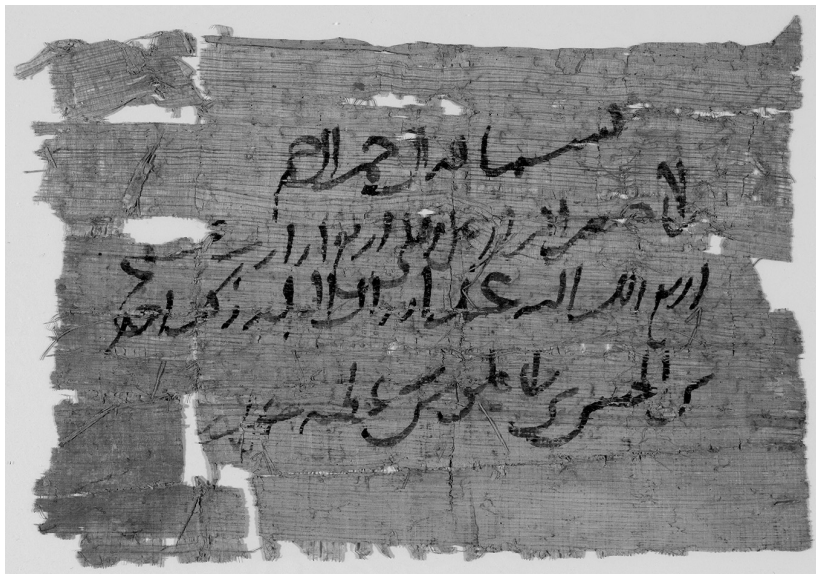
- |                                             |   |   |
|---------------------------------------------|---|---|
| بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم                      | ← | 1 |
| لابى ج[ع]فر اليزاز على وقيلى اربع ارادب قمح |   | 2 |
| ادفع ذلك اليه عند ادراك الغلة وكتب احمد     |   | 3 |
| بن الحسن بن ابى علوش بخطه (star)            |   | 4 |

<sup>21</sup> For general discussion on the level of literacy among the Arabs in Early Islamic Egypt, see Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* (n. 6) 229-255; K.M. Younes, *Joy and Sorrow in Early Muslim Egypt: Arabic Papyrus Letter: Text and Content* (PhD thesis, Leiden University 2013) 16; E.M. Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus: Form and Function, Content and Context* (Berlin 2010) 207.

<sup>22</sup> See Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* (n. 6) 220; Sijpesteijn, "Making the Private Public" (n. 4) 75 with note 3.

<sup>23</sup> G. Khan, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri in the Michaelides Collection* (Cambridge 2000) B + BQ 37, available online at <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/neareastern/michaelides.html>. See also the image and description of the papyrus on Cambridge Digital Library website at <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MICH-PAP-B-00718/1> (accessed April 10, 2016).

“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. In favor of Abū Ġaʿfar the textile merchant I owe and hold in my possession four *irdabbs* of wheat. I will pay this to him at the ripening of the crops. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. AbūʿAllūš has written (it) in his own-handwriting (*star*).”



1 The *basmala* is written about half a centimeter to the left of the rest of the text.<sup>24</sup> The *basmala* is written in exactly the same manner in the second document. The first part of *bi-sm* is oblique and there is a long connecting stroke (*linea dilatans/mašq*) between the *sin* and *mīm*.<sup>25</sup>

2 *Li-Abī Ġaʿfar*. The *alif* of *Abī* has a hook at the top to the left and the *yāʾ* is bending backwards. The *yāʾ* is written in exactly the same way in *Abī* in line 4. The *ʿayn* of *Ġaʿfar* is missing in a small lacuna. The profession *al-bazzāz* (the textile merchant) is well-attested in the papyri; see for example *P.Marchands* 1 6.10, 3rd/9th, provenance Fayyūm.<sup>26</sup> The declaration of the amount of wheat

<sup>24</sup> For the indention of the *basmala*, see Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus* (n. 21) 191 and the references cited in note 97.

<sup>25</sup> See Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus* (n. 21) 191-192; Grob, “A Catalogue of Dating Criteria” (n. 3) 132.

<sup>26</sup> See also S.M. Mohamed, *al-Alqāb wa-asmāʾ al-ḥiraf wa-l-wazāʾif fi dawʾ al-bardiyāt al-ʿarabiya* (Cairo 2000) vol. 1, pp. 228-232; Younes, “Textile Trade” (n. 6) 320.

(*arbaʿ arādib qamḥ*) is introduced by the two prepositions *ʿalayya wa-qibālī*. This technical expression and variants of it are recorded in *ḍikr ḥaqq*s and debt acknowledgments (Ar. sing. *iqrār*); cf. *anna li-z ... ʿindī ḥamsat arādib wa-nisf qamḥ naqiyy ḡiyād* (CPR 26.26.2-3, dated 251-252/865-866, provenance not mentioned); *ʿindī wa-qibālī ḥamsa wa-ṭalātīn irdabb qamḥ* (CPR 26.27.4, dated 344/956, provenance Ušmūnayn); *ʿindahumā wa-ʿalayhimā wa-ḡi ḍimmatihimā irdabbayn wa-suds irdabb qamḥ naqiyy ḡayyid* (CPR 26.28.4-5, dated 356/967, provenance unknown); *ʿindahumā wa-qabilahumā wa-ḡi ḍimmatihimā irdabbayn qamḥ wa-suds irdabb naqiyy ṭayyib sālim min al-tibn wa-l-turāb wa-l-ʿalṭ* (CPR 26.29.3-4, dated 356/967, provenance unknown); *lahu ʿalayhi wa-qibalahu arbaʿ ... qamḥ* (Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf* [n. 6] no. 2.3, dated 285/897-898, provenance unknown); *laka qibālī ...* (Chrest.Khoury 1.37.2 [= PERF 744], dated 225/840, provenance not mentioned); *laka ʿindī ...* (Chrest.Khoury 1.45.2-3, dated 389/999, provenance not mentioned). The *yāʾ* of *ʿalayya* is reduced; compare it with the *yāʾ* of *qibālī*.<sup>27</sup> For the measure *irdabb* (pl. *arādib*) in the papyri, see *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.127; *P.Khalili* 1.172.<sup>28</sup> The curvature of the *dāl* of *arādib* is reduced resembling a *rāʾ*. For more documents relating to payments and debts of wheat on papyrus, see CPR 26.17, dated 178/795; 18, dated 207/823; 19, beginning of the 3rd/9th, provenance of all Fayyūm; *P.Philad.Arab.* 32, dated 281/894-895, provenance not mentioned. There is a long connecting stroke between the *qāf* and *mīm* of *qamḥ* and the lower curvature of the *ḥāʾ* is intersected with the *dāl* of *Aḥmad* in the next line.

3 For the expression *adfaʿ ḍālika ilayka*, see *adfaʿ ḍālika ilayka aw ilā man yaqūm maqāmaka* (Chrest.Khoury 1 45.2-3, dated 389/999, provenance not mentioned); *adfaʿ ḍālika ilayhi* (CPR 26.26.2-3, dated 251-252/865-866, provenance not mentioned). For the expression *ʿinda idrāk al-ḡalla* in the papyri, see *waqt al-ḡalla* and *waqt idrāk al-ḡalla* (*P.Cair.Arab.* 5.291.19, 21, 4th/10th, provenance not mentioned); *ʿinda al-ḡalla* (CPR 21.4.14 [= PERF 638], dated 179-180/796, provenance Fayyūm). For *ḡalla* (pl. *ḡallāt* and *ḡilāl*) meaning harvest in the papyri, see CPR 21, pp.186, 323.<sup>29</sup> The *ʿayn* of *ʿinda* is bigger than the other *ʿayns* in the text. See the *ʿayn* of *ʿalayya* in line 2 and *ʿAllūš* in line 4. The loop of the *fāʾ* of *adfaʿ* is compressed. Compare it with the loop of the *qāf* of *qibālī* and *qamḥ* in line 2. Similarly, the *ḡayn* of *al-ḡalla* is reduced,

<sup>27</sup> See S. Hopkins, *Studies in Early Arabic Grammar Based upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* (New York 1984) 57-59 (§ 55).

<sup>28</sup> See also A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyrskunde* (Prague 1954) 156-157.

<sup>29</sup> See also E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (repr. Beirut 1968) vol. 6, p. 2278.

but the reading is certain. The *dāl* and *ḡāl* are written in a similar manner in *adfa*, *dālīka* and *idrāk* (cf. *P.Khalili* 1.41 and note 54).

4 For the proper name *ʿAllūš* in the papyri; cf. *maʿa ḡulām Abī ʿAllūš* (*P.Berl.Arab.* 2.41.r<sup>o</sup>.4, 3rd/9th, provenance not mentioned).<sup>30</sup> There is an oblique stroke above the *šin* of *ʿAllūš*.<sup>31</sup> For the star-shaped sign, see the references cited in note 4.

## 2. *Payment of One Thousand and Three Hundred Baskets of Trefoil as Rent*

P.Cam.Michaelides B 118<sup>32</sup>

H × W = 24.5 cm × 22 cm

Provenance unknown

262/875

This is a fine light-brown papyrus. With the exception of some worm-holes and small lacunae at the top, middle, and left hand side, the papyrus is complete and well preserved. The text is written in five lines in black ink with a medium-thick pen in a clear and practiced hand perpendicular to the fibers. The original cutting lines are preserved on all four sides. A broad margin has been left blank at the bottom. The back of the papyrus is blank. There are very few diacritical dots.<sup>33</sup> Of the characteristics of the script, final *alif* extends below the connecting stroke (l. 2 *abqāhu*; l. 4 *kirāhā*). *Sīn* is written consistently with teeth (l. 1 *bi-sm*; l. 3 *al-Ḥasan, Sufyān*). Initial *kāf* is either horizontally elongated with an extended base, an upper stroke parallel to the base line with no rightward shaft at the top or hair-pin shaped (l. 2 *wakīl*; l. 4 *kirāhā, kataba*).

↓ 1    بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
2    لابی عبد الله ابقاه الله وکیل ابی الحسن اعز الله ابا  
3    الحسن عند سفیان بن محمد الف وثلاثماية قفة قرط جید

<sup>30</sup> See also J.J. Hess, *Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien* (Heidelberg 1912) 41.

<sup>31</sup> For this widespread practice in the papyri, see *P.World*, p. 84; *P.Ryl.Arab.* 2.13; *P.Khurasan*, p. 77.

<sup>32</sup> For a short description of the papyrus, see Khan, *Catalogue B + BQ 10*, available online (n. 23). See also the image and description of the papyrus on Cambridge Digital Library website at <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MICH-PAP-B-00118/1> (accessed April 10, 2016).

<sup>33</sup> For more extensive discussions about the use of diacritical dots in the papyri, see A. Kaplony, "What are Those Few Dots For? Thoughts on the Orthography of the Qurra Papyri (709-710), the Khurasan Parchments (755-777) and the Inscription of the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock (692)," *Arabica* 55 (2008) 91-112; N. Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script* (Chicago 1939) 38-40; P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Palaeography," in C. Versteegh (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* 3 (Leiden 2007) 513-524, at 515; *P.Khalili* 1, pp. 43-44; *P.World*, pp. 82-86; Hopkins, *Studies* (n. 27) 1.

بحرى وقد استوفيت كراها وكتب سفيان بن 4  
 محمد بخطه فى المحرم سنت اثنى وستين ومائتين 5

الحسن؛ عند 3 عبدالله؛ الحسن؛ ابا 2

“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. In favor of Abū ‘Abd Allāh, may God preserve him, the agent of Abū al-Ḥasan, may God strengthen Abū al-Ḥasan. Sufyān b. Muḥammad has one thousand and three hundred baskets of good trefoil, from the canal. I have fulfilled the rent. Sufyān b. Muḥammad has written (it) in his own-handwriting in Muḥarram of the year two hundred and sixty two.”

1 The *mīm* of *bi-sm* has a very short tail that turns upwards on the left side. It is the only *mīm* of this shape in the text. Compare it with the *mīm* of al-Raḥīm. A long connecting stroke is attested between the *sīn* and *mīm* of *bi-sm*. The *rāʾ* of al-Raḥmān is very short in comparison to the *rāʾ* of al-Raḥīm in the same line, *baḥrī* and *kirāhā* in line 4 and *al-Muḥarram* in line 5.

2 The *yāʾ* of *Abī* in *li-Abī ‘Abd Allāh* returns horizontally backwards, while the *yāʾ* of *Abī al-Ḥasan* is bending to the left. The *hāʾ* of *abqāhu* is written as a big closed ring. For the title *wakīl* in the papyri, see the references cited in note 19. The *lām* of *wakīl* extends vertically downwards without turning upwards on the left side. The dot of the *nūn* of *al-Ḥasan* is placed above the apex not in the open circle.<sup>34</sup> The *nūn* of *al-Ḥasan* in line 3 is written in exactly the same way.

3 *Talātmi’a* is written in status constructus as one word without *hamza*.<sup>35</sup> One *quffa* contains approximately three *waybas*.<sup>36</sup> For the attestation of *quffa* in the papyri, see for example *P.Khalili* 1.17.5, 3rd/9th, provenance not mentioned.

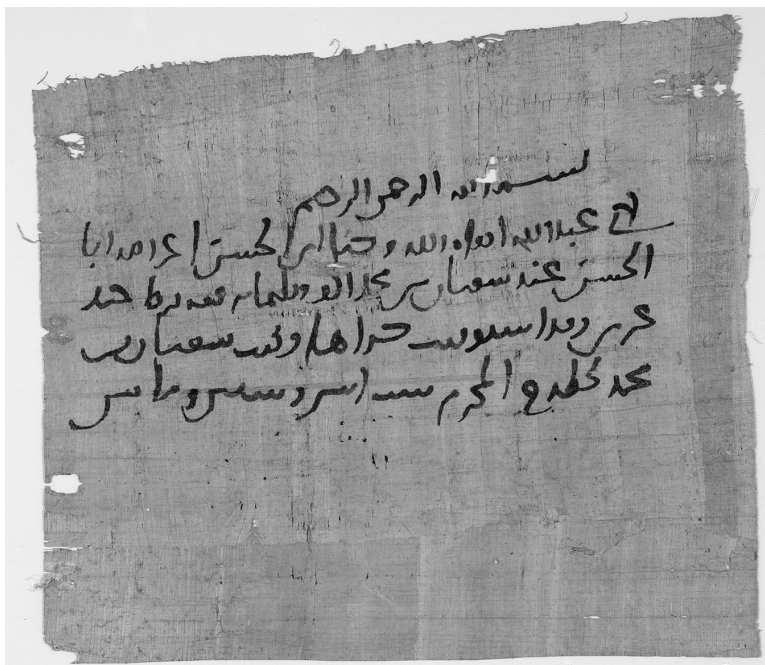
3-4 *Qurt ḡayyid baḥrī*. *Qurt* (Gr. χόρτος) is very often mentioned in the papyri, see *P.Cair.Arab.* 4, pp. 64-65; *P.Philad.Arab.*, pp. 77-78; *P.Khalili* 1, p. 73. While *baḥrī* can mean “north” in transfers of property detailing the boundaries in legal documents, it means in this context a canal: the trefoil was grown along the edges of a seasonal canal.<sup>37</sup> The loop of the *fāʾ* of *qurt* and *quffa* are

<sup>34</sup> For this practice in the papyri, see *P.World*, p. 85.

<sup>35</sup> Hopkins, *Studies* (n. 27) 53 (§ 51).

<sup>36</sup> Grohmann, *Einführung*, p. 164; *P.Khalili* 1, pp. 148-149 and the sources cited there.

<sup>37</sup> See Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 362/973), *Ṣūrat al-ard* (Beirut n.d.), 136; Ibn Mammāti (d. 606/1209), *Kitāb Qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. ‘A.S. ‘Aṭiya (Cairo 1991) 262-263. See also



compressed and reduced. The *fā'* is written in exactly the same manner in *istawfaytu* in line 4. Compare them with the *fā'* of *Sufyān* in lines 3, 4 and *fī* in line 5.

4 *Wa-qad istawfaytu kirāhā* is expressed in subjective style (first-person), while the rest of the document is written in an objective style (third-person). The root *w-f-y* appears frequently in documents in numerous forms to indicate the fact that the payment has been received in full. See for example *CPR* 26.19.14, 3rd/9th and the commentary to lines 12-15, provenance Fayyūm.<sup>38</sup> The root *k-r-y* is used in papyri in the first three centuries of Islam after that it is replaced by words of the root *'ḡ-r*.<sup>39</sup> The *kāf* of *kataba* is hair-pin shaped. Compare it with the *kāfs* of *wakīl* and *kirāhā* in lines 2 and 4.

5 *Fī* has a short backward bending *yā'*. *Sanat* is written with a *tā'* *maftūḥa* against classical Arabic rules which require a *tā'* *marbūṭa*.<sup>40</sup> For the numeral two lacking the final *nūn* in status absolutus, see Hopkins, *Studies* (§ 85.d) 104-106.

D. Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit 750-969 n. Chr. (132-358) d. H.," *Der Islam* 31 (1957) 14-78 at 41-42.

<sup>38</sup> See also Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State* (n. 6) 362.

<sup>39</sup> See Khan, "An Early Arabic Legal Papyrus" (n. 5) 236-237. See also *CPR* 21, p. 339.

<sup>40</sup> For this widespread practice in the papyri, see Hopkins, *Studies* (n. 27) 44 (§ 47).



# A History of the Theban Magical Library<sup>1</sup>

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Korshi Dosoo *Université de Paris-Sorbonne*

## Abstract

The Theban Magical Library is widely recognised by scholars of Roman Egyptian magic as the most important surviving magical archive, but to date several inconsistent models of its contents have been proposed. This article looks at the collection history of the manuscripts, discussing the evidence for their provenance in the catalogues and associated material from their initial sales, and briefly discusses relevant features of their content. Based on these criteria, ten magical and alchemical papyri can probably be associated with the Theban Library, while a further nine, associated with the Library by various authors, can be excluded.

The existence of a single archive, containing many of the large magical handbooks from Roman Egypt, was first suggested by Caspar Reuvens in 1830 in the first of his *Lettres à M. Letronne*.<sup>2</sup> Since then, the existence and contents of this “Theban Magical Library” have become a matter of great interest to scholars of ancient Mediterranean magic. Such an archive would offer us the possibility of reconstructing the long-term collecting habits, ritual practice, and scribal and social milieu of its owner or owners in greater depth than would be possible with unrelated texts, but such projects ultimately depend upon accurately identifying its contents. There have been several important treatments of this subject in the last hundred years, and these will be discussed later in this article. Most of these, however, have relied upon secondary sources – the published remarks of Reuvens, Preisendanz, and others – rather

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<sup>1</sup> This study would not have been possible without funding from the Macquarie University Gale Graeco-Roman Travelling Scholarship, the Macquarie University Postgraduate Research Fellowship, and the Society for the Study of Early Christianity Travel Grant, which allowed me to visit the archives holding the documents discussed in this article.

<sup>2</sup> C.J.C. Reuvens, *Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs et sur quelques autres monumens gréco-égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités de l'Université de Leide* (Leiden 1830) 145-148, third letter.



than on the documentary material which gives the most immediate access to their origins. The purpose of this discussion is first to present this evidence, adding to it the most important physical and textual details from the papyri themselves. This discussion will be followed by a survey of alternative models of the Theban Library, in order to explain why I reject several papyri often associated with this archive.

Occasionally we are lucky enough to have a clear, recorded context for Egyptian magical material: the Middle Kingdom Ramesseum Papyri were discovered in a burial beneath the funerary temple of Ramesses II,<sup>3</sup> while the Greek and Coptic magical material from Roman Kellis was uncovered in House 3 of Area A.<sup>4</sup> But the majority of the magical handbooks, or formularies, which survive from the Roman period were purchased from dealers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so that their origins can only be inferred. Such is the case with the Theban Library, and for this reason its status as an archive is only a probability rather than a certainty. Nonetheless, the balance of evidence does seem to argue for a relationship among its constituent papyri. The ten manuscripts I identify here as belonging to the Theban Library first appeared in recent history as the property of Jean d'Anastasy, the Consul-General of Sweden and Norway in Egypt from 1828-1857, who sold or donated them to several European collections.

The first sale was a lot which Anastasy originally intended to sell to his adopted homeland, Sweden,<sup>5</sup> but which was purchased, after extended nego-

<sup>3</sup> On this archive, see R.B. Parkinson, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry* (Chichester/Malden, MA 2009) 138-172.

<sup>4</sup> The Kellis magical papyri are *P.Kell.Gr.* 1.85 a + b, 86, 87; *P.Kell.Copt.* 35. Also of interest are *P.Kell.Gr.* 1.88, a prayer to the Christian god for good health, *P.Kell.Gr.* 1.82 and 83, two lists of good and bad days, and *P.Kell.Gr.* 1.84, a horoscope. For discussions of this material see I. Gardner, A. Alcock, and W.-P. Funk, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, vol.1 (Oxford 1999) 115-116, and M. de Haro Sanchez, "Les papyrus iatromagiques grecs de Kellis," *Lucida Intervalla* 37 (2008) 91-93. See also *P.Kell.Copt.* 56, found in a different part of Kellis (Area D, room 7, 2), a miniature codex containing a spell against snake-bite.

<sup>5</sup> See for example Anastasy's letter of 17/2/1827 in *Kabinetter för brevväxlingen: Skrivelser från konsuler 1809-80* vol. 40 in the Swedish Riksarkiv; on page two of the triplicate letter he says: "... j'ajoutai, qu'au cas que S.A. eût le desir de cette acquisition, je priais Mr. Berggren de me l'apprendre à fin que je pusse en faire mettre le Catalogue sous les yeux de S. A. Royale; Je n'ai pas dû laisser ignorer que d'autres projets m'ayant été faits pour cette Collection, j'allais y répondre de manière à ne prendre aucun engagement, bien resolu de donner, sous tous les rapports, la preference à mon Prince & à ma Patrie adoptive" ("I added [in my previous letter], that in the case that His Majesty [Charles XIV & John III of Sweden and Norway] had the desire for this acquisition [of the col-

tiations, by the Dutch Government for the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden in 1828. This original sale included about 5,600 objects and 147 papyri, to which Anastasy added three items as a gift to the buyer – a Byzantine helmet and two papyri.<sup>6</sup> The second lot, purchased by the British Museum in 1839, consisted of approximately 1,326 items, including 44 papyri.<sup>7</sup> The final lot, prepared in 1846,<sup>8</sup> was sold in 1857.<sup>9</sup> Held in Paris, the public nature of this auction meant that the 1,129 lots listed in the sale were purchased by several different European collections.

In addition to these sales, Anastasy also made gifts of several items in his collection. Relevant here is the alchemical codex *P.Holm.*, donated to the Stockholm Museum at some point before the 27th of August 1832, the date of a letter of thanks to Anastasy from the Kungliga Vitterhets-, Historie- och Antiquitets-Akademien (“Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities”) preserved alongside the papyrus.<sup>10</sup> After being held at institutions in both Stockholm and Uppsala, the papyrus is now held at the Kungliga Bibliotek in Stockholm.

Within the catalogues for these three sales, nine of the ten magical/alchemical papyri had “Thebes” listed as their provenance. It is possible that this attribution is mistaken or fictitious, but the apparent care with which the

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lection], I bid Mr. [Jacob] Berggren to inform me, that I might have the Catalogue put before His Royal Majesty; I did not have to conceal the fact that other offers had been made for this Collection, [since] I was going to respond to them in a manner so as to make no other commitment, resolved to give, in all respects, preference to my Prince & my adopted Homeland”).

<sup>6</sup> The catalogue for this sale is held by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: RMO inv. 3.1.6. The additional objects are listed in the triplicate letter (*Triplicata*) written by Anastasy to his agents on 18/3/1828 (RMO Archief Humbert 19.3.1831). The fullest description of the sale is in R.B. Halbertsma, *Le Solitaire des Ruines. De archeologische reizen van Jean Emile Humbert (1771-1839) in dienst van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Leiden 1995) 91-108; a briefer description in English can be found in R.B. Halbertsma, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, 1818-1840* (London 2003) 99-107.

<sup>7</sup> The catalogue for this collection is held by the British Museum, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan: AES Ar.246. For a discussion of this sale see U. Luft, “Lepsius und der Verkauf der Sammlung d’Anastasi in den Jahren 1838/39,” in E. Freier and W.F. Reineke (eds.), Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884). *Akten der Tagung anlässlich seines 100. Todestages, 10.-12. 7.1984 in Halle* (Berlin 1988) 292-313.

<sup>8</sup> A handwritten catalogue of the collection is held by the British Museum, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan: AES Ar. 232.

<sup>9</sup> The catalogue for this sale is F. Lenormant, *Catalogue d’une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris 1857).

<sup>10</sup> O. Lagercrantz, *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis (P.Holm.). Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur* (Uppsala 1913) 45.

diverse origins of the papyri (and only the papyri) are noted tends to suggest that we should take this geographical placement seriously.<sup>11</sup> The following list gives brief descriptions of all of the papyri which can be associated with the Theban Library with some certainty; all of the Greek magical papyri were originally edited by Preisendanz and his collaborators,<sup>12</sup> and translations of

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<sup>11</sup> The catalogue for the 1828 sale contains papyri attributed to Thebes, Memphis, Philae, and Elephantine; the catalogue of the 1838 sale only contains papyri from Memphis and Thebes; the catalogue for the 1857 sale (AES Ar.232) contains papyri only from Thebes. The variability in the assigned provenances, as well as the presence of a large number of entries from the 1828 sale which note that no provenance for a particular papyrus was known, imply that Anastasy, or his agents, did keep notes on where papyri were purchased or said to be found, and did not simply invent them where no record existed. The correct attribution of, for example, P.Leid. I 396 to Memphis, confirms that these attributions are at times reliable, although the inherent uncertainty arising from the fact that these papyri come from an unrecorded excavation must be borne when advancing arguments about the specifically Theban nature of the Theban Library; see for example W.J. Tait's discussion ("Theban magic," in S.P. Vleeming [ed.], *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* [Leiden 1995] 176-179) which finds relatively few clearly local elements in the papyri, although this could equally indicate the non-Theban origin of the individual texts (as opposed to the manuscripts in which they are copied), or the cosmopolitan outlook of the material. A notable exception in this regard is PDM xiv, which names several local deities, and which displays dialectal features from the Theban region (J.H. Johnson, "The dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden," in J.H. Johnson and E.F. Wente [eds.], *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* [Chicago 1977] 105-32; these features are also present in the other Demotic texts). For an interesting comparison see J. Dijkstra's discussion of the Paternmouthis archive ("New Light on the Paternmouthis Archive," *BASP* 44 [2007] 198-207), apparently discovered by unauthorised excavations in Aswan in 1906 and subsequently sold in two lots in 1907 and 1908, in Luxor and Cairo respectively, and originally given an incorrect provenance in Elephantine. As Dijkstra notes (p. 198, n. 74), citing E.G. Turner's *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* [Oxford 1980] 42-53) dictum that "[a]ny statement about provenance made by a finder or dealer in antiquities is open to suspicion," papyri sold by dealers were often falsely attributed to well-known sites such as Luxor/Thebes in order to increase their prestige, and hence their price.

<sup>12</sup> K. Preisendanz, E. Heitsch, and A. Henrichs (eds.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973-1974). For PDM xii, see J.H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384," *OMRO* 56 (1975) 29-64; for PDM xiv, see F.L. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London 1904-1921); and for PDM Suppl., see J.H. Johnson "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55-102.

them exist in English, Spanish, and French.<sup>13</sup> The alchemical papyri have most recently been edited, with French translation, by Halleux.<sup>14</sup> The papyri are dated palaeographically to the third and fourth centuries CE.<sup>15</sup>

#### PGM I

= P.Berl. Inv. 5025 + Warsaw MN 140159; Anastasy 1074 (1857)<sup>16</sup>

= Trismegistos number: 88396

A Greek magical roll. Acquired by the Königlische Museen zu Berlin as part of the 1857 sale in Paris. Shortly after the Second World War, the first of the two fragments of which this papyrus is composed was transferred to the Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warsaw.<sup>17</sup> In his discussion of the Theban Library,

<sup>13</sup> H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic spells* (Chicago 1992 [original edition 1986]); J.L. Calvo Martínez and D. Sánchez Romero, *Textos de Magia en Papiros Griegos* (Madrid 1987); M. Martin, *Les papyrus grecs magiques* (Paris 2002).

<sup>14</sup> R. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs*, vol. 1 (Paris 1981).

<sup>15</sup> For the dating of the texts, I follow the judgements of R. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton 2009) 83-85, who assigns the rolls (PGM I, II; PDM/PGM XII, XIV, Suppl.) to the third-century, and the codices (PGM IV, V, XIII; P.Holm. + PGM Va; P.Leid. I 397) to the fourth, which would accord with the general trend in manuscript formats in Roman Egypt; for more detailed discussions refer to the various editions of the texts. The dates which have been most disputed are those of PGM I, II and PDM/PGM XII, all of which are dated by Bagnall to the third-century, but by earlier editors to the fourth or even fifth. A fourth or fifth century date was given to PGM I, and a fourth century date to PGM II in PGM 1, p. 1, 18, although Preisendanz (*Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* [Leipzig 1933] 95) later seems to have revised his opinion and assigned them both to the third-century. A more recent assessment of PGM I by A. Monte ("Un manuale di magia greco a Berlino: il Papyrus Berolinensis Inv. 5026," in M. de Haro Sanchez [ed.], *Écrire la magie dans l'antiquité* [Liège 2015] 36) has returned to the fourth-century date; my own impression is that Bagnall's third-century date is probably correct for these two rolls. For an early third-century date for PDM/PGM XII see the arguments of J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites* (Leiden 2005) 41-44.

<sup>16</sup> Since Preisendanz's annotated bibliography ("Die griechischen Zauberpapyri," *APF* 8 [1927] 104-167), "Anastasy numbers" have often been attached to the papyri. While these refer to catalogue numbers, there are three catalogues involved, each with its own independent numbering system, so that to refer to PDM XII simply as "Anastasy 75" is rather misleading. To reflect this, I include the year of the auction in brackets after each number.

<sup>17</sup> A number of Berlin papyri were sold in Warsaw in the aftermath of the Second World War, apparently from Soviet soldiers. Since many of these were found along train lines, it seems the glass in which some of them were kept was traded by the soldiers guarding the trains for food and other supplies, and the papyri abandoned. See the discussion of the other lost Berlin papyri held by the University of Warsaw in E.

Brashear excluded both this papyrus and the following *PGM* II, apparently on the basis of their format – Greek rolls were somewhat shorter than the rest of the material – but given the variety of formats, languages, and lengths in the rest of the Library, this seems unwarranted.<sup>18</sup>

*PGM* II<sup>18a</sup>

= P.Berl. Inv. 5026; Anastasy 1075 (1828)

= Trismegistos number: 8839

A Greek magical roll. Acquired by the Königlische Museen zu Berlin as part of the 1857 sale in Paris.

*PGM* IV

= P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl.gr. no. 574; Anastasy 1073 (1857)

= Trismegistos number: 64343

A Greek and Old Coptic magical codex. Acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in the 1857 sale.

*PGM* V

= *P.Lond.* 1.46; Anastasy 4 (1839)

= Trismegistos number: 64368

A Greek magical codex. Acquired by the British Museum Department of Manuscripts as part of the 1839 sale, and transferred to its successor, the British Library, after its creation in 1973.

*P.Holm.* + *PGM* Va<sup>19</sup>

= *P.Holm.* Royal Dep. 45

= Trismegistos number: 64429

A Greek alchemical codex, containing one loose leaf (*PGM* Va) with a ritual calling upon the sun-god for revelation. Given as a gift to the Swedish Royal

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Wipszycka et al., “Papyri and Ostraca Kept in the Department of Papyrology of Warsaw University: A Web Page Project,” *JJP* 20 (2000) 265-266.

<sup>18</sup> Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey: Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994),” in *ANRW* 2.18.5 (1995) 3404.

<sup>18a</sup> This papyrus has recently been identified as a fragment from the same roll as *PGM* VI. See the addendum to this article for more details.

<sup>19</sup> The idiosyncratic numbering of the *PGM*, especially among the lower numbers, is apparently due to Preisendanz’s collaborator Richard Wünsch, who established the numbering at the beginning of the project. This numbering was retained due to the working process established by the editors. In the case of *PGM* Va it appears that Wünsch believed that the leaf might have mistakenly been excerpted from *PGM* V, a codex of roughly similar dimensions; see *PGM* 2, p. v.

Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities c.1832, it was originally held at the Statens historiska museum in Stockholm, which acquired ownership of it at some point, but in 1906 was moved to the Victoriamuseum in Uppsala.<sup>20</sup> It was returned to Stockholm in 1927, where it is kept at the Kungliga Bibliotek, which acquired ownership of the papyrus in 2013.<sup>21</sup> Since it was not listed in any of Anastasy's catalogues, this is the only papyrus here without an assigned provenance, but since it shares the same hand as *PGM XIII* and *P.Leid. I 397*, we should expect it to have the same origin.

*PDM xii/PGM XII*

= *P.Leid. I 384*; Anastasy 75 + 75a (1828);<sup>22</sup> *P.Leid.Gr. 2 no. V*

= Trismegistos numbers: 55954 (*PDM/PGM XII*) + 55946 (*Myth of the Sun's Eye*)

A bilingual Greek and Demotic roll with magical content, with an earlier Demotic literary text, *The Myth of the Sun's Eye*, on the other side (technically the front →). It was acquired by the Rijksmuseum as part of the 1828 sale. Half of the papyrus was included in the original sale, the second half was one of the additional papyri given by Anastasy as a gift.

*PGM XIII*

= *P.Leid. I 395*; Anastasy 76 (1828);<sup>23</sup> *P.Leid.Gr. 2 no. W*

= Trismegistos number: 64446

A Greek magical codex, acquired by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden as one of the additional papyri given along with the main sale in 1828. The first 21 pages of this codex are written in the same hand as *P.Holm.* and *P.Leid. I 397*.

*PDM xiv/PGM XIV*

= *P.Leid. I 383*; Anastasy 65 (1828) + *P.BM EA 10070*; Anastasy 1072 (1857)

= Trismegistos number: 55955

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<sup>20</sup> *P.Holm.*, p. 45.

<sup>21</sup> Private communications from Hendrik Mäkelar, 2/7/2013 (citing information from the Victoriamuseet database), and from Anna Wolodarski, librarian at the Kungliga Bibliotek, 2/12/2014.

<sup>22</sup> Strictly speaking this number is fictive, since this papyrus was not included in the auction catalogue and therefore did not have a number (it is no. 2 in the *Triplicata*). The number was assigned to it by Reuven (n. 2) 146, third letter.

<sup>23</sup> Again, this number is fictive, since the papyrus was not included in the auction catalogue. This papyrus was designated as no. 3 in the *Triplicata*.

A bilingual Demotic and Greek magical roll. The Leiden half was part of the 1828 purchase, while the second part was purchased by the British Museum in the 1857 sale.

*PDM* Suppl.

= P.Louvre E3229; Anastasy 1061 (1857)

= Trismegistos number: 64218

Bilingual Demotic and Greek roll with magical content, acquired by the Musée du Louvre as part of the 1857 sale.

P.Leid. I 397

= Anastasy 66 (1828); *P.Leid.Gr.* 2 no. X

= Trismegistos number: 61300

An alchemical codex purchased by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in the 1828 sale.

It would be unreasonable to expect a group of magical papyri to belong to a single archive simply because they derived from the same general area, Thebes. We would expect that there were multiple practitioners in this area at any one time, who might have left multiple textual remains.<sup>24</sup> Yet when we add to this observation the fact that they belonged to the same collector, and were dispersed in overlapping sales, it seems most likely that they do belong together – it is more probable that the collector discovered a cache than that he acquired ten similar papyri of a rather unusual type from disparate sources.<sup>25</sup> The ten papyri are similarly, and unusually, large among surviving formularies, and display a consistent interest in revelational divination and alchemy which are not present to the same extent in most other papyri from the same period.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Compare the situation with alchemy, where alongside the owner of the Theban Library, the Thebaid of the fourth-century was also home, at least, to Zosimus of Panopolis, and perhaps his correspondent Theosebeia, and rivals Neilos and Paphnutia; see M. Mertens, “Alchemy, Hermetism and Gnosticism at Panopolis c. 300 A.D.: The Evidence of Zosimus,” in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: Acts of an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Leiden 2002) 169-170.

<sup>25</sup> For this point, see also the comments of Bagnall (n. 15) 82-86.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the interests of the Theban Library, and the degree to which these can be considered “typical” of the period, see K. Dosoo, “Magical Discourses, Ritual Collections: Cultural Trends and Private Interests in Egyptian Handbooks and Archives,” in T. Derda et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology* (Warsaw 2016) 699-716.



Also notable is the fact that, with the exception of *PGM V* and *P.Holm.*, all the papyri were sold in two lots, each of which contained at least one papyrus (*PDM/PGM XIV*) from the group of bilingual Greek and Demotic texts:

1828 sale: *PDM/PGM XII*, *PGM XIII*, *PDM/PGM XIV* and *P.Leid. I 397*

1857 sale: *PGM I*, *II*, *IV*, *PDM/PGM XIV*, *PDM Suppl.*

In addition to this probabilistic evidence, more concrete proof can be adduced from the papyri themselves. Three of the fourth-century magical/alchemical codices – *PGM Va/P.Holm.*, *PGM XIII* and *P.Leid. I 397* – were written in the same, distinctive hand, and this writer may be responsible for an annotation on the inside cover of the similarly dated *PGM IV*.<sup>27</sup> While the bilingual Demotic/Greek papyri, *PDM/PGM XII*, *PDM/PGM XIV*, *PDM Suppl.*, do not seem to share an identical hand, there are certainly similarities in their writing of both the Greek/Old Coptic and Demotic scripts, and they all display a use of a cipher alphabet found in no other papyri.<sup>28</sup>

To this evidence, we may add an annotation in the 1828 sale catalogue, repeated in Reuven's notes to *PDM/PGM XII*, which tells us that it "ce papyrus [s]e trouve avec le No 66 [*P.Leid. I 397*]"<sup>29</sup> Without access to his archives and letters,<sup>30</sup> it is unclear exactly what he meant by this, but the most obvious inter-

<sup>27</sup> Both Preisendanz (*PGM* 2, p. 64) and L. LiDonnici ("Compositional Patterns in *PGM IV*," *BASP* 40 [2003] 152) note that the writing on this first page was added later, but do not comment on the hand. The brevity of the text makes it difficult to be certain that it is related to the hand of the alchemical texts, but there are certainly notable similarities.

<sup>28</sup> Brashear has often claimed (e.g. [n. 18] 3402-3404) that the hands of all three are the same, citing Johnson (n. 12) as a reference, but in fact her opinion, stated most explicitly on pp. 88-89, is that only *PDM xii* and *xiv* are by the same scribe, and that *PDM Suppl.* is quite similar. Johnson has confirmed her opinion on this matter to me in a private communication (3/7/2013). The idea that the hands are the same has also been disputed by J.F. Quack ("Griechische und andere Dämonen in den spätdemotischen magischen Texten" in T. Schneider [ed.], *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis* [Münster 2004] 429) and J. Dieleman (*Priests, Tongues, and Rites* [Leiden 2005] 28, n. 12). Since it seems that the Greek and Demotic script on each papyrus is by the same scribe, the fact that the three Greek hands are clearly different must lead us to conclude that Quack and Dieleman are correct, that the Demotic hands are similar, but belong to different scribes.

<sup>29</sup> "...this papyrus is to be found with No.66" (*Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. Inventaris 4. april 1829-okt. 1838*, p. 31); cf. "[Av]ec le no.66" (*RMO inv.3.1.6*, p. 99).

<sup>30</sup> The RMO is in the process of digitising their archive of letters (<http://archieven.rmo.nl/index.php>); hopefully examination of this resource will shed further light on any communication between Reuven and Anastasy and his agents.

pretation is that the two manuscripts were boxed, and thus probably shipped, together. This would create a further connection between two of the important groups, the “alchemical” and “bilingual Greek-Demotic” groups – those written in the same hand as P.Leid. I 397, and those written in a mixture of Demotic and Greek. There is also a connection of content here: *PGM XII* contains a brief alchemical section (ll. 193-204),<sup>31</sup> making it, along with *P.Holm.*, one of only two known Greek magical papyri with related alchemical material.

Further, though less certain, evidence is supplied by François Lenormant, who wrote the catalogue to the 1857 auction, and claimed that the magical papyri from this sale belonged to the same collection as the Leiden papyri. We must question how much information he had about Anastasy’s collection, however; he does not include *PDM Suppl.* in his list of the papyri from the Theban Library, probably because he understood it to be a funerary text,<sup>32</sup> and he tells us that Anastasy discovered the library in his excavations at Thebes.<sup>33</sup> In fact, Anastasy’s own clearest statement on the Library comes in the triplicate letter to his agents dated 18 March 1828, in which he describes how he acquired *PDM/PGM XII* “de la main des Arabes (qui suivant leur frauduleuse coutume l’ont probablement détaché du papyrus principal afin d’en tirer un plus grand prix par la double vente).”<sup>34</sup>

We might perhaps try to reconcile the two statements, for example by postulating that one of the Egyptian excavators found the papyrus during a dig under the direction of one of Anastasy’s agents, and later attempted to sell half of it back to him, but since the triplicate letter explicitly refers to a “double sale” (“double vente”) we must assume that both portions were acquired by purchase rather than excavation. It seems most likely to me that Lenormant possessed little or no information about the Library from Anastasy or his agents, but rather made an educated guess based on his assessment of their contents, drawing upon the inferences of Reuven, whose *Lettres à M. Letronne* he mentions

<sup>31</sup> See also ll. 401-444, a list of names for ingredients with parallels in alchemical material.

<sup>32</sup> His description of the papyrus is as follows (Lenormant [n. 9] 86): “Assez gros manuscrit funéraire en écriture démotique.”

<sup>33</sup> Lenormant (n. 9) 84: “M. Anastasi, dans ses fouilles à Thèbes avait découvert la bibliothèque d’un gnostique égyptien du second siècle...”

<sup>34</sup> “... from the hand of Arabs (who following their fraudulent custom probably detached it from the principal papyrus in order to receive a greater price by the double sale).” RMO Archief Humbert 19.3.1831, p. 3.

in his discussion, going so far as to echo Reuven's assessment of the owner of the Library as a "gnostique."<sup>35</sup>

Yet Anastasy's statement about the anonymous "Arabs" has its own implications; not only *PDM/PGM* XII, but also *PDM/PGM* XIV were sold as two separate fragments, so we might guess that this papyrus was also cut by the "Arabs." Anastasy's dislike of cutting papyri is suggested by the reason given in his triplicate letter for making a gift of the second half of *PDM/PGM* XII: he wanted to keep the two halves in the hands of a single collector.<sup>36</sup> If this was his policy, it is reasonable to ask why he did not also include the second half of *PDM/PGM* XIV, which in turn leads us to the possibility that he did not at that time possess it. It is indeed possible that the reason for the staggered sale of the Theban Library texts is due, not to Anastasy, but rather to the "Arabs," who may have sold him the papyri in small groups, according to financial or other exigencies. Thus, if the first collector of the Theban Library was not Anastasy, but one of the "Arabs," we may ask whether the other papyri, which I have excluded from consideration since they do not derive from Anastasy's collection (see below), might in fact belong to the Theban Library, having simply been sold by the initial collector to another buyer. Without further details about Anastasy's acquisition of the papyri – ideally in the form of primary documentation or letters mentioning the purchase(s) – we cannot rule out this possibility, but it seems unlikely on two grounds. Firstly, it is possible that Anastasy did possess all the texts of the Library as of 1828, or shortly thereafter, but was, consciously or unconsciously, not as consistent in his policy as his letter suggests. Secondly, the last secure documents from the Library were prepared for sale in 1846, and were therefore acquired by Anastasy by that year at the latest. By contrast, the most commonly cited non-Anastasy-derived papyrus attributed to the Library, *PGM* VII, was acquired by the British Museum in 1888, more than 40 years later. Thus, while it does not seem impossible that a private Egyptian might have held onto a set of texts for about 20 years (c. 1828–c. 1846), to assume that they were sold over the course of 60 years (c. 1828–1888) – an entire lifetime – seems considerably less likely.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Lenormant (n. 9) 84: "... dans la nouvelle collection de M. Anastasi, nous avons un supplément très-important à joindre aux textes étudiés par Reuven dans ses Lettres à M. Letronne."

<sup>36</sup> RMO Archief Humbert 19.3.1831, p. 3: "... je me fais un scrupule de le réunir comme membre au corps que je crois être le sien, et j'éprouve une véritable satisfaction de pouvoir procurer au possesseur de ma collection un avantage qui peut être précieux."

<sup>37</sup> Compare the comments of Giovanni d'Athanasio on "the custom of the Arabs of not choosing to sell at one time and to the same person, all the collection of antiquities which they happen to have; preferring [*sic*] rather to sell them from time to time,

This does leave two further criteria – those of content and form – unaddressed. Unlike documentary texts, magical formularies do not generally contain names of individuals or places which would allow us to connect them unambiguously with other papyri, and while the criterion of shared hands allows some stronger links to be made between texts, it is commonplace, and indeed expected, for archives to contain multiple hands. While magical archives often contain multiple copies of individual texts – we might think here of the three recensions of the *Ogdoad of Moses* in *PGM* XIII (ll. 1-343, 343-346, 646-734) and the notable parallel between the demotic and Old Coptic material in *PGM* IV 11-25 and *PDM* xiv 627-635 – it is clear that material is also shared between manuscripts which have no relationship to one another – here the similarly striking parallel between *PDM* xiv 1219-1227 and P.Mich. MS Copt. 136 ll. 66-68 comes to mind; the first of these texts is a third-century Demotic roll, the second is a sixth-century codex from the Fayum. It seems that individual texts circulated freely within, and indeed beyond, Egypt, so that while it is worthwhile to observe and analyse the replication of textual content within archives, it is much less clear that a close relationship between particular manuscripts can be demonstrated based on shared content.

The final criterion, that of form, may lie behind the assumption of past authors that all of the large formularies containing multiple recipes should be assigned to a single archive. Within the Theban Anastasy material, there are relatively close similarities of format between *PGM* I and II, between the Leiden codices, and between *PDM*/*PGM* XIV and Suppl. While there are no comparable similarities of format between the Anastasy texts and other magical material, we might observe that while nearly a hundred Greek formularies are known to us, a little over a dozen are in the form of large rolls or codices, while the remainder tend to be smaller sheets, and so these larger manuscripts can thus be said to share a more general similarity of format. Since most of these large manuscripts belonged to the Theban Library, authors with more expansive models of the Library would suggest that the long-form magical manuscript was used only within the community of the Library, and that therefore all of the longer texts without clear provenance (*PGM* III, VII, XXXVI; *PDM*/*PGM* LXI) should also be assigned to it, with the assumption that it originally formed a single cache which was discovered or broken up over an extended

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and to different travellers, in order that they may demand a higher price for them”; G. d’Athanasī, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt, Made under the Direction of Henry Salt, Esq.* (London 1836) 10. It is worth briefly noting that despite the confusion of M. Zago (in *Tebe magica e alchemica* [Padova 2010] and elsewhere), and a few others, Giovanni “Yanni” d’Athanasī and Jean d’Anastasy are different individuals, both well attested by historical documents.

period of time. But this argument is made more difficult by the existence of fragments of similar material from other contexts,<sup>38</sup> as well as by the large number of broadly similar Coptic formularies,<sup>39</sup> while the exclusion of even one of these manuscripts – the most obvious candidate here is *PGM XXXVI*, with its late sale and Fayumic provenance (see below) – would demonstrate that the long-form magical manuscript was not unique to the community of the Theban Library. It seems to me that we simply do not know enough about the development of the manuscript formats of this genre to convincingly make arguments based on general similarities, so that until more thorough synoptic analyses of the textual and physical characteristics of magical texts from Roman Egypt have been completed, the safest criterion seems to be that advanced above – belonging to the group of papyri acquired by Anastasy in Thebes – leaving the uniqueness or otherwise of the Theban Library as a proposition to be demonstrated rather than assumed.<sup>40</sup> This is not to say that attempts to establish relationships based on other criteria are necessarily futile, but rather that this work must begin with careful analysis of the features common to the more certain texts, in particular those absent in magical material from other contexts, and work outwards.

So far I have argued that ten papyri can be considered more-or-less certain members of the Theban Library, but a further nine have been assigned to the Theban Library in earlier publications. These are:

*PGM III*

= P.Louvre 2391

= Trismegistos number: 64511

A large Greek roll, usually dated to the third-century CE, consisting of four large fragments, and approximately 29 much smaller ones. This papyrus was purchased by the Musée du Louvre from Consul Jean-François Mimaud (1773-1837) in the auction following his death, held in Paris in 1837.<sup>41</sup> There

<sup>38</sup> For example, *PGM CII*, containing the detailed instructions and formulae typical of these recipes, but uncovered in Oxyrhynchus, and *PGM LXII* and *CXXIIIa*, two shorter rolls containing multiple recipes, neither of which have been suggested to be part of the Theban Library.

<sup>39</sup> For example, *P.Macq.* 1.1; P.Mich. MS Copt. 136, 593; P.Heid. Kopt. 684, 685, 686; Leiden Anastasi 9; and Rossi's *Gnostic Tractate*, to mention only some of the larger codices.

<sup>40</sup> See also the comments at n. 57.

<sup>41</sup> The auction catalogue is J.-J. Dubois, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes grecques et romaines, monuments coptes et arabes, composant la collection de feu M.J.F. Mimaud* (Paris 1837). *PGM III* is no. 541, and is described as follows (p. 86): "Papyrus. – Fragment d'un manuscrit grec, en lettres onciales, et dont le sujet est astrologique. Ce manu-

is no clear evidence linking this papyrus to those owned by Anastasy,<sup>42</sup> and despite the general similarity of format and contents, the hand of this papyrus is noticeably different from those of the more certain manuscripts. The first scholar to link this papyrus to the Theban Library seems to have been Carl Wessely, who does not give his reasons.<sup>43</sup> In his 1933 discussion of the Library, Preisendanz noted both the aforementioned similarity and the lack of evidence for including *PGM* III,<sup>44</sup> and later authors have generally suggested a connection without discussing their reasons in any detail.

*PGM* VI<sup>44a</sup>

= *P.Lond.* 1.47; Anastasy 5 (1839)

= Trismegistos number: 60673

A Greek sheet, *PGM* VI was sold by Anastasy to the British Museum alongside *PGM* V, but the papyrus was assigned a provenance in Memphis, rather than Thebes,<sup>45</sup> in his catalogue. Again, the lack of a more certain link to the Library leads me consider its exclusion as the safer decision. The first scholar to link *PGM* VI to the Library seems to have been Legge, who claimed that his investigations had led him to believe that all of the Anastasy magical papyri had been acquired in Thebes.<sup>46</sup> Later authors generally excluded *PGM* VI from the Library, with the exceptions of Gorissen and Zago; the former

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scrit, divisé en un grand nombre de morceaux qui ne sont point encore assemblés, est *opistographe*, et divisé en colonnes de texte mêlé de quelques figures de formes monstrueuses, et d'une execution tout-à-fait barbare" (italics in original).

<sup>42</sup> Gordon ("Memory and Authority in the Magical Papyri," in B. Dignas and R.R.R. Smith [eds.], *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* [Oxford 2012] 149) has suggested that Mimaüt purchased this papyrus from Anastasy in 1837, but he seems to have inferred this from its habitual inclusion among the Theban Library rather than from any positive evidence. He makes the same claim for *PGM* VII, in which case he is certainly wrong (see below). This is further implied by the date that he gives: the only known sale by Anastasy around this time was to the British Museum in 1839, and 1837 is in fact the date of Mimaüt's own sale following his death.

<sup>43</sup> C. Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* (Vienna 1888) 12.

<sup>44</sup> Preisendanz (n. 15) 94.

<sup>44a</sup> This papyrus has recently been identified as a fragment from the same roll as *PGM* II. See the addendum to this article for further details.

<sup>45</sup> See the notes in the relevant catalogue (AES Ar.246). Preisendanz noted that the Memphite origin was also written on the containing sleeve of the papyrus (*PGM* 1, pp. 198-199), and I was able to confirm this in a visit to the British Library on 8/8/2013.

<sup>46</sup> F Legge, "The Names of Demons in the Magical Papyri," *PSBA* 23 (1901) 41-42.

gives no reason, while the latter relies on Legge and her own analysis of the contents.<sup>47</sup>

*PGM VII, PGM VIII, and PGM XIa*

= *P.Lond.* 1.121 (*PGM VII*), *P.Lond.* 1.122 (*PGM VIII*), *P.Lond.* 1.125 verso (*PGM XIa*)

= Trismegistos numbers: 60204 (*PGM VII*), 59324 (*PGM VIII*), 33213 + 64578 (*PGM XIa*)

*PGM VII*, a large Greek roll of the third or fourth-century CE is one of the papyri most often associated with the Library, but despite some intriguing connections, this seems unlikely. Alongside the matter of its length, virtually unparalleled outside the Theban Library, it shares with this archive a pronounced interest in divination. However, the papyrus was purchased, along with five other papyri, by Wallis Budge for the British Museum from Messrs Bywater, Tanqueray & Co., a London firm acting on behalf of “a native.”<sup>48</sup> While there is no information in the purchase records of this papyrus which might suggest its provenance, two other Greek magical papyri were included in this sale, *PGM VIII* and *PGM XIa*. Since all three papyri were purchased together, it would seem reasonable to hypothesise that, like the Theban Library, these papyri might form a single archive, and *PGM VII*’s interest in revelation is paralleled in the two shorter texts.<sup>49</sup> Particularly interesting is the fact that *PGM XIa* is

<sup>47</sup> P. Gorissen, “Ontwikkelingsgang der studies over de Grieksche magische papyri uit Egypte,” *Philologische studiën* 6 (1934-1935) 191; Zago (n. 37) 68.

<sup>48</sup> British Library Manuscripts Department, *Minutes: Purchases 1879-1888*, pp. 279-294. *PGM VII* is described as “A roll, 8 feet long, containing Astrological and horological matters, perhaps of the 2nd century.” The other texts were a Book of the Dead on papyrus and leather (probably P.BM EA 10471 + 10473, the papyrus of Nakht, although P.BM EA 10472 & 10477 were acquired by Budge in the same year), and a hieratic text originally described as a “religious work” (probably P.BM EA 10474, containing the *Instruction of Amenemopet*, a calendar of lucky and unlucky days, an onomasticon, and a hymn to the moon-god). A Theban origin was noted for the leather manuscript in the minutes, and has since been suggested for the other two texts. On the *Book of the Dead* of Nakht see S.R.K. Glanville, “Note on the Nature and Date of the ‘Papyri’ of Nakht, B.M. 10471 and 10473,” *JEA* 13 (1927) 50-56; for P.BM EA 10474 see the overview in François-René Herbin, “Hymne à la lune croissante,” *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 239.

<sup>49</sup> Of particular interest here is the presence of a dream oracle calling upon the god Bes in both *PGM VII* (ll. 222-249) and *PGM VIII* (ll. 64-110). The texts do not show clear dependence on one another, however, and their presence must be understood as an instance of the interest in collecting for comparison multiple recensions of ritual texts paralleled in other magical material. A third recension of the text is found in *PGM CII* from Oxyrhynchus.



written on the back of an account for a large estate, centred in Hermonthis.<sup>50</sup> This is quite close to Thebes, where it seems the Pharaonic texts purchased alongside the Greek papyri originated,<sup>51</sup> but the lack of a direct connection – of hand, form, or content – to the Theban Library, and the fact that they were sold over 40 years after the last of the Library texts was acquired by Anastasy lead me to believe that the “Hermonthis Magical Archive” should be kept separate from the Theban Library – as I have said, there is no reason to think that there was only one magical specialist in the Thebaid who was the owner of every text we find from that region,<sup>52</sup> and while the general similarities of form and content are notable, it would be necessary to first demonstrate that this similarity is not simply due to the fact that both archives originate from roughly the same historical context. A fourth, non-magical, text from this archive may be P.Lips. inv. 39 + P.Bonn inv.147, a roll on which copies of Psalms from the Septuagint are written on the back of accounts originating from the same estate as that of PGM XIa.

The possibility that PGM VII might belong to the Theban Library seems to have been first raised by Preisendanz,<sup>53</sup> but his suggestion was tentative, and he noted that the provenance was in fact unknown. The inclusion of PGM VIII and PGM XIa in the Library has been suggested only by Zago, who made her inference on the basis of their relationship to PGM VII.<sup>54</sup> While she was perhaps right to note a relationship among these three texts, the overall conclusion seems unfounded.<sup>55</sup>

PGM XXXVI

= P.Oslo 1.1

= Trismegistos number: 64479

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<sup>50</sup> The probably Theban origin of this text was perhaps first noted by A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo 1952) 317.

<sup>51</sup> See n. 48 above.

<sup>52</sup> It is occasionally suggested that PGM VII comes from the Fayum, but this is based upon a misreading of M. de Haro Sanchez, “Les papyrus iatromagiques grecs et la région thébaine,” in A. Delattre and P. Heilporn (eds.), *«Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages ... » Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine: Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 Et 3 décembre 2005* (Brussels 2008) 102: “Or, ce papyrus provient du Fayum.” In fact, as she has confirmed in a personal communication (July 27, 2013), she is talking here about PGM XXXVI.

<sup>53</sup> Preisendanz (n. 15) 91-95.

<sup>54</sup> Zago (n. 37) 61-75.

<sup>55</sup> Other authors who have noted a relationship between these texts include R. Bagnall (*Egypt in Late Antiquity* [Princeton 1993] 126, n. 79) and J. Gee (“Abracadabra, Isaac and Jacob”, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 7 [1995] 45, n. 135).

PGM XXXVI was acquired for the University of Oslo by Samson Eitrem in 1920, along with PGM XXXVII and XXXVIII, and it may form a small archive with the latter text (a “Fayum Magical Archive”).<sup>56</sup> All of the papyri are dated palaeographically to the fourth-century CE, and seem to originate from ancient Theadelphia in the Fayum. Again, Zago is the only author to have suggested that it might belong to the Theban Library,<sup>57</sup> based on Preisendanz’s comment on its general similarity to the Theban texts, and her own analysis of its contents.<sup>58</sup> Since a provenance in the Fayum is most likely for this text, its exclusion from the Library seems certain.

<sup>56</sup> Gee (n. 55) 37, n. 76. Gee would include in the archive both PGM XXXVII and XXXIX, the latter purchased by H.I. Bell in 1923, but this seems unwarranted. I would limit the archive to PGM XXXVI and XXXVIII, since PGM XXXVII is quite different from the other two, displaying a greater regularity in letter-height and width, containing a Greek translation of the Egyptian text known as the *Book of the Temple*, rather than magical content *per se*. On the purchase, see S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses I: Magical Papyri* (Oslo 1925) 31, as well as the online acquisition history of the Oslo Papyrus Collection (<http://ub-fmserver.uio.no/Acquisition.html>; last accessed 08/11/2013), and Bell’s *First Report on Papyri Sent by Nahman July 1923*, held at the University of Oslo.

<sup>57</sup> Zago (n. 37) 58, 74. I would suggest that the similarities she notes (chapters 3-4) between PGM XXXVI and the Theban Library manuscripts are better understood as characteristics of the genre of Greco-Egyptian “magical” texts rather than indication of a shared provenance; to take two of her specific examples, the *nomen barbarum* “baphrenemoun” (209-211) is certainly not limited to the (by her definition) Theban Library texts; in addition to the external occurrences she notes in PGM XIXa and LIX, we find it in numerous inscribed gems, and at least a further four texts from outside the PGM (R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols. [Opladen 1989-1991], nos. 48 A, 49.1 + 3, 65, 74). Similarly, the divine name Ἀμϑϑν, discussed as suggestive of a Theban theology (205-208), is also present in PGM XIXa and XXI, the latter probably from the Fayum, and its appearance in several literary texts (e.g. Herodotus 2.42, Iamblichus, *Myst.* 8.3, Origen, *C. Cels.* 5.41, 45-46) should warn against considering it a sign of specifically Theban theology in any case; local forms of deities, such as Opet or Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep (both present in PDM xiv, at ll. 167-168, 239) are probably far more diagnostic. Given the number of texts assigned to the Library in her model – containing the vast bulk of the Greek and all of the significant published Demotic material – simple probability tells us that this mass of text would contain several features not present, or less attested, in the other, shorter, manuscripts, and the significance of any one of these must be established with great care.

<sup>58</sup> Preisendanz (n. 15) 94: “Im Fayumgebiet aber ist allen Anzeichen nach die letzte große Erwerbung auf diesem Gebiet niederer Literatur entstanden: die von S. Eitrem 1920 in Agypten gekaufte Rolle I der Universitätsbibliothek Oslo.”

*PDM/PGM LXI*

= P.BM EA 10588

= Trismegistos number: 55956

The similarity of this bilingual Greek-Demotic roll to the Theban material was noted by its original editors, Bell, Nock, and Thompson, who thought that “[f]rom internal evidence it is not improbable that it belongs to the well-known group of Anastasi MSS”, that is, *PDM/PGM XII, XIV, and PDM Suppl.*<sup>59</sup> In this, they were really noting only that the text was similar to what were at the time the only known Demotic magical texts on papyrus. In fact, there are noticeable differences in the hand of this papyrus, as well as its format. Unfortunately there is no acquisition information available for this text; it is first recorded in the British Museum’s *Register of Unnumbered Objects from the Old Collections*, compiled in 1927.<sup>60</sup> The items listed in this catalogue are mainly from the nineteenth century, but sale information is only available for certain items. Again, there is no positive information linking this papyrus to the Theban Library, and we know that it did not derive from any of Anastasy’s sales, so, barring the possibility of an un-recorded gift from Anastasy to the Museum, it seems most reasonable to consider it as a unique text.

P.Leid. I 396

= Anastasy 67 (1828); P.Leid.Gr. 2 no. U; *UPZ* 1.81

= Trismegistos number: 65612

This papyrus, containing the Greco-Egyptian literary text *The Dream of Nectanebo*, dates from the mid-second century BCE, and was written by Apollonios, one of the residents of the Memphite Serapeum. It is thus highly unlikely to belong to the Theban Library, but the possibility was suggested by Reuvens, noting both its closeness in catalogue number to the Theban Texts from the 1828 sale, and its content - a story of a dream revelation similar to those described in the magical papyri.

P.Leid. I 398

= Anastasy 74a (1828); *P.Leid.Gr.* 2 no. Y; *UPZ* 1.147

= Trismegistos number: 90838 (original text) + 65586 (palimpsest)

Another text from the 1828 Anastasy sale, like the previous papyrus, this one is written in the hand of Apollonios, consisting of a Greek scribal exercise written over a Demotic palimpsest. Its attribution to the Theban Library was made by Pieter Gorissen in his discussion of the Library, in which he incor-

<sup>59</sup> H.I. Bell, A.D. Nock, and H. Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (Oxford 1931) 5.

<sup>60</sup> Acquisition Register Volume 13, AES Ar.580, p. 67.

rectly listed it as *PGM* XLI,<sup>61</sup> whose correct sigla is in fact P.Rain. 4 (= Vienna G. 339), a fragmentary amulet of the fifth or sixth-century, of unknown provenance.

On balance, it seems certain that the Theban Library represents a real archive – the relationships between its papyri seem too certain to easily dismiss, even if the precise nature of these relationships calls for further research into its development over time and the possibility of identifiable sub-groups. The clearest criteria – ownership by Anastasy and attribution to Thebes – are not ideal, though they are the strongest criteria available to us. This fuzziness around the edges of the archive leaves room that other material might belong to it – both magical material which cannot be securely linked, and non-magical material, whose relationship to the magical/alchemical texts would require careful work to prove, but which would nonetheless provide fascinating information to enrich our knowledge of their context. My aim here has been to provide as straightforwardly as possible all the pertinent information about the origins of the Theban Library, and to clear away some of the second-hand assumptions which have accumulated over nearly two hundred years of scholarship. Previous authors have often referred to Anastasy as a mysterious adventurer, when in fact he was one of the most prominent and well-known figures of nineteenth century Alexandria; others have imagined papyrus dealers who bundled the Theban Library as a collection in order to sell it for a higher price, when it was a scholar who first identified it as an archive after it had already been sold; many have repeated earlier claims without discussing them in detail. I hope that this brief study will provide a firmer foundation upon which future work can be built.

Table 1 (over) summarises the opinions of seventeen authors who have discussed the Library; to these could be added others, but these represent the main models, with other important authors – including Tait,<sup>62</sup> Dieleman,<sup>63</sup> and de Haro Sanchez<sup>64</sup> – generally relying on earlier research.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Gorissen (n. 47) 191.

<sup>62</sup> Tait (n. 11), 169-82.

<sup>63</sup> Dieleman (n. 15) 14-15.

<sup>64</sup> M. de Haro Sanchez (n. 52).

<sup>65</sup> The references are to Reuvs (n. 2) 145-148, third letter; Lenormant (n. 9) 84; Wessely (n. 43) 12; Legge (n. 46) 41-42; Preidendanz (n. 15) 91-95; Gorissen (n. 47) 191; Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Princeton 1993) 169-171; Gee (n. 55) 38-41; Brashear (n. 18) 3402-3404; Dieleman (n. 28) 14-15; Bagnall (n. 15) 82-86; Zago (n. 37) 61-75; and Gordon (n. 42) 148-151.

Table 1: Contents of the Theban Magical Library according to modern authors

	Reuvs (1830)	Lenormant (1857)	Wessely (1888)	Legge (1901)	Preisendanz (1933)	Gorissen (1934-5)	Fowden (1993)	Gee (1995)	Brashear (1995)	Dieleman (2005)	Bagnall (2009)	Zago (2010)	Gordon (2012)	Dosoo (2016)
P.Leid I 398					Y	Y	Y							
P.Leid I 397	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y?	Y
P.Leid I 396	Y	Y?												
<i>PDM Suppl.</i>							Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>PGM LXI</i>				?			Y	?	?	Y	?	Y		
<i>PDM/PGM XXXVI</i>				M								?		
<i>PDM/PGM XIV</i>	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>PGM XIII</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>PDM/PGM XII</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>PGM XIa</i>												?		
<i>PGM VIII</i>												?		
<i>PGM VII</i>				?				?	?	Y	Y	?		
<i>PGM VI</i>			Y		Y						?		*	
<i>PGM Va + P.Holm.</i>				Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>PGM V</i>		Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>PGM IV</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>PGM III</i>		Y		?		?		?	?	Y	?	?		
<i>PGM II</i>	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
<i>PGM I</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y

## Legend

- Y Accepted as probably belonging to the Theban Library.  
 Y? Opinion of the writer on whether the papyrus belongs to the Theban Library unclear from their discussion, but can be inferred from their criteria.  
 ? Noted as possibly belonging to the Theban Library, with uncertainty expressed.  
 M Mentioned in the discussion, but not suggested to belong to the Theban Library.  
 \* See addendum

*Appendix: A Note on Gnostic Cheese*

The question of the depth of François Lenormant's knowledge of the papyri he described in his catalogue has already been raised,<sup>66</sup> and a further instructive instance of a possible error in his interpretation of the Theban Library texts can be found in his description of the beginning of *PGM* IV, specifically an Old Coptic invocation to Osiris contained in ll. 11-25:

En tête sont trois pages de copte, qui débutent par l'histoire d'un fromage mystique, pour la composition duquel s'associent Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jésus et tous les autres éons. Ce fromage n'est autre que la gnose.<sup>67</sup>

Lenormant's "mystic cheese" ("fromage mystique"), more often cited as "gnostic cheese" ("fromage gnostique"),<sup>68</sup> has become proverbial as an example of the dismissive attitude of scholars of the mid-nineteenth century towards magical material, cited by Preisendanz<sup>69</sup> and Brashear,<sup>70</sup> amongst others. Examples of such an attitude towards the magical papyri are not difficult to find, even among the later authors who made careers out of their study: Dieterich

<sup>66</sup> For example, his description of the papyri as discovered by Anastasy himself, and his characterisation of *PDM* lxi as a "funerary text," discussed above.

<sup>67</sup> "At the beginning are three pages of Coptic, which begin with the story of a mystical cheese, for whose creation Osiris, Sabaoth, Iao, Jesus, and all the other aeons come together. This cheese is no other than gnosis." Lenormant (n. 9) 87.

<sup>68</sup> I thank Edward Love for having pointed out to me what seems to be the earliest instance of this alternative form, in E. Miller, "Origine des hymnes orphiques publiés en 1868 dans les *Mélanges de littérature grecque*," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 15 (1871) 356.

<sup>69</sup> *PGM* 2, pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>70</sup> Brashear (n. 18) 3410, n. 119.

called PGM IV an “abschreckenden Schutthaufen,”<sup>71</sup> while Eitrem referred to them as “relics of degenerate religions and of the human mind gone astray.”<sup>72</sup> However, “fromage” in French refers only to the food made from cultured milk curd, and lacks the derogatory sense of “nonsense” which is present in the German “Käse,” and, to a lesser extent, in the English “cheese.” In fact, it seems that Lenormant believed that he really had discovered a story in which Osiris, Jesus, and the other aeons create a Gnostic cheese.

To explain why, it is necessary to present part of the text that he was referring to, PGM IV 11-17:

- 11 ΕΟΥΩΤΓ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ· ΠΕΡΟ ΝΤΗ ΠΝΗΒ ΝΤΚΑΗΣΕ  
 ΠΕΤΝΠΡΗΣ ΝΤΙΝ ΕΤΙΛΙΟΥΩ ΝΕΒΩΤ ΠΕΤΖΑ  
 ΖΦΑ ΠΝΟΥΒΣ· ΝΜΕΡΟΥΕ· ΕΤΕ ΠΕΤΕΟΟΥ ΝΠΑ-  
 ΒΑΛΩΜ ΕΥΩΤΓ ΑΛΘΑΒΩΤ· ΕΝΙ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ ΝΑΪ  
 15 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΩΤΓ ΑΛΘΩΝΑΙ ΗΟΥ Ο ΑΠΑΖΤΕ  
 ΕΝΙ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΝΑΪ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΙΒΑΪ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
 ΕΤΟΙ ΝΤΕΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ

“Hail, Osiris, the king of the Duat, the lord of embalming, he who is to the south of Thinis, who gives answer at Abydos, he who is beneath ... the noubs-tree in Meroe, whose glory is in Pashalom. Hail Althabot, bring Sabaoth unto me. Hail, Althonai, great Eou, very strong, bring Michael unto me, the mighty angel who is with the god.”<sup>73</sup>

The crucial part here is the beginning of l.14, βαλωμ, part of the place-name transliterated here as “Pashalom.” The first letter, while resembling the *kjima* (ϭ) of standard Sahidic, is in fact an Old Coptic letter which Kasser refers to as the “6-spiraled grapheme,” having the value /ʃ/ later assigned to the standard Sahidic *shai* (ϣ).<sup>74</sup> But since this is a non-standard letter, it would have been quite reasonable for Lenormant to be uncertain of its value, and assign it

<sup>71</sup> “... terrifying rubbish heap.” Dieterich, *Abraxas: Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums* (Leipzig 1891) 29.

<sup>72</sup> Eitrem (n. 56) 3.

<sup>73</sup> A new edition of this text will be published in in E.O.D. Love, *Code-Switching with the Gods: The Bilingual (Old Coptic-Greek) Spells of PGM IV* (P. Bibliothèque Nationale Supplément Grec. 574) and *Their Linguistic, Religious, and Socio-Cultural Context in Late Roman Egypt* (Berlin forthcoming).

<sup>74</sup> R. Kasser, “Alphabets, Old Coptic,” in A.S. Atiya, *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (New York 1991) 41-45.



instead the sound /h/, associated with the similar “9-spiraled grapheme,” (9),<sup>75</sup> and later with the standard Sahidic *hori* (ⲭ). If he did so, he would have ended up with a word identical in sound to Sahidic ⲭⲁⲗⲱⲙ, “cheese”. It is harder to understand how he might have parsed the rest of the passage. Presumably he took the preceding two letters (ⲛⲁ) as a non-standard definite article, and perhaps the preceding *nu* as the object marker.

Whatever his provisional translation of the text, the fact that he was able to so confidently assert in the catalogue a story in which gnosis took the form of a mystic cheese should warn us that here, and thus perhaps elsewhere, he was not averse to providing descriptions based upon imperfect information. It is, perhaps, a salutary lesson, both in the dangers of premature conclusions about, and the inadvertent creativity that can be inspired by, the rich magical texts of Roman Egypt.

### *Addendum*

During a meeting in Montserrat on August 8, 2016, concerning the re-edition of magical formularies from Egypt, undertaken as part of the University of Chicago project *The Transmission of Magical Knowledge in Antiquity* ([http://neubauercollegium.uchicago.edu/faculty/magical\\_knowledge/](http://neubauercollegium.uchicago.edu/faculty/magical_knowledge/)), an important discovery was made by Eleni Chronopoulou of Pompeu Fabra University, namely that *PGM* II and VI were both fragments of an original, larger roll, with the first column of *PGM* II following immediately after the single column of *PGM* VI. A full report on this discovery is forthcoming.

This has important implications for the Theban Library. First, it demonstrates a link between Anastasy’s second and third sales, with two fragments of a single papyrus sold in each. At the same time it serves as a more general confirmation of the existence of relationships between the magical

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<sup>75</sup> The 6-spiraled grapheme appears in *PDM* xiv at the top of verso col. 20, which was within the Leiden part of the document published by C. Leemans (*Monuments égyptiens du Musée d’Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* [Leiden 1843] vol. 1, 1-80). The column is published as no. xxi on plate xiv of C. Leemans, *Papyrus égyptien démotique à transcriptions grecques du Musée d’Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (*Description raisonnée* I. 383) (Leiden 1839), although since it is not a gloss, it is not included in the tables at the end of the volume. The 9-spiraled grapheme appears once in *PDM* xiv, but in the London half (col. 2, l. 4); Lenormant may have seen it here while examining the manuscript, or else simply inferred its value from its loose resemblance to the Demotic *h*, which appears in several of the Greek/Old Coptic glosses in *PDM* xiv as ⲭ, twice at col. 25 (= Leemans col. 18), l. 34; these glosses are transcribed in table 3 (nos. 233 and 234) of Leemans’ *Papyrus égyptien démotique*.

texts collected by Anastasy, since *PGM* II and VI were hitherto linked only by this shared ownership. This discovery also complicates our understanding of Anastasy's knowledge of his papyri's provenance, since the catalogue for the sale (AES Ar.246) clearly indicates Memphis as the origin of *PGM* VI. While it is possible that the two parts were purchased, perhaps from the same dealer, in different parts of Egypt, it seems to me unlikely that texts originating in the same context and sold to the same buyer would be acquired in different areas. I think it more probable that both papyri were purchased around the same time and place, and that Anastasy or his agents were misinformed, or made an error in recording or reporting the papyrus' provenance. Nonetheless this discovery must serve as a further caution against assuming a Theban origin for the Library as a whole based on alleged find-site alone.

My re-examination of *PGM* VI's sale information has uncovered a further problem: in the folder containing the papyrus in the British Library its catalogue number is given as 5, but in the catalogue in the British Museum (AES Ar.246) the dimensions of no. 5 are given as 6.5 x 2.25 inches, which is too small to refer to the entirety of *PGM* VI. In P.Lond. 1, p.81, Kenyon gives the dimensions of *PGM* VI as 13.5 x 6.5 inches, but also mentions a smaller part, apparently the blank margin, 2.25 inches wide; my own measurements give this part a width of 6.7 inches. This fragmentary left-hand margin is therefore almost certainly no. 5, while the dimensions Kenyon gives for the main part agree closely with those of no. 3 in the sale catalogue (13.33 x 6.5 inches). *PGM* VI would seem, therefore, to have been sold in two parts, identified in the catalogue as nos. 3 and 5. This solution creates yet another mystery, however: why would the apparently blank margin (no. 5) be sold, and described in the catalogue as a "[f]ragment de Ma[nu]scr[it] grec"? *PGM* VI is mounted on paper in such a way that the text of the reverse, apparently belonging to the larger fragment (no. 3), is only visible in a small window, but it may be that the smaller margin also contains some text on its hidden back.

## Some Remarks on *O.Frangé* 751

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Anastasia Maravela *University of Oslo*

### Abstract

This article suggests restorations for *O.Frangé* 751.1 and 15-16, discusses the relationship of the text to other papyrological testimonies of *Menandri Sententiae* from Egypt, especially *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615, and concludes with some thoughts on the educational character of the text and its possible oral origins.

*O.Frangé* 751 has been reconstructed (dimensions: 29 x 19 cm) from six smaller pieces from a ribbed ceramic jar.<sup>1</sup> The pieces were unearthed in the course of the Belgian excavations in TT29 (Amenemope) and date to the period of its Christian occupation (late sixth to mid-eighth century).<sup>2</sup> The most famous and productive occupant of this tomb was the hermit Frange (first half of the eighth century), who engaged among other things in scribal and bookbinding activities. On the convex side someone whose writing skill and mastery of Greek were still under development penned 16 lines. They are delimited by a vertical dividing line, now partly visible to the right of ll. 4-6 and 10-13, not far from the edge. Ink traces to the right of the dividing line, in particular the remains of a letter that may be a  $\tau$  at the same height as l. 6, suggest that the text continued to the right of the dividing line in a second column.

As recognised by the editors, the text is an idiosyncratic gnomological collection arranged in alphabetical order. The five gnomic sentences identified in the edition begin with the letters  $\alpha$  to  $\varepsilon$  (ll. 1-14). The  $\alpha$ -,  $\beta$ - and  $\delta$ -maxims belong to the gnomological corpus *Menandri Sententiae* (henceforth *MS*):<sup>3</sup> *O.Frangé* 751.1-3 = *MS* \*889, *O.Frangé* 751.4-5 = *MS* 115, and *O.Frangé* 751.9-11 = *MS* \*902.<sup>4</sup> Unusually the  $\gamma$ -maxim (*O.Frangé* 751.6-8) is excerpted from

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to A. Boud'hors for supplying digital images of the ostrakon, as well as to the anonymous referees and the editors of *BASP* for useful suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> TM 220289. *Ed. pr.* A. Boud'hors and C. Heurtel, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29. Autour du moine Frangé* (Brussels 2010) 396.

<sup>3</sup> References to *MS* follow the edition of C. Pernigotti, *Menandri Sententiae* (Florence 2008).

<sup>4</sup> All passages have been identified by A. Delattre.

the Gospel of Matthew, while the ε-maxim (*O.Frangé* 751.12-14) is a version of the Trinitarian formula. It is still unclear what precedes the α-maxim restored in ll. 1-2.<sup>5</sup> The content of ll. 15-16, presumably occupied by a ζ-maxim, has also not been unravelled. In this article I offer some suggestions as to how ll. 1 and 15-16 could be restored and some thoughts on the connection of *O.Frangé* 751 with other papyrological witnesses of *MS*, in particular *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615 recovered from the neighbouring hermitage of Apa Epiphanius.

I propose to restore the first part of the segment of text that precedes the first maxim in l. 1 as [ἀ]ρχὴ κο[φί]α[α]. The right edge of the round part of ρ appears just after the break. The middle part of χ is broken off but the ends of its strokes, especially of the stroke running from left (top) to right (bottom), are clearly visible. What remains of the third letter is also compatible with an η which fits better than ν after the consonant sequence ρχ. A gap between the first and second syllable of κοφί[αα] may indicate that the scribe was thinking of the word in terms of syllables.<sup>6</sup> The three letters before the break to the right may be transcribed as φοβ[, so that the whole sequence preserved in l. 1 reads [ἀ]ρχὴ κο[φί]α[α] φοβ[. In light of Proverbs 1:7 ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος θεοῦ and Proverbs 9:10 ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου, possible restorations of the last part of the phrase include φόβ[ος θεοῦ and φόβ[ος κυρίου].<sup>7</sup>

*O.Mon.Epiph.* 615 (sixth-seventh century), a limestone ostrakon from cell B of the nearby hermitage of Epiphanius that bears a complete alphabetic gnomology,<sup>8</sup> has ] . φόβος θεοῦ in l. 1.<sup>9</sup> Taking their cue from the bilingual codex with *MS* in Greek and their Coptic equivalents, split between the Vatican Museum library and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,<sup>10</sup> which

<sup>5</sup> The editors hypothesized that this may be a title.

<sup>6</sup> Also in l. 12 the phrase ἐν ὀνόματι shows a kind of syllabic articulation as it has been written as ενο[νομα]τι.

<sup>7</sup> φοβ[εῖσθαι τὸν θεόν/(κύριον), suggested by Ecclesiasticus 1:14 ἀρχὴ σοφίας φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον (variant: θεόν), would be too long considering that the available space after the break amounts to a maximum of 8 letters.

<sup>8</sup> TM 61312. S. Jaekel, *Menandri Sententiae. Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis* (Leipzig 1964) 16-18, no. XIII; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 252, no. 319, and recently A. Delattre, "*O.Mon.Epiph.* 615.24-25," *BASP* 49 (2012) 301-302. A digital image is accessible on the Metropolitan Museum of Art website; see <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/474900?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=menander&pos=3>.

<sup>9</sup> *MS* \*1034. Compare also *MS* \*1130 (a postulated Greek version reconstructed on the basis of the Arabic translation; see R. Führer, *Zur arabischen Übersetzung der Menandersentenzen* [Stuttgart 1993] 14) and Mon 63 Jaekel.

<sup>10</sup> P.Vat.gr. 17 + KHM Wien inv. 8594 a-i + 8587 a-d (sixth/seventh century); TM 61310. *Ed. pr.* D. Hagedorn and M. Weber, "Die griechisch-koptische Rezension der

begins with a maxim imported from Old Testament wisdom literature, *P.Copt.* 1 [ἀπὸ γυ]ναικὸς ἀρχὴ {c} ἁμαρτίας = Ecclesiasticus 25:24, Hagedorn and Weber suggested that the fragmentary maxim in *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615.1 is a citation of Proverbs 1:7. The restoration was later proposed independently by Führer on grounds of space.<sup>11</sup> The presence of a version of *MS* starting with Proverbs 1:7 in a nearby hermitage, the residents of which were in contact with those of TT29 and may have had access to the same sources to draw upon for their compilations of *MS*, indicates that the most likely of the possible alternative versions of *O.Frangé* 751.1 is [ἀ]ρχὴ co[ ]φί[ ]αc φόβ[ ]οc θεοῦ.<sup>12</sup> Apparently some Christian versions of *MS* were prefaced by a biblical maxim about beginnings in a sort of osmosis between the Greek tradition of this gnomological corpus and Jewish-Christian wisdom literature. The Old Testament citation-opening maxim appears to have foregrounded the ideological agenda or the *Sitz im Leben* of the compilation: misogyny in the Vatican-Vienna bilingual gnomologium, wisdom (imparted through education?) and piety in *P.Bour.* 1 (fourth century),<sup>13</sup> *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615, and *O.Frangé* 751.

The other unresolved passage on this ostrakon, ll. 15-16, can also be restored as a version of *MS* 269. I propose to transcribe and supplement *O.Frangé* 751.15-16 as ζ[ή]της (l. ζήεις) βίον ἄρ[ ]ιcτoν ἄ[ ]ν θυ[ ]μο[ ]ν κρατῆς.<sup>14</sup> The

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Menandersentenzen," *ZPE* 3 (1968) 15-50. The Greek part only has been edited in Jaekel (n. 8) 18-20, no. XIV. I follow Pernigotti (n. 3) 44 in designating this manuscript as *P.Copt.*

<sup>11</sup> Hagedorn and Weber (n. 10) 26, commentary on ll. 1-3. See Führer (n. 9) 14, n. 100 and V. Liapis, *Menandrou Gnōmai Monostichoi* (Athens 2002) 268-269, commentary on Mon 63 Jaekel.

<sup>12</sup> Proverbs 1:7 (and similar Old Testament passages) have thus made their way into the earliest Arabic translation of *MS*, see Führer (n. 9) 14 as well as in a curious manuscript that contains Greek text in Armenian characters, BnF Arm 332 B 25 (fifth-sixth century; TM 66069); see J. Clackson, "A Greek Papyrus in Armenian Script," *ZPE* 129 (2000) 223-258. It also prefates the gnomologium Par. Gr. 2571 (fifteenth century).

<sup>13</sup> TM 61595. *Ed. pr.* P. Jouguet and P.F. Perdrizet, "Les papyrus Bouriant no 1. Un cahier décolier grec d'Égypte," *SPP* 6 (1906) 148-161.

<sup>14</sup> In preserving ἄρ[ ]ιcτoν the ostrakon is in agreement with a branch of the medieval transmission of the maxim (including the important codices Laur. 60,14 [F] and Athen. Bibl.Nat. 1070 [K]) that presents this adjectival modifier, while it diverges from the other papyrological sources (*P.Bour.* 1 and T.Würz. K 1200) that have the modifier κράτις. The latter occurs in the branch of the medieval transmission represented by among others the *Corpus Parisinum* (Par.gr. 1168 [P]) and Vat.Urb.gr. 95 (U). If the ostrakon was copied from a model, the wording derives from it, and witnesses to an early division of the transmission of the maxim. If, on the other hand, the text was improvised (an idea that will be entertained later in this article), ἄρ[ ]ιcτoν may have leapt to the scribe's mind because it is the simplest formulation. ἄ[ ]ν is supplied tentatively;

syllables of θυμοῦ in l. 16 are separated by a small gap, possibly representing syllabic division (as in ll. 1 and 12). A line division error is assumed as the space before the ν in l. 16 is insufficient to accomodate an α.<sup>15</sup>

The proposed restorations, if tenable, shed further light on the relation of *O.Frangé* 751 to other papyrological witnesses of *MS*. To introduce this discussion a revised text is offered below:

- [ἀ]ρχὴ κοφί[α]ς φόβ[ο]ς θεοῦ ἀρ-  
 χὴ μεγίστη το[ῦ] φρονεῖν  
 τὰ γαμματα  
 βίος βίου δευόμενος οὐ-  
 5 κ ἔστιν βίος·  
 γρηγορεῖτε ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε  
 τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδ[ὲ] τὴν  
 ὥραν  
 δένδρων παλαι[ὸν]  
 10 μεταφυτεύων δύς-  
 κορον  
 ἐν ὀνόματι πατρ[ὸ]ς  
 καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πν-  
 {ν}εύματος  
 15 ζ[ὴ]ς βίον ἄρ[ι]στον ἄ-  
 ν θυμο[ῦ] κρατῆς]

1 [ . ] . ν κοφί α φ . [ . . . αρ] *ed.pr.*; κο φι[α]ς pap. 2 η (in μεγίστη) corrected (from α?) 3 l. γράμματα 4 l. δεόμενος 9 l. δένδρον 10 l. μεταφυτεύειν 10-11 l. δύς|κολον 12 ενο νομα τι pap. 15 l. ζήσεις; . . ης . . . α[ *ed.pr* 16 . . μο[ *ed.pr.*; θυ μο[ῦ] pap.

The chart of the textual overlaps between *O.Frangé* 751 and other *MS* collections from Egypt looks as follows:

*P.Bour.* 1 has ἦν. The scanty remains of the Greek version in *P.Copt.* suggest that the conditional clause had εἰ + indicative ([ζήσεις βίον κράτιστον εἰ θυμοῦ κρατῆς]), a version that also passed on to the branch of the medieval transmission represented by the *Corpus Parisinum* and Vat.Urb.gr. 95. On the tradition of the idea in the broader possible sense see M. Tziatzi-Papagianni, *Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen. Einleitung, Text, Testimonien und Kommentar* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1994) 181-182.

<sup>15</sup> The scribe also garbles line division in ll. 4-5 (οὐκ ἔστιν) and 13-14 (πν|{ν}εύματος).





- *O.Frangé* 751.1 (=MS \*1034) is probably also present in *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615.1
- *O.Frangé* 751.1-3 (=MS \*889) is also attested in *P.Bour.* 1.169-170, T.Würz. K 1023 (fourth/fifth century),<sup>16</sup> T.Louvre AF 1195 side A (fifth century),<sup>17</sup> T.Mich. inv. 29974 inner text (fifth/sixth century),<sup>18</sup> and *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615.1-2.<sup>19</sup>
- *O.Frangé* 751.4-5 (=MS 115) is also attested in *P.Bour.* 1.171-172, *P.Copt.* 31-32, and *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615.4-5.
- *O.Frangé* 751.9-11 (=MS \*902) is also attested in *P.Bour.* 1.178-180, *P.Copt.* 85, and *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615.11.
- *O.Frangé* 751.15-16 (=MS 269) is also attested in *P.Bour.* 1.183-184, *P.Copt.* 144-146 (only in Coptic), and T.Würz. K 1020 (fourth/fifth century).<sup>20</sup>

The overlap with *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615 is significant including the opening Old Testament citation (Proverbs 1:7) and three shared maxims (those beginning with α, β, and δ). However, if the restoration of *O.Frangé* 751.15-16 is admissible, the absence of this ζ-maxim from the collection *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615<sup>21</sup> entails that there can be no question of a direct connection (e.g. teacher's model – student's copy) between the two,<sup>22</sup> despite the proximity of their findspots and the close interaction of the hermits of TT103 (and the attached cells) with the hermits inhabiting TT29. The clearest and most extensive overlap of *O.Frangé*

<sup>16</sup> TM 64636. *Ed. pr.* W.M. Brashear, "Holz- und Wachstafeln der Sammlung Kiseleff. 2. Teil," *Enchoria* 14 (1986) 11-12.

<sup>17</sup> TM 6062. *Ed. pr.* P. Cauderlier, "Cinq tablettes en bois au Musée du Louvre," *RA*, 6e série (1983) 276-279, App.

<sup>18</sup> TM 64891. *Ed. pr.* P. van Minnen, "A Schooltablet in the University of Michigan Collection," *ZPE* 93 (1992) 211.

<sup>19</sup> A slightly different version, ἀρχὴ μεγίστη | τοῦ βίου τὰ γράμματα, is preserved in P.Berol. 14000 G1 (fourth/fifth century; TM 64557), while BnF Arm 332 B 24 offers a confused version: ἀρχὴ τοῦ βίου τὸ φρονεῖν τὰ γράμματα. *P.Copt.* 22-23 has ἀρχὴ καλ[ῆ] | τῶν ἐν βίῳ τὰ γράμματα (=MS \*888), probably transmitted also by P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1241 v<sup>o</sup> 8 (third century; TM 64132 = *Pap.Flor.* 19.1.181-188, in particular p. 187, commentary on l. 8).

<sup>20</sup> TM 64635. *Ed. pr.* Brashear (n. 16) 8-9.

<sup>21</sup> This collection contains only one maxim in ζ (MS 277) in ll. 15-16.

<sup>22</sup> R. Criatore (n. 4) 124 considers *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615 as "probably a teacher's hand" and includes the piece in the list of teachers' models, while S. Bucking, "Scribes and Schoolmasters? On Contextualizing Coptic and Greek Ostraca Excavated at the Monastery of Epiphanius," *JCS* 9 (2007) 35 holds that it was "intended for personal use and reference."

751 is with fol. 7 v<sup>o</sup> and 8 r<sup>o</sup> of *P.Bour.* 1, a codex that possibly reflects the contents of teaching offered by a Christian γραμματιστής in post-Constantinian Egypt.<sup>23</sup> The occasional overlaps with other educational products (the tablets T.Würz. K 1020 and 1023, T.Louvre AF 1195, and T.Mich. inv. 29974) point in the direction that is also suggested by the handwriting and the layout of the text: that the ostrakon is the product of educational activity.<sup>24</sup>

The two “maxims” drawn from other texts illuminate both the copyist’s agenda and the *Sitz im Leben* of the artefact. *O.Frangé* 751.6-8 is a citation of Matthew 25:13 (γρηγορεῖτε ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε | τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδ[ὲ τὴν] | ὥραν), while *O.Frangé* 751.12-14 is a version of the Trinitarian formula (ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς {c} ὁς | καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πν[ύ] {γ} εὐματός) which has its origins in Jesus’ exhortation to his disciples Matthew 28:19 πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (...). Both would have been familiar to Egyptian Christians, monks and laity, through private readings or as part of the service. The hortatory form of expression makes Matthew 25:13 particularly suitable for use in preaching, catechism, and instruction. The maxim champions the central monastic virtue of wakefulness, watchfulness or vigilance in the face of temptations, that was fervently promoted by preachers and catechists.<sup>25</sup> By contrast the maxims in γ in *O.Mon.Epiph.* 615 are all concerned with women and female virtues: ll. 7-9 γυνὴ δικάζου τοῦ βίου σωτηρία. γάμει δὲ μὴ τὴν προῖκα, τὴν γυναικα δέ. γηνγκι (l. γυναικι) πικτὴ κ[. The Trinitarian formula would have been familiar in particular through the baptismal service. What is especially interesting is that its present version (ἐν ὀνόματι ... as opposed to the version introduced with εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ...) coincides with the form of it that prefaced Upper Egyptian documents at the time.<sup>26</sup> The presence of these two “maxims” in *O.Frangé* 751 may signal independence from a written copy of *MS* used as a model and point in the direction of orality, be it dictation or simply

<sup>23</sup> A. Blanchard, “Sur le milieu d’origine du papyrus Bodmer de Ménandre,” *CdÉ* 66 (1991) 211-220, especially 220.

<sup>24</sup> On the place of Menander in Greek education, elementary and advanced, see most recently S. Nervegna, *Menander in Antiquity: The Contexts of Reception* (Cambridge 2013) 201-220.

<sup>25</sup> D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 2006) 78-96, especially p. 86 “The virtue of wakefulness and the danger of sleep are frequent themes in Pachomian exhortations.”

<sup>26</sup> R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden and Boston 2004) 99-109, especially 100-101, 103-104, and 108.

recalling familiar passages from memory and copying them for practice.<sup>27</sup> The use of the documentary version of the Trinitarian formula in particular suggests a link to the training of individuals to become documentary scribes and thus vocational education.<sup>28</sup>

### *Postscript*

After this article went to press, M.S. Funghi and C. Pernigotti published their reconstruction of *O.Frangé* 751.<sup>29</sup> Readers will be able to appreciate where the present interpretation differs from theirs.

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<sup>27</sup> These maxims could of course have been present in and copied from a model but then the question of possible oral origins could be posed with regard to the model (or the model's model).

<sup>28</sup> On the practical character of Coptic education see R. Cribiore, "Greek and Coptic Education in Late Antique Egypt," in S. Emmel, M. Krause, S.G. Richter, and S. Schaten (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit. Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster 20.-26. Juli 1996*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1999) 280.

<sup>29</sup> *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* 2.2 (Firenze 2015) 137-138.

## Some Corrections to Ptolemaic Petitions and Related Documents<sup>1</sup>

Gert Baetens *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*

### Abstract

Corrections to *P.Eleph.DAIK* 2, P.Fitzhugh Dem. 2, *P.Köln* 6.272, *P.Petrie* 3.27, *P.Petrie* 3.31, *SB* 14.11968, *P.Sorb.* 3.133, and P.Trinity College Dublin Pap. Env. 127.

*P.Eleph.DAIK* 2 (TM 78214) is a petition (*enteuxis*) addressed to the king concerning an inheritance dispute. Kramer has already amended the *editio princeps* of the request of the petition: ] . ιον ἐπέ[τρ]εψά σοι [ . . ] . τούτων καὶ ἐὰν ἐνδείξῳσι in l. 5 to ] . ιον ἐπισκέψασθα[ι π]ερὶ τούτων καὶ ἐὰν ἐνδείξωμαι, and Πετη- at the end of l. 6 to μέρη<sup>2</sup> According to Kramer, the letters preserved at the beginning of l. 5 belong to a personal name in the accusative. The most straightforward supplement would be Πτολεμ[α]ῖον, directly preceded in the lacuna by a verb referring to the summons (e.g., ἀνακαλεσάμενον), since this very name occurs in l. 1 where it probably designates the party accused of wrongdoing ([ἀδικοῦμαι] ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου). Requests to summon the accused and to examine the case in question are often combined in Ptolemaic petitions.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, the beginning of the preserved part of l. 7, transcribed as ] . αδ [ . . . ] in the first edition, should be read as [τούτου γὰρ] γενο[μένου] or [τούτου δὲ] γενο[μένου], perhaps in the plural, introducing the final appeal ἔσομαι διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τῶν πάντων εὐεργέ[την ca. ? ].

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments. I also wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Brian McGing and the staff of the Manuscripts & Archives Research Library of Trinity College Dublin for their support during the consultation of the Petrie papyri collection at Trinity College.

<sup>2</sup> B. Kramer, "Urkundenreferat 1998," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 45 (1999) 222 (cf. *BL* 12).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *P.enteux.* 34 (TM 3309), 38 (TM 3313), 62 (TM 3337), 69 (TM 3344), and 82 (TM 3357).

P.Fitzhugh Dem. 2 (TM 51409) is a petition (*mḳmḳ*) addressed to the overseer of fields (*mr-3ḥ*) concerning problems with a deed of endowment.<sup>4</sup> Substantial corrections to the text have already been made by Hughes.<sup>5</sup> He reads the beginning of the request (ll. 12-15) as follows: *hb (n) Tyg3s | (s3) P3-rs p3 rd p3 mr-3ḥ | (r) dī.t in=w n3 rm.t.w rn=w mtw=w <dī.t> dī=y | ḥrw=y irm=w* (“to write to Dikaïos son of Pares the agent of the overseer of fields to cause that they bring the named men <and that they cause> that I give my deposition along with them”). The expression in ll. 14-15, however, should be read as *mtw=w sḏm | ḥrw=y irm=w* instead (“and that they hear my plea together with them”). Admittedly, the first sign of *sḏm* is slightly unusual (one would expect the sign to make a little curve at the lower left-hand side),<sup>6</sup> but in this way the haplography proposed by Hughes (<*dī.t*> *dī=y*) is no longer necessary and the meaning of the phrase becomes clear: the overseer of fields is asked to give an order to his agent to summon the accused and hear the petitioner’s plea in their presence. A very similar request appears in another Demotic petition, *P.Freib.* 4.75 (TM 2515), in which a man asks to write to the *oikonomos* and *topogrammateus* to *sḏm ḥrw=y irm=f* (“hear my plea together with him”; fr. d, l. 3). The same expression can also be found in the first plea of Chratianch in the famous Siut lawsuit record: *tw=y hb=f i.ḥr-ḥr=tn r sḏm ḥrw=y irm=f* (“I caused that he wrote to you in order to hear my plea together with him”; *P.BM Siut* 10591 r° II 4). In both cases, the suffix =*f* in *irm=f* refers to the accused. “To hear [the petitioner’s] plea together with [the accused]” seems to have been a fixed judicial phrase.

*P.Köln* 6.272 (TM 3202) is one of the very rare Ptolemaic petitions concerning murder.<sup>7</sup> The extant part of the document comprises 17 lines of Greek text (the actual petition) and 2 lines of Demotic text (a subscription). Both the upper part, which contained the prescript and the beginning of the narration of the Greek petition, and the lower part, which contained the rest of the Demotic text, are lost. The editor doubts whether the petition should be classified as

<sup>4</sup> Publication: E.A.E. Reymond, “Two Demotic Memoranda,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58 (1972) 261-267.

<sup>5</sup> G.R. Hughes, “On Two Demotic Egyptian ‘Memoranda,’” *Serapis* 6 (1980) 65-68 (cf. *BL Dem.*). Another minor correction has been made in M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter* (Sommerhausen 2006) 328.

<sup>6</sup> Facsimile: 

<sup>7</sup> Other examples are *BGU* 6.1244 (TM 4405), 8.1796.3-6 (TM 4876), 1857 (TM 4936), and *P.Duke inv.* 360 (TM 58468).

*hypomnema* or *proangelma*.<sup>8</sup> But in fact the problem is solved by the first line of the Demotic subscription, in which the petition is referred to as *mkmk*, the Demotic counterpart of the Greek word ὑπόμνημα.<sup>9</sup> Lastly, one correction can be made to the second line of the Demotic subscription, read as [ - - - *n-dr.f* NN] - ? - by the editor. At the end of this line, *dd* can be discerned. Since this word needs a complement, the subscription must have continued beyond the preserved part of the papyrus.

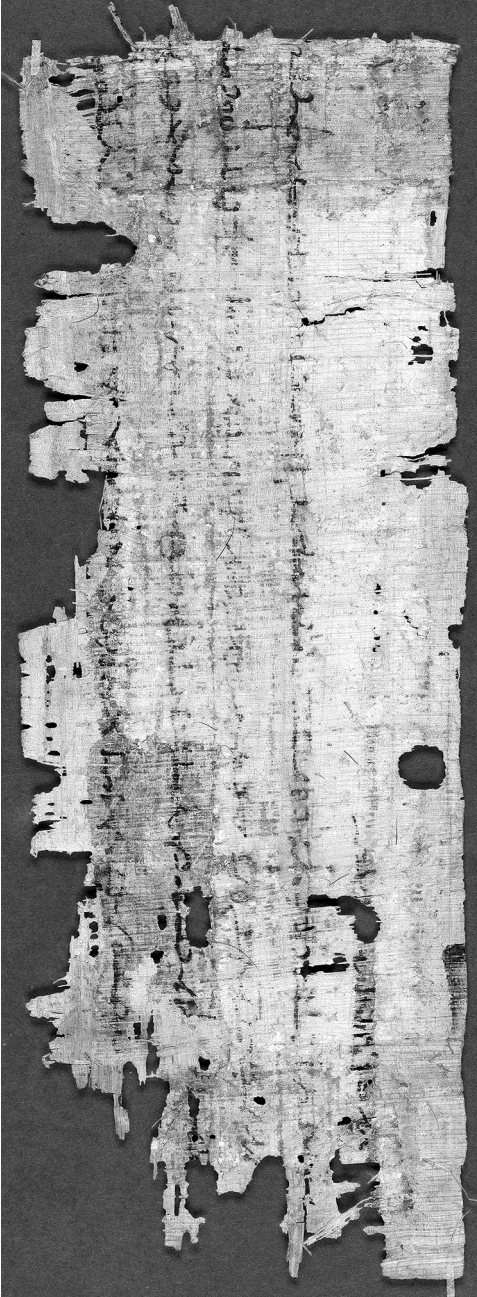
*P.Petrie* 3.27 (TM 7405) contains on the *recto* a petition (*enteuxis*) addressed to the king concerning a case of *hybris*. The editors have read the preserved part of the request as follows: δέομαι οὖν σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ προς . . [ ca. ? ] . . ηπαι ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τούτων. The photograph shows, however, that this should be read δέομαι οὖν σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ προστ[άξαι NN τῶι στρα]τηγῶι ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τούτων. The editors misinterpreted the broad *taus* of both προστ[άξαι and στρα]τηγῶι. On the *verso*, remains of an official report can be found, written in two columns. The first two lines of col. I have been crossed out and were never transcribed. Some parts of this deleted section, however, can still be read: . . . [[ ἔως τοῦ ἀναχθῆναι . [ . ] . . . ] ] | [ [ . . . ὕ . ὕ [ . . ] . ιγραφεῖς ] ]. Unfortunately, this does not make the content of this enigmatic communication any clearer.

*P.Petrie* 3.31 (TM 7421) is a petition (*hypomnema*) to the *strategos* about an accident in which a bull got killed. In the first edition, only the first ten lines of this text were published, because the rest was too faint to allow a proper reading. A transcription of ll. 10-14 was later added by Clarysse and Lanciers: καὶ προσπηδήτ[σ]ας . . [ . . . α]ὐτὰ ταῦρον | [ . . . ] . . . . . αἱ κερατίζει αὐτὸν τῇ | [ ζ καὶ ἐπὶ τ]ῆ[λει] τοῦ μηνὸς ἀπέθανεν | [ . . . . . ] του ὃν τιμῶμαι (δραχμῶν) ὀκτακισ[χιλίων. ἄξ]ιω οὖν, ἐάν σοι φαίνεται.<sup>10</sup> This transcription contains two minor errors, however, as becomes clear from an inspection of the photograph: in l. 10 προσπηδήτ[σ]ας should be read rather than προσπηδήτ[σ]ας (a typo, already corrected in the Papyrological Navigator), and in l. 14 σε should be inserted between ἄξιω οὖν and ἐάν σοι φαίνεται. While consulting the *P.Petrie* 3 volume in Trinity College Dublin, I came across a preliminary

<sup>8</sup> The text has been listed as *proangelma* in N. Gonis, "A New 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. Proangelma," in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrologists* (Copenhagen 1994) 232.

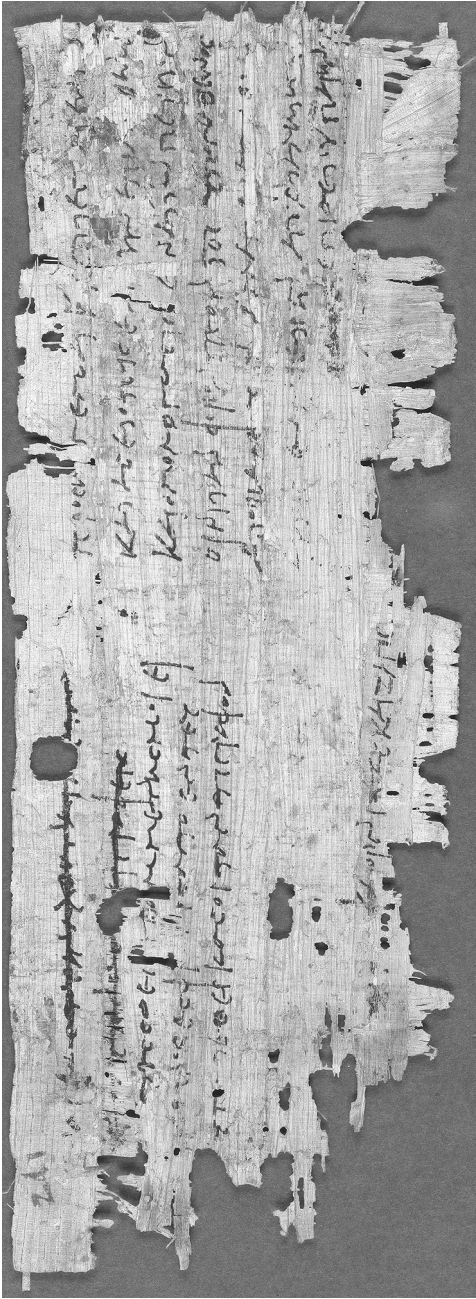
<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the Demotic *mkmk*, see G. Baetens, "Demotic Petitioning," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 44 (2014) 35-43.

<sup>10</sup> W. Clarysse and E. Lanciers, "Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period," *Ancient Society* 20 (1989) 126 (= SB 20.14183).



*P.Petr. 3.27 r<sup>o</sup>*





Petr. 3.27 v°

transcription of the rest of the text made by Smyly. Below is a reworked version of his transcription of ll. 15-22.

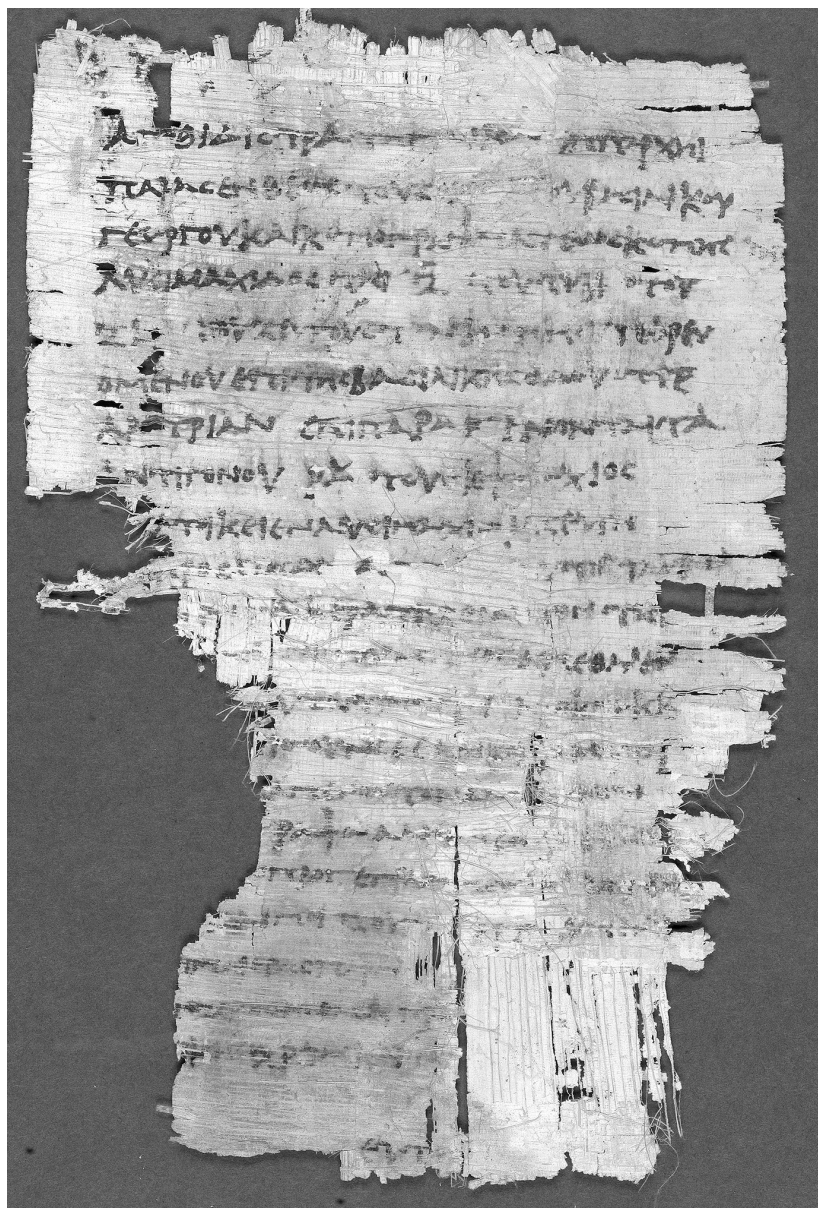
- 15 [ἀνακαλε]σάμενον τὸν Ἀντίγονον  
[καί, ἐὰν ᾗι ᾗ] γράφω ἀληθῆ, ἐπαναγ-  
[κάσαι τ]ὸ προγεγραμμένον βλάβος  
[ἀποδοῦ]ναί μοι. τούτ[ου γ]ᾶρ γ[εν]ομένου,  
[τεύξ]ομαι τῆς παρὰ [σο]ῦ [ ca. 12 ]  
20 [ ca. 4 ] γ . . . . . [ ca. 12 ]  
[ ca. 4 ] τῆς χρεΐας καὶ το . [ ca. ? ]  
εὐτύ[χει]

16 [ἐὰν ᾗι ᾗ] γράφω Smyly, [καί, ἐὰν ᾗι ᾗ] γράφω *supplevimus* 16-17  
ἐπισκέν[α|σθαι] Smyly, ἐπαναγ[ι] [κάσαι *legimus* 17 τ]ὸ προγεγραμμένον . . .  
. Smyly, τ]ὸ προγεγραμμένον βλάβος *legimus* 18 [ . . . ]ναί μοι του . . . ργ . .  
. . . ικου Smyly, [ἀποδοῦ]ναί μοι. τούτ[ου γ]ᾶρ γ[εν]ομένου *legimus* 19 ] . γω  
τῆς παρὰ . . [ Smyly, [τεύξ]ομαι τῆς παρὰ [σο]ῦ *legimus* 20 ] . . απομωνα . . [  
Smyly, ] γ . . . . . [ *legimus*

“(I ask you, therefore, if it seems good to you,) to summon Antigonos, and, if what I write is true, to force (him) to reimburse me the aforesaid damage. For if this happens, I shall obtain your [...]. Farewell.”

*P.Sorb.* 3.133 (TM 121877) is a notification of a robbery, submitted to the *archiphylakites* in 226 BC. The text consists of two fragments (“not joined but unquestionably connected” according to the editor): fragment 1, the upper one, bears one line of text, (ἔτους) κβ [ἐπαγο]μένων ε. χαλκ[οῦ, followed by a blank space beneath, and fragment 2, the lower one, contains the actual notification. Normally, notifications of crime from the 3rd century BC are formatted as *prosangelmata*.<sup>11</sup> The editor of *P.Sorb.* 3.133 admits that the document shares certain features with the *prosangelmata* but in the end does not interpret the text as a *prosangelmata* for three reasons: (1) the text does not identify itself as a *prosangelmata*; (2) the text has a closing, i.e. ἔρρωσο + date; (3) the text is written across the fibres. These arguments do not seem conclusive, however. Although only few traces remain of the first line of fr. 2, which contained the prescript, the three strokes visible mid-line on the upper edge of the papyrus might well

<sup>11</sup> For the Ptolemaic *prosangelmata*, see M. Hombert and C. Préaux, “Recherches sur le prosangelmata à l’époque ptolémaïque,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 17 (1942) 259-286. Cf. also J. Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2013) *passim*; Gonis (n. 8) 230-235; M. Parca, “Prosangelmata ptolémaïques: une mise à jour,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 60 (1985) 240-247.

*P.Petr. 3.31*

be the feet of a *pi* followed by a *rho*, belonging to  $\pi\rho[\text{οσάγγελμα}]$ . Further to the left, the strips of tattered vertical fibres that constitute the left-hand margin of the fragment preserve traces of the same line of writing. These traces might belong to a date, presumably (ἔτους) κβ Θωὸθ  $\bar{\alpha}$  like in the closing formula, although the traces are too faint to confirm this. The prescript format date + προσάγγελμα τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεινός is already attested in *PSI* 4.393 (TM 2077) and *SB* 18.13160 (TM 2529). It is therefore not impossible that this text originally identified itself as a *proselgelma*. The editor's arguments that the use of a closing formula and the writing across the fibres rule out such identification are not compelling either, for these traits, albeit uncommon for 3rd century *proselgelmata*, are not completely unattested.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, interpreting this text as *proselgelma* might help to explain both the function of fr. 1 (with its single line of text followed by a sizeable blank), and the stretch of blank space preceding the text of fr. 2 ("une bande de fibres verticales qui paraît vierge ... sur l'espace d'environ quatre lignes d'écriture," *ed. pr.*). Several 3rd century *proselgelmata* are formatted as double documents.<sup>13</sup> Normally, the *scriptura interior* and *scriptura exterior* of these documents are (nearly) identical. But in *PSI* 4.396, a notification of theft, the scribe did not take the trouble to copy the text of the *scriptura exterior* entirely: the *scriptura interior* of this document consists of a single line, containing the same date as that of the prescript of the *scriptura exterior*, followed by a lacuna.<sup>14</sup> Beneath this line, there is a large *vacat*. Probably, the exact loss ensuing from the theft was originally detailed in the lacuna following the date, since this must have been the essential information that could not be meddled with in the *scriptura exterior*. *PSorb.* 3.133 might be a similar example of a *proselgelma* with an abridged *scriptura interior*, which contained nothing but the date and the exact sum of money lost by the victim of the robbery (χαλκ[οῦ]), followed by a substantial stretch of blank papyrus

<sup>12</sup> *PLond.* 7.1980 and 1981 (a split-up double document: TM 1543 and 2502, respectively) end with the date; *PMich.Zen.* 52 (TM 1952) ends with ἔγγραφη + date. Other *proselgelmata* with ἔρρωσο are not attested. *PHibeh* 1.144 (TM 8261) and *PTebt.* 3.794 (TM 5380) are written across the fibres.

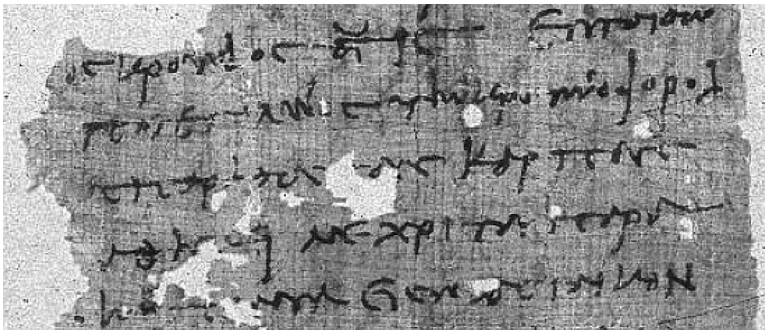
<sup>13</sup> *PHibeh* 1.36 (TM 8188), 37 (TM 7818), *PLille Gr.* 1.6 (TM 3213), *PLond.* 7.1980 and 1981 (see previous note), *PMich.Zen.* 34 (TM 1934), *PSI* 4.393, 396 (TM 2080). For the use of double documents in Greco-Roman Egypt and the terms *scriptura interior* and *scriptura exterior*, see F. Bilabel, "Zur Doppelausfertigung ägyptischer Urkunden," *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 93-113; K. Vandorpe, "Seals in and on the Papyri of Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt," in M.F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique* (Paris 1997) 232-240, 258-260; U. Wilcken, "Papyrus-Urkunden," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 5 (1913) 203-205.

<sup>14</sup> Similar abridged interior writings have been attested for other types of double documents: Wilcken (n. 13) 204.



(preserved at the bottom of fr. 1 and in the tall vertical strip before the text of fr. 2). Curiously, however, fr. 1 is dated to 18 October 226 BC and fr. 2 to 19 October 226 BC, whereas one would normally expect the *scriptura interior* and *scriptura exterior* of a double document to be written simultaneously. Possibly, the scribe of this document made a mistake or spread his work on the notification over two successive days. In any case, it is not impossible and altogether tempting to identify *P.Sorb.* 3.133 as a *prosangelma*.

SB 14.11968 (TM 4291) is a *hypomnema* addressed to the *topogrammateus* in which a man named Dionysios son of Leon protests against an official registration of his land and a related tax claim.<sup>15</sup> Some corrections to the initial edition of this text have already been proposed by Clarysse,<sup>16</sup> but others can still be made. The lacunae in lines 9 and 11 should probably be supplemented as [ἐν δὲ] τῷ λθ (ἔτει) and [τῷ παρὰ] βα[σιλι]κῷ γραμματέως, respectively. The lacuna in l. 14 can possibly be supplemented as τοῖς | [βασιλικῷ]ς εἰκασίαν ἐπόησαν. Lines 15-19 (cf. photo 4) have been read as follows by the editor: (...) ἔσται οὖν | [ . . . ὁ ἀπολεγόμενος τὴν κροτωνοφόρον | [γῆν] τ]ᾶ σίσαρα . ως τοὺς καρποὺς | [κατ]αθήσει μέχρι τοῦ παρα|[κεκο]μίσθαι πάντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. Clarysse's version is substantially different: (...) ἐπιδίδω|[μι ᾶ]πολεγόμενος τὴν κροτωνοφόρον | [(ἀρούρας) τρε]ῖς παραδῶς τοὺς καρποὺς | [ὡς κ]αθήκει μέχρι τοῦ παρα|[κεκο]μίσθαι πάντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. I propose the following reading: (...) ἐπιδίδω|[μι ὅ]πολογόμενος τὴν κροτωνοφόρον | [ὅπ]ως παραθῶ τοὺς καρποὺς | [ὡς κ]αθήκει μέχρι τοῦ παρα|[κεκο]μίσθαι πάντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν, "I



Detail of SB.14.11968

<sup>15</sup> Publication: P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Cinq papyrus ptolémaïques des Giessener Papyrus-sammlungen," in J. Bingen, G. Cambier, and G. Nachtergaele (eds.), *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975) 591-593.

<sup>16</sup> W. Clarysse, "Sur quelques documents ptolémaïques à Giessen," *Chronique d'Égypte* 52 (1977) 121. I thank Prof. Clarysse for his valuable suggestions concerning the text.

declare (this), subtracting the land that produces ricinus, so that I may provide the yield as is fitting until all has been paid to the treasury.”

The *hypomnema* does not contain an explicit request, but clearly Dionysios wants the *topogrammateus* to adjust the registration of his land, lest he should be taxed unjustly. Lastly, the text was most probably closed by [ε]ὕτῳ[χει] rather than [διε]ὕτῳ[χει]. The latter formula is very uncommon during the Ptolemaic period, and has only been attested in three other *hypomnemata* from this era, all from the 1st century BC.<sup>17</sup>

For the convenience of the reader, I add an updated transcription of the text:

- [ . . . ] εἰ τοπογραμματοῖ  
 [παρὰ] Διονυσίου τοῦ Λέοντος Καρυστίου  
 [τῶν] Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν (ἐξηκονταρούρου).  
 [ὑπαρ]χουσῶν μοι [ἐν] τῷ ἰδίῳ κλήρῳ  
 5 [περ]ὶ τὰ Χαλκωρύχια κροτωνοφόρου  
 [γῆς] (ἀρουρῶν) γ καὶ τὰ τούτω[ν γ]ινόμενα  
 [βασι(?) ]λικά παρα[σχ]ομένου μου κατ' ἐ-  
 [νιαυ]τὸν ἕκαστ[ο]ν ἀνεγκλήτως.  
 [ἐν δὲ] τῷ λθ (ἔτει) σου παραγενομένου  
 10 [εἰς] τὸν κληρ[ον σ]ὺν Πτολεμαίῳ  
 τ[ῶ]ι παρὰ] βα[σιλ]ικῶν γραμματέως  
 [ ca. 11 ] . . . [ . . . . . ] προσ[ . . ] . κωι  
 [ ca. 15 ] (ἀρουρ ) ιγ [τὰς] ἄλλ[α]ς τοῖς  
 [βασιλικῶ]ς εἰκασίαν ἐπόησαν  
 15 [ . . . . ] τὰς κρότωνος (ἀρούρας) ις. ἐπιδίδω-  
 [μι ὑ]πολεγόμενος τὴν κροτωνοφόρον  
 [ὄπ]ως παραθῶ τοὺς καρποὺς  
 [ὡς κ]αθήκει μέχρι τοῦ παρα-  
 [κεκο]μίσθαι πάντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν.  
 20 [τού]του δὲ γενομένου ἔσομαι ἀσυκο-  
 [φάν]τητος καὶ οὐθὲν τῶν εἰ[ς] τὸ  
 [βασι]λικὸν χρησίμων διαπεσεῖται.  
 [ε]ὕτῳ[χει]

P.Trinity College Dublin Pap. Env. 127 (TM 380607) is a petition (*hypomnema*) addressed to the *epimeletes* concerning problems with a grain shipment,

<sup>17</sup> BGU 8.1864 r° I (TM 4943), 18.2731 (TM 69805), and P.Rainer Cent. 51 (TM 8605).

published by the present author.<sup>18</sup> The edition contains two typographical errors: ἀπομετρ[ήσαι] in l. 5 should be accented ἀπομετρ[ῆσαι], and Ἐπεὶ α in l. 15 should be read Ἐπεὶ α.

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<sup>18</sup> G. Baetens, "A Petition to the Epimeletes Dorotheos in Trinity College Dublin," *Ancient Society* 44 (2014) 91-104.



## Detecting Settlement Communities in Graeco-Roman Egypt

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Yanne Broux *KU Leuven/Research Foundation Flanders*

### Abstract

Over a decade ago, Katja Mueller proposed a new method for locating settlements in the Fayum borrowed from the social sciences: multidimensional scaling (MDS). As is so often the case with pioneering research, it was heavily criticized, although she never claimed the technique would overcome all problems associated with locating lost sites. In this paper, I suggest an alternative approach to MDS, based on network analysis, to detect settlement communities. In the past 13 years the database that Mueller started from has greatly expanded, allowing for a more encompassing analysis. Narrowing down the possible location radius of unknown sites with the help of these methods can be valuable for studies of ancient settlement patterns.

We have reached a point where the Digital Humanities field is developing rapidly. Ancient historians are starting to profit from this boom as well. Thanks to the great efforts put into the digitization of data in the form of (on-line) databases, the analysis of our sources can be taken to a whole new level. Over a decade ago, Katja Mueller already proposed a new statistical tool to help locate settlements in the Fayum: multidimensional scaling (MDS).<sup>1</sup> As is so often the case with pioneering research, it was heavily criticized,<sup>2</sup> although she never claimed the technique would overcome all problems associated with

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<sup>1</sup> K. Mueller, "Places and Spaces in the Themistou Meris (Fayum/Graeco-Roman Egypt): Locating Settlements by Multidimensional Scaling of Papyri," *AncSoc* 33 (2003) 103-125. See also K. Mueller, "What's your Position? Using Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) for Locating Ancient Settlements in the Meris of Polemon/Graeco-Roman Fayum," *APF* 50 (2004) 199-213, and "Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in Papyrology: Mapping Fragmentation and Migration Flow to Hellenistic Egypt," *BASP* 42 (2005) 63-92.

<sup>2</sup> P. Hoffman and B. Klin, "Careful with that Computer: On Creating Maps by Multidimensional Scaling of Papyri in Katja Mueller's Recent Studies on the Topography of the Fayum," *JJP* 36 (2006) 67-90.

locating lost sites. In this paper, I suggest an alternative approach to MDS, based on network analysis, to detect settlement communities, more in the line of Ruffini's analysis of the Oxyrhynchite topology.<sup>3</sup> In the past 12 years the databases that Mueller and Ruffini started from have been greatly expanded, allowing for a more encompassing analysis. Just like Mueller, I do not claim that this method can point out where to start digging; for many sites we will probably never know their exact whereabouts. However, narrowing down the possible location radiuses of unknown sites with the help of these methods can be valuable for studies of ancient settlement patterns.

### *From the Fayum Project to TM Geo*

Between 1998 and 2002, The Fayum Project built a gazetteer of ancient places in the Fayum region (aka the Arsinoite nome) during the Graeco-Roman period (ca. 300 BC – AD 700),<sup>4</sup> on which Mueller based her research. In 2006, this database was incorporated into the geographical section of the newly created Trismegistos (TM) platform, TM Geo. During subsequent projects, TM Geo expanded its horizon to include toponyms from all over Egypt, mentioned in both papyrological and epigraphic documents, regardless of the language and script these are written in.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the database expanded from some 200 Arsinoite villages and towns to the 10,780 Egyptian toponyms it contains today.<sup>6</sup> Entries are moreover not restricted to actual settlements, but other geographic designations (e.g. *nomoi*, *merides*, sanctuaries, canals) are included as well. Together, these toponyms are attested 101,727 times in 30,780 different texts. They are coded according to the administrative district (*nomos*) they are situated in; an overview is presented in Table 1.

Despite this abundance of references to ancient sites in our sources, for many toponyms their exact location remains uncertain. Continuous habitation hinders excavations, and because of the dubious circumstances in which many papyri were unearthed in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, the modern find place of many papyri remains obscure. Exact coordinates are therefore only available for 659 ancient sites. Thanks to the content of the documents, many places can at least be assigned to a certain nome; others are attributed only tentatively (e.g. as “U15?” or “00?”); still others can

<sup>3</sup> G. Ruffini, “New Approaches to Oxyrhynchite Topography,” in J. Frösén, T. Puroila, and E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology 2* (Helsinki 2007) 965-978.

<sup>4</sup> [www.trismegistos.org/fayum/index.php](http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/index.php).

<sup>5</sup> [www.trismegistos.org/about.php](http://www.trismegistos.org/about.php).

<sup>6</sup> April 15 2015.

only be attributed to a region (e.g. “L”) or simply “Egypt” in general. With the help of networks, we can now refine these uncertain attributions and visualize settlement patterns more clearly.

### *Building a Network of Egyptian Toponyms*

Network analysis is all about relations.<sup>7</sup> It has its roots in mathematics, sociology, and anthropology, and although the most straightforward application is to social networks, this collection of methods and models has found its way into numerous fields, since relations exist between all sorts of entities (e.g. molecular networks, narrative analysis). The focus is not just on the main entities, but on the relationships between them, which determine the structure of the network. By combining quantitative analysis with network visualizations, this structure can be revealed. One of the benefits of such visualizations is that they allow one to see patterns not easily described or presented in traditional overviews such as tables or charts. In historical research, network analysis has been applied to religious networks, cuneiform and papyrological archives, and ancient authors.<sup>8</sup> For network analysis of historical settlements in particular, there is Ruffini’s analysis of the Oxyrhynchite topography.<sup>9</sup> His approach focuses on network properties such as degree (the number of other places a settlement is linked to), tie strength (the number of attested connections between two specific sites), and the effect of administrative divisions on settlement connectivity within the Oxyrhynchite nome, by looking at the relation of internal to external ties of the settlements of the different *pagi* and toparchies. In contrast, this paper will try to detect settlement patterns with the help of visualizations and automated community detection algorithms. This will be done on the basis of intertextual ties between places only (see below), meaning that, even if information on the precise location of a settlement is

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<sup>7</sup> For an introduction to network analysis, A.-L. Barabási, *Linked: The Science of Networks* (Cambridge 2002).

<sup>8</sup> A. Collar, “Military Networks and the Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus,” in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch: Historische und archäologische Untersuchungen in Kommagene* (Bonn 2011) 217–245; C. Waerzeggers, “Social Network Analysis of Cuneiform Archives: A New Approach,” in H.D. Baker and M. Jursa (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second START Conference in Vienna (17–19th July 2008)* (forthcoming); D. Cline, “Six Degrees of Alexander: Social Network Analysis and Ancient History,” *Ancient History Bulletin* 26 (2012) 59–70; G. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (Cambridge and New York 2008).

<sup>9</sup> Ruffini (n. 3).

available (such as the topology it is situated in, or even exact coordinates), it is not included in the data set.

To generate a network, the data is structured in the same way as for MDS: in a matrix. In fact, MDS is just one of the many possible ways to analyze relational data, and is often applied in addition to network analysis. Presenting data in a network format, however, offers more possibilities when it comes to community detection. Moreover, since the relations between the entities are also visualized, and certain characteristics of the data can be incorporated in the visualization, the graph is easier to read than MDS.

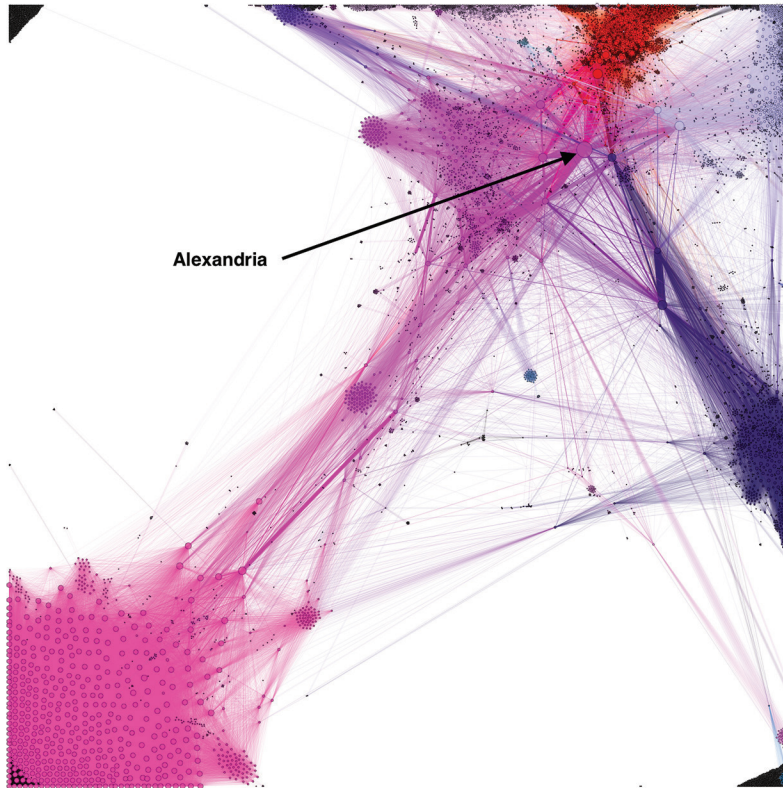


Fig. 1: Network of Egyptian toponyms<sup>10</sup>

As we saw above, Trismegistos currently contains 10,780 Egyptian toponyms mentioned in 30,780 different texts. Constructing a network with this

<sup>10</sup> For an online, interactive version of this network: [www.trismegistos.org/network/7](http://www.trismegistos.org/network/7).

information is pretty straightforward: if two places appear in the same text, a link is drawn between them. This results in 240,473 connections (also called “edges” or “ties”). The idea behind this is that places mentioned in the same text are often situated in the same district, like in land surveys or lists of officials grouped by village. Moreover, the network is weighted, meaning that if two places are mentioned together in multiple texts, this is factored in and their relation is considered stronger. Two toponyms that appear together in only one text, for example, have an edge weight of 1; two places that have 56 texts in common, have an edge weight of 56.

Both Mueller and Ruffini left out texts mentioning more than five toponyms, to prevent long lists with place names concerning broader regions from distorting the picture. While this is perhaps true for some texts, such a strict criterion means that many texts that do provide significant links are ignored. In Mueller’s case this seems justified, since she opted for a binary matrix, in which a relation is simply marked as present or absent, without taking into account how often two places are mentioned together. However, when taking tie strength into account, as the current study and Ruffini’s both do, less meaningful links are generally leveled off, as other sources provide a greater tie strength between those places that are more closely related. In the rare cases where such a list is one of the few, or even the only, source in which certain sites are attested, this anomaly is clearly perceptible in the visualization and can therefore be filtered out (see below).

Some places, such as Alexandria and the nome capitals, are of course mentioned in documents from various regions, since these were important administrative centers. They are clearly visible in the network as central hubs (see Fig. 1): the larger the circle (or “node”) representing a place name is, the more links it has to other places. Alexandria is the largest and most central node in the graph, since it has the highest degree (1,614). The degree of a node measures the number of direct links it has to other nodes (in the case of Alexandria, it means that this city is mentioned together with 1,614 other toponyms). Other central nodes include the nome capitals Oxyrhynchos, Krokodilopolis, Antinoopolis, Memphis, Herakleopolis and Hermopolis (see Fig. 2). Although these centers are highly connected to places outside their respective nomes, this is not a major obstacle, since the community detection algorithm (see below) groups them together with the settlements in their nomes.

Since Trismegistos also incorporates more general toponyms, they are also present in the network. These can be designations referring to larger units, which are often added to titles to denote the administrative district under an official’s jurisdiction, e.g. “royal scribe of the Hermopolite nome,” “prefect of Egypt.” Tribes and demes, sanctuaries, and even geographic features such



as canals and streets are likewise incorporated. Although these geographical markers often incorporate multiple sites, or refer to social or religious structures, they can help determine an approximate location for uncertain places.

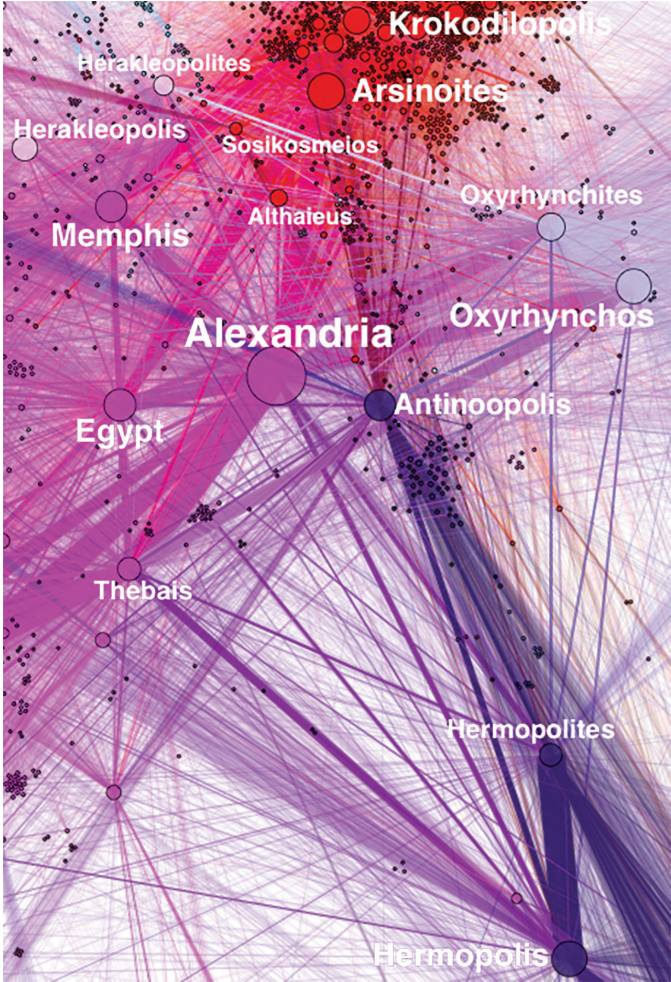


Fig. 2: Alexandria and surroundings

Not all places are linked, however: toponyms that are never mentioned together with other place names remain isolates in the network (e.g. Hexapotamos); others are linked to only one or two other places in a single text (e.g. Pmoun Baios and Haryotou Chorion) and so they form unconnected

components in the network. These isolates are pushed to the edge of the graph, to the right and in the corners. A possible solution for this would be to also link all toponyms to the provenance of the texts in which they are attested, i.e. the place where a text was written. Yet the size of the network as it is now already pushes the boundaries of what is possible with the software (it took four days to obtain the layout presented here). Adding another 100,000+ links was unfortunately not feasible.

I have deliberately chosen not to distinguish between the Late, Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods. Any chronological delineation is artificial, and settlement patterns did not change overnight with regime changes. Moreover, many toponyms are not attested at regular intervals; establishing periodical breaks would therefore result in incomplete data sets for certain regions. Of course, a certain start and end point had to be chosen, so for this I adopted the chronological boundaries in Trismegistos: 800 BC – AD 800. The main portion of the data is situated in the Graeco-Roman period, however, roughly between 330 BC and AD 800. The advantage of this approach is that sites that are less well documented in one period, may be better connected in another, and by aggregating this information, a more precise approximation can be distilled.

### *Community Detection*

The current layout was obtained through ForceAtlas2,<sup>11</sup> a force directed visualization algorithm, which places nodes in relation to other nodes depending on the connections among themselves only.<sup>12</sup> Although we are dealing with places here, it is important to keep in mind that the position of the nodes does not correspond to a Cartesian spacing. These visual proximities are the result of structural proximities representing “communities,”<sup>13</sup> and so the graph can be turned upside down, mirrored, or rotated left or right; this makes no difference for the interpretation. Since places are linked on the basis of their being mentioned in the same text, they are grouped together accordingly through this layout. Only their relative position in relation to each other counts; there is no fixed point for each node.

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<sup>11</sup> M. Jacomy et al., “ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software,” *PLoS ONE* 9 (6): e98679 (2014).

<sup>12</sup> All visualizations and measures in this paper were performed in Gephi, a free, open-source software designed specifically for network analysis (gephi.org).

<sup>13</sup> Jacomy et al. (n. 8) 2.



The individual nodes in this network are colored according to the communities to which they are assigned through the so-called Louvain method.<sup>14</sup> This algorithm detects sub-units in large networks on the basis of density: highly interconnected groups of nodes with only sparse connections to other groups in the network. The resolution of the algorithm can be adjusted to determine the level of “detail” (i.e. more/smaller or less/bigger communities). The quality of the partition is measured by a numerical score, called “modularity,” which lies between -1 and 1. The higher this value, the more significant the groupings are. For this large network, the number of detected communities does not vary much between different resolutions: with a resolution of 0.5, the algorithm discerns 1,666 communities, while a resolution of 100 results in 1,625. The modularity scores for each resolution are very divergent, however, from 0.683 (resolution = 0.5) to 0.006 (resolution = 100). A resolution of 1 scores the best with a modularity of 0.732 (1,660 communities), so this is the partition that is used in this paper.

Only those communities consisting of more than 50 nodes were colored; the rest are black. Since both the layout algorithm and the Louvain community detection algorithm look for network structure on the basis of the existing links between the nodes, the positioning of densely connected nodes as clusters and the colors representing communities overlap to a certain extent.

On closer inspection, many of the communities detected by the Louvain algorithm largely coincide with Egypt’s administrative nomes (see Table 2 and Figure 1<sup>15</sup>). Starting from the top left corner, in clockwise direction, the colors represent: the Mendesian nome (bright purple to the upper left); the Herakleopolite nome (pastel pink); the Memphite nome (turquoise); the Fayum (red); the Oxyrhynchite nome (pastel purple); the Eastern desert (cobalt blue); the Hermopolite nome (dark purple); the Pathyrite nome (baby blue in the middle); the Western Desert (light pink to the lower left); unspecified places in the Fayum (bright blue); the Antaiopolite nome (bright pink in the lower left corner). The latter, rather conspicuous cluster is the result of TM 19869,<sup>16</sup> a bilingual Greek-Coptic tax list from the eighth century AD containing 1,070 references to place names. This is a nice example of how anomalies are uncovered in network visualizations: the high density within this community automatically pulls it away from the rest of the network, signaling that this is a

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<sup>14</sup> V.D. Blondel et al., “Fast Unfolding of Communities in Large Networks,” *Journal of Statistical Mechanics* 10, P1000 (2008).

<sup>15</sup> For a more “readable” graph of this network, visit the online version mentioned in note 10, where it is possible to navigate the network, zoom in on different sections, and search for specific place names.

<sup>16</sup> [www.trismegistos.org/text/19869](http://www.trismegistos.org/text/19869).

cluster that needs to be checked and perhaps even filtered out before proceeding with a more detailed analysis.

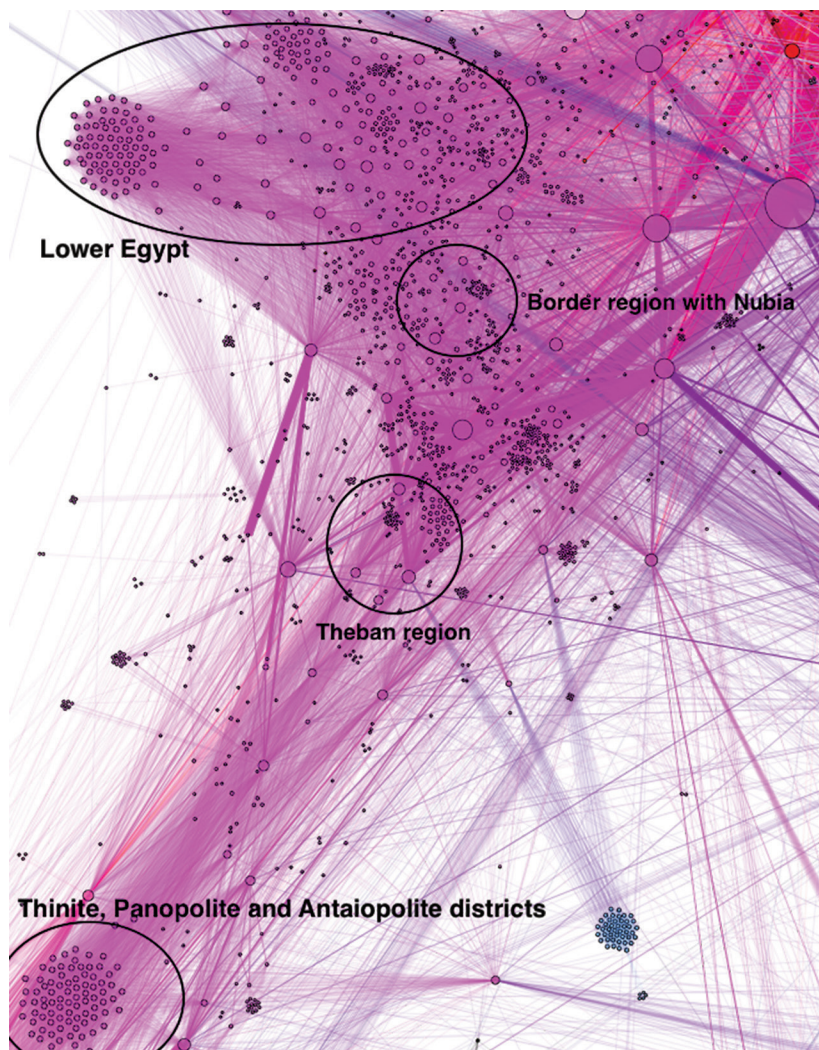


Fig. 3: Breakdown of the central community (Alexandria to the upper right)

The magenta community in the middle of the graph consists of an amalgam of places positioned more or less according to geographical proximity.

Fig. 3 zooms in on this section of the network. The cluster in the lower left corner groups toponyms from the Thinite, Panopolite, and Antaiopolite nomes (U08 – U09 – U10a) and forms a bridge between the places of the above-mentioned tax list and the rest of the network, through places in the Thebais region (U04b), such as Dios Polis, Memnoneia, and Hermonthis, as well as the neighboring Koptite nome (U05). Places situated in the border region with Nubia (U01), including Syene, Elephantine, and Philai, as well as many toponyms from the Delta region (= Lower Egypt), have been grouped close together by the layout algorithm. Many of these places in Lower Egypt appear in a single text only, a scientific onomasticon listing places in the Delta region (*P.Cair.Dem.* 2.31168-31169<sup>17</sup>). This overview is supplemented with a list of priests and gods, whose titles and epithets often include toponyms that are not related to the Delta. Since the Lower Egyptian settlements are not attested elsewhere, their only connection with the rest of the network is through place names from other regions.

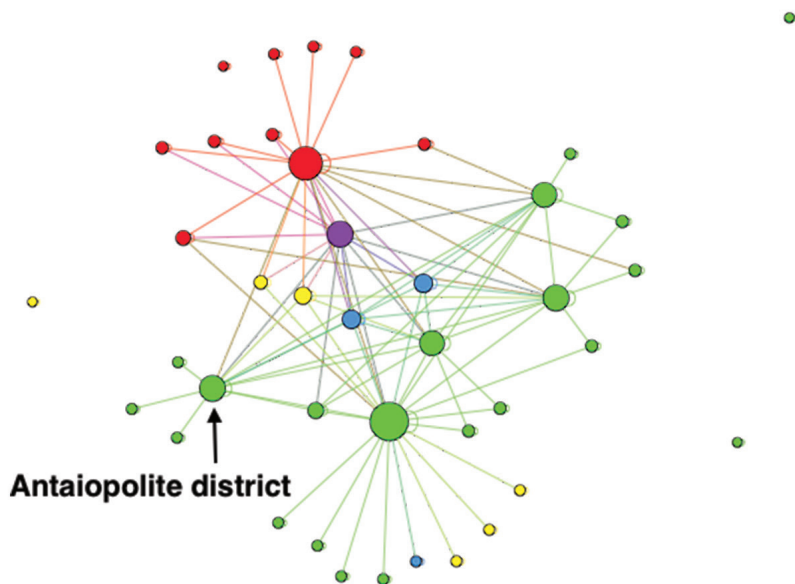


Fig. 4: Network of communities detected by the Louvain algorithm.

<sup>17</sup> [www.trismegistos.org/text/45958](http://www.trismegistos.org/text/45958).

The black nodes are places that were attributed to communities consisting of less than 0.45% of the nodes in the network (i.e. clusters with less than 50 toponyms). Given the size of the network, these were not colored, as this would not enhance their visibility. Some actually do correspond to districts, for example a small cluster in the bottom right of places attributed to the Oxyrhynchite nome (Fig. 1), but most consist of isolated place names, or groups of toponyms for which the location is unknown.

Grouping together toponyms assigned to the same community brings out the structure of the network more clearly. In Fig. 4, each node represents one of the communities detected by the Louvain algorithm in the original network. There are 162 in total; 125 are isolates that are only linked to themselves (not all are visible in Fig. 4): these are places that were not part of the main component of the original network, so the algorithm classified them as belonging to separate communities. That leaves us with a central connected component of 37 communities, linked through 122 edges (the edges between these groups are generated by bundling the inter-communal edges between the individual place names situated in these communities).

Even though no nome is ever fully incorporated into a single community (most nomes are “spread out” over one large and several small communities), most of the places belonging to the same region are still closely linked, as is clear from Fig. 4. The nodes here are colored according to the region best represented in this community: magenta = Alexandria; red = Fayum; green = Upper Egypt; blue = Lower Egypt; and yellow = border regions (i.e. Western desert, Eastern desert and Aethiopia). Communities corresponding to clusters of Fayum toponyms, for example, are all concentrated in the top part of the main component in the middle (this region is discussed in more detail below). The Antaiopolite nome (marked in Fig. 4) is another nice example: it is linked to other regions in the Nile valley of course, but the three pendants (nodes with just one link) attached to it in fact all consist of toponyms that can also be assigned to this nome.

Only three communities in this central component correspond to nomes in Lower Egypt. The rest are all isolates. This does not mean that there was less interaction between this part of the country and other regions or within the area itself. This network actually clearly visualizes the problematic discrepancy in the survival rate of documents, well-known to papyrologists: because of the more humid conditions, papyri disintegrated much faster in the Delta region than in the sandy environment of the Nile valley. I hoped that these networks would provide some more clues about this enigmatic region; unfortunately, this is not the case.

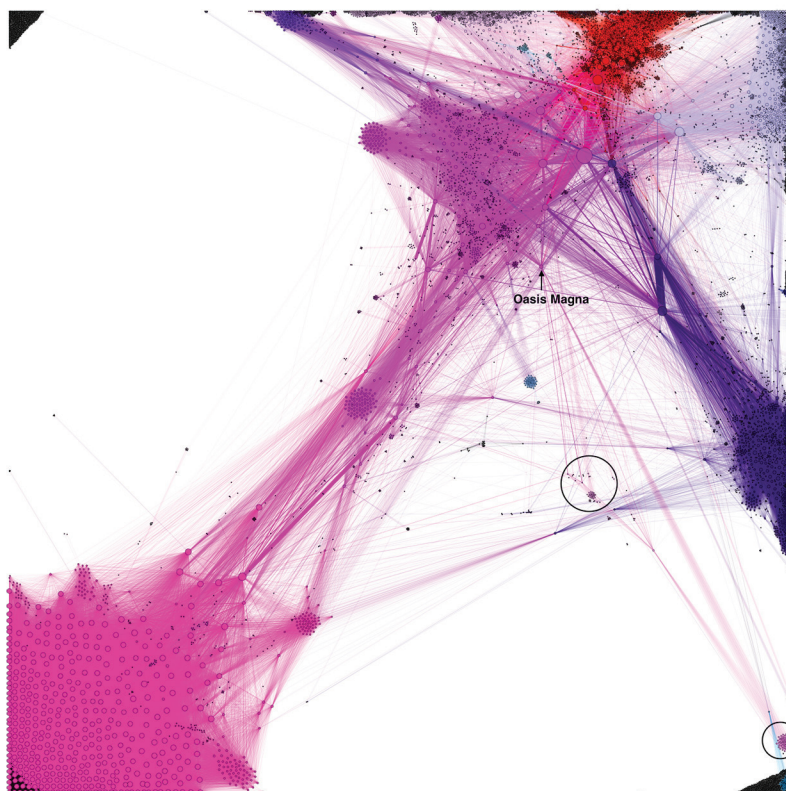


Fig. 5: Clusters of toponyms situated in the Oasis Magna

Apart from community detection, certain patterns of mobility are also visible in the original network. The fact that “Sosikosmeios” and “Althaieus,” a phyle and deme combination that was popular in Alexandria, for example, is classified in the component that largely coincides with the Fayum, is no coincidence: many Alexandrian citizens owned land and real estate in this nome; some may even have lived there more or less permanently. This form of social mobility also explains the placement of the node representing Antinoopolis (see Fig. 2). This polis was situated in the Hermopolite nome, as it was founded on the east bank of the Nile right across from the metropolis Hermopolis. And although it is attributed to the Hermopolite community by the Louvain algorithm (the dark purple cluster), it is pulled far away from it by the ForceAtlas2 algorithm, which places it close to Alexandria and the Fayum community (red). Many of its original settlers were in fact promoted from among the *katoikoi*, the local elite of the Fayum. They too retained their bond with the Arsinoite nome through landholdings and other business.



The position of certain nodes and the path that can be followed from one cluster to another point to a second type of mobility: trade routes. A nice example is the Oasis Magna region in the Western desert. Most places belonging to this district are situated in the lower right corner of the graph (the light pink cluster), with links to a second, smaller cluster (also light pink) pulled more toward the center of the network (Fig. 5). Most of these nodes represent small villages or even wells. Kellis and Trimithis, located in the western part of the oasis, and Hibis and Kysis, in the eastern part, are important conjunction points in these clusters. The main hub in this community, however, is the general designation Oasis Magna, which is pulled all the way to the main area of the network, and which forms the vital link with other areas. It is highly connected to toponyms in the Thebaid, such as Diospolis and Hermonthis, as well as Koptos and Panopolis more to the north. So this path is in fact a reflection of the caravan routes from the Western desert into the Nile Valley.<sup>18</sup>

#### *A Closer Look at the Arsinoite Nome*

To explore the degree to which the method applied to the Egyptian network is reliable, I extracted all toponyms of the Fayum region, as well as their neighbors belonging to the same communities detected by the Louvain algorithm,<sup>19</sup> from the original network, and set up a new network to see whether Gephi (n. 12) could detect the three *merides* (administrative subdivisions) of this region. In the original network, 1,744 of the 2,288 toponyms situated in the Arsinoite nome, or 76.2%, were attributed to the same community (Fig. 1: the red cluster). I ran the Louvain algorithm for this new Fayum network as well, and the results are visible in Fig. 6 (see also Table 3). Many of the communities again coincide with administrative divisions.

The right portion of the giant component, with the dark turquoise, light green, and light blue communities, is dominated by toponyms attributed to the *meris* of Themistos, which encompassed the northwest area of the Fayum. The dark turquoise nodes represent well-documented villages such as Theadelphia and Euhemeria, as well as the general designation “Themistou meris”; the light green nodes are smaller estates (*ktemata* and *kleroi*). Other small estates are clustered together in the light blue section pulled apart to the right of the giant component, while those light blue nodes scattered among

<sup>18</sup> G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs* (Cairo 1987) 140-154.

<sup>19</sup> These were incorporated since for many of them their location is defined as simply “Egypt” or “unknown,” which can possibly be narrowed down here.

the other communities are imperial estates (*ousiai*), which are spread out over the entire Fayum region.

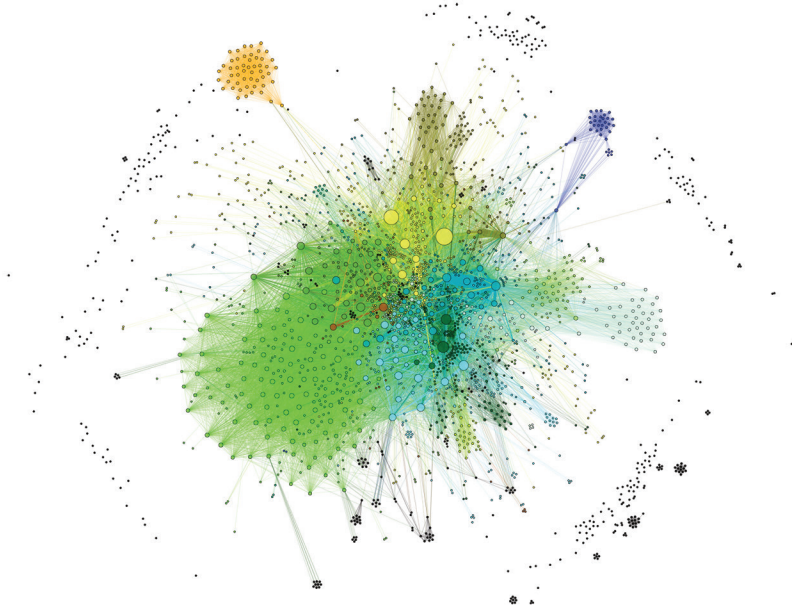


Fig. 6: Network of Fayum toponyms<sup>20</sup>

Below this are three communities (dark green, light turquoise, and lime) that largely coincide with the *meris* of Polemon in the southwest of the Fayum. The dark green community mainly consists of villages centered around Tebtynis; the light turquoise nodes are situated more to the north, near Narmouthis and Tebetny; and the lime colored ones are again small estates.

The *meris* of Herakleides is concentrated in the top left portion of the graph, in the green, yellow, and rust-colored communities. The latter two also include a variety of places situated in the city area of Krokodilopolis, the “capital” (*metropolis*) of the Fayum. Since Krokodilopolis is geographically located in this *meris*, this makes sense. Moreover, the few rust-colored villages are probably set apart because they form the main setting of an extensive administrative archive composed by Petaus, the village scribe of these communities in the second half of the second century AD.

<sup>20</sup> Online version at [www.trismegistos.org/network/8](http://www.trismegistos.org/network/8).



The olive nodes in the top part of the giant component then are a combination of 00d (Krokodilopolis) and several Alexandrian tribes and demes. This is again no coincidence, since the local elite resided in the metropolis and they had strong links with Alexandria, both through administrative channels and through family ties. As landowners with property in the vicinity, many Alexandrian citizens also owned houses in the metropolis.

Just as in the original network, the Fayum subsection contains a community (the bright green cluster in the bottom left of the giant component) that does not correspond to a particular area. In this case, the cluster mainly consists of toponyms attributed to the Fayum in general. Places situated in one of the three *merides* are included, but their numbers are small (ranging between 3-6%).

Thanks to the community detection algorithm, unlocated sites can thus be situated more accurately by calculating the degree of overlap between a community and the *merides* of the places classified in it.<sup>21</sup> Table 3 gives an overview of some of the most important communities. In communities 41 and 86, for example, there is a high probability that the respective 2.6% and 7.5% of the toponyms tentatively situated in the *meris* of Themistos were indeed located there, since this is actually the case for three-fourths of the settlements in these communities. The same goes for the communities 35, 60, 74, and 80, where several toponyms indecisively attributed to the *meris* of Polemon are highly interconnected to places located in this *meris* with certainty.

The village Thanekos, for example, is attested in only three Byzantine texts. Since the Fayum was by then no longer divided into *merides*, and the content of the texts give no clues as to its whereabouts, a more precise location could not be determined, as is the case for most Fayum settlements from the Byzantine period. Community detection places it in cluster 60, which is dominated by villages in the *meris* of Polemon. Although this *meris* no longer existed and such a classification is therefore artificial, it does narrow down the possible location radius of this village. The same goes for Theonos Epoikion, P-awin-Harsaphes and Berkythi: Gephi assigns them to community no. 86, which largely coincides with the *meris* of Themistos.

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<sup>21</sup> Ruffini tries a similar approach by comparing the number of links between settlements within the same *pagus* to the number of links to settlements in other *pagi* in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Although his results are promising (for most *pagi*, only 30% or less of the ties are external), he concludes that they are statistically insignificant: Ruffini (n. 3) 971. This may not provide conclusive evidence for the administrative unit a toponym belonged to, but at least this way a certain degree of probability can be assigned in my opinion.

*Conclusion*

The community detection algorithm provides quantitative indications to support the hypothesis that places conditionally attributed to a certain nome were indeed most likely situated there. This can be extended to toponyms attributed to general regions (Upper or Lower Egypt, the Fayum, or even Egypt as a whole), unless of course, this designation is used for geographical features that encompass several zones (such as canals). Computer simulations will of course never be able to pinpoint “lost” sites with the scant information we have. To generate more detailed maps, groundwork remains essential. However, for studies for which settlement networks are important, either from an economic, administrative, social, cultural, or religious view,<sup>22</sup> calculating community breakdowns provides a more solid base to study these settlement patterns and can offer more insights into the spatial geography of the ancient world.

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<sup>22</sup> K. Mueller, “Mastering Matrices and Clusters: Locating Graeco-Roman Settlements in the Meris of Herakleides (Fayum/Egypt) by Monte-Carlo Simulation,” *APF* 49 (2003) 236.

*Appendix*

Table 1: Nome codes in TM Geo

Code	Nome	Code	Nome
L	Lower Egypt	U	Upper Egypt
L00	Alexandria	U01	Omboi to Philae
L01	Memphites	U02	Apollonopolites
L02	Letopolites	U03	Latopolites
L03	Gynaikopolites	U04a	Pathyrites
L04	Prosopites	U04b	Peri Thebas
L05	Saites	U05	Koptites
L06	Xoites	U06	Tentyrites
L07	Menelaïtes	U07	Diospolites Mikros
L08	Heroopolites	U08	Thinities
L09	Bousirites	U09	Panopolites
L10	Athribites	U10a	Antaiopolites
L11	Leontopolites	U10b	Apollonopolites
L12	Sebennytes	U11	Hypselites
L13	Heliopolites	U12	(El-Atawla)
L14	Sethroites	U13	Lykopolites
L15	→ L16	U14	→ U15
L16	Mendesios	U15	Hermopolites
L17	Diospolites Kato	U16	→ U15
L18	Boubastites	U17	Kynopolites
L19	Tanites	U18	→ U20
L20	Arabia	U19	Oxyrhynchites
L21	Phthempouth	U20	Herakleopolites
00	Arsinoites (Fayum)	U21	→ L01
	Western desert, Ammoniake	U22	Aphroditopolites
	Western desert, Oasis Magna		Sinai
	Western desert, Oasis Parva		Western coast
	Eastern desert		Aethiopia

Table 2: Communities consisting of more than 50 toponyms in the network of Egyptian places

Community no. (Louvain algorithm)	Most frequent nome
<b>605</b> (bright purple)	96.8% = Mendesian nome (L16)
<b>743</b> (pastel pink)	92.3% = Herakleopolite nome (U20)
<b>823</b> (turquoise)	95.5% = Memphite nome (L01)
<b>108</b> (red)	93.1% = Fayum (00)
<b>499</b> (pastel purple)	93.6% = Oxyrhynchite nome (U19)
<b>1355</b> (cobalt blue)	95.9% = Eastern desert
<b>140</b> (dark purple)	92.5% = Hermopolite nome (U15)
<b>1608</b> (baby blue)	100% = Pathyrite nome (U04a)
<b>797</b> (light pink)	98.1% = Western desert
<b>92</b> (bright blue)	100% = Fayum (00?; most uncertain)
<b>1361</b> (bright pink)	96.6% = Antaiopolite nome (U10a)
<b>144</b> (magenta)	miscellaneous

Table 3: Overlap between the largest detected communities and the *merides* in the Fayum network (the best-attested Fayum toponym of each community is added between square brackets to facilitate the location of the communities in the online network)

Community no. (Louvain algorithm)	Community breakdown
<b>5</b> (yellow) [Krokodilopolis]	38.2% = <i>meris</i> of Herakleides 19.5% = unknown (Fayum) 16.2% = Krokodilopolis 5.8% = Alexandria 20.3% = other
<b>19</b> (green to the left of yellow) [Bakchias]	58.1% = <i>meris</i> of Herakleides 21.5% = unknown (Fayum) 8.4% = <i>meris</i> of Herakleides? 12% = other
<b>33</b> (light blue to the right of dark turquoise) [Maikenatiane Ousia]	44.5% = <i>meris</i> of Themistos 27.3% = <i>meris</i> of Herakleides

Community no. (Louvain algorithm)	Community breakdown
	22.6% = unknown (Fayum) 5.6% = other
<b>41</b> (light green to the right of dark turquoise) [Kytos]	78.9% = <i>meris</i> of Themistos 14.4% = unknown (Fayum) 2.6% = <i>meris</i> of Themistos? 4.1% = other
<b>60</b> (light turquoise) [Kerkesephis]	63.9% = <i>meris</i> of Polemon 19.4% = unknown (Fayum) 8% = <i>meris</i> of Polemon? 7.8% = other
<b>65</b> (rust-colored) [Ptolemais Hormou]	45.6% = unknown (Fayum) 34.2% = <i>meris</i> of Herakleides 11.4% = Krokodilopolis 8.8% = other
<b>74</b> (lime) [Boubalou kleros]	96.8% = <i>meris</i> of Polemon 3.2% = <i>meris</i> of Polemon?
<b>80</b> (dark green) [Tebtynis]	77.2% = <i>meris</i> of Polemon 5.4% = unknown (Fayum) 5.4% = <i>meris</i> of Polemon? 12% = other
<b>86</b> (dark turquoise) [Theadelphia]	74.7% = <i>meris</i> of Themistos 12.1% = unknown (Fayum) 7.5% = <i>meris</i> of Themistos? 5.7% = other
<b>87</b> (olive) [Apolloniou Parembolē Amphodon]	61.1% = Krokodilopolis 15.6% = Alexandria 8.9% = unknown (Fayum) 14.4% = other

# Additions to the Philosarapis Archive: The Contribution of Women to the Family's Wealth<sup>1</sup>

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Jane Rowlandson *King's College London*

## Abstract

Aided by the DDBDP and other electronic resources, this article argues that *P.Iand.* 7.135, 137, and *P.Ryl.* 2.173A belong to the Philosarapis archive (the Family Archive from Tebtunis). The Rylands text, in combination with an improved understanding of *P.Fam.Tebt.* 12, facilitates a correct reading of the names of the female buyer and her *kyrios* in *P.Fam.Tebt.* 3, which is thereby also confirmed as belonging to the archive. These additions highlight the important contribution of wives to the family's wealth, particularly that of the matriarch Thaubarion and her grandson's wife, Herakleia. Finally, the eponymous Philosarapis is shown to be not his parents' first-born son, but their youngest child (although we do not know why his elder brother was unable to keep the archive); despite his marriage to a weaver's daughter, the family as a whole saw no diminution of their prosperity compared to earlier generations.

The Philosarapis archive, or Family Archive from Tebtunis, is noted among historians of Roman Egypt for the range of insights it provides into the economic and social circumstances of four generations of a prosperous local Arsinoite elite family.<sup>2</sup> Although holding neither Alexandrian nor Ro-

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<sup>1</sup> I thank Sue Willetts and other staff of the Institute of Classical Studies in London for help with photocopying, Roberta Mazza for photographs of *P.Ryl.* 2.173A and references, Arthur Verhoogt for advice, and especially Peter van Minnen and the three anonymous *BASP* referees for many useful comments.

<sup>2</sup> TM Arch 192 ([www.trismegistos.org/archive/192](http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/192)). I cite the Trismegistos databases "Archives", "People," and "Places" by the abbreviations recommended on the TM Home page: [www.trismegistos.org/archive/index/html](http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/index/html).

Numbers in bold refer to texts in *P.Fam.Tebt.*; editorial material in that volume is cited as "van Groningen, p. ..." Asterisked dates follow the corrections in F. Mitthof,

man citizenship (until the universal grant of 212), they possessed considerable wealth with the concomitant liturgical administrative duties and were elevated in status from the mass of *Aigyptioi* by membership of the “6475 Hellenes in the Arsinoite nome,” which led to their acquiring citizenship of Antinoopolis after its foundation. Although several other archives of other “6475” families have also survived, none yield comparably full information on the lateral connections by birth and marriage of the main protagonists in each generation, producing a large database for the study of nomenclature as well as contributing to our understanding of family relationships, property transmission, literacy and other aspects of social history.<sup>3</sup>

Van Groningen’s publication of the bulk of the archive as a single volume in 1950, equipped with a substantial introduction and, most essentially, a family tree, contributed enormously to its ease of use. But even from the start, reviewers were aware that many of the texts would respond to deeper investigation, while more recently, Bagnall has drawn attention to the need for further work on the prosopography of the archive, noting that “the family tree in the edition

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“Bemerkungen zur Datierung von Urkunden,” *ZPE* 132 (2000) 223-224. I also use the following other abbreviations:

Canducci 1990: D. Canducci, “I 6475 cateci greci dell’Arsinoite,” *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 211-255

Canducci 1991: D. Canducci, “I 6475 cateci greci dell’Arsinoite: Prosopografia,” *Aegyptus* 71 (1990) 121-216

*ProcGeneva*: P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de papyrologie* (Geneva 2012)

Smolders: R. Smolders, “Philosarapis son of Lysimachos alias Didymos,” version 2 (2013), TM Arch 192 pdf (<http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/192.pdf>)

Turner: E.G. Turner, (review of *P.Fam. Tebt.*) *JHS* 73 (1953) 164

Youtie 1952: H.C. Youtie, “Critical Notes on Greek papyri,” *TAPA* 83 (1952) 100-119

Youtie 1956: H.C. Youtie, “Brief Notes on Papyrus Texts,” *TAPA* 87 (1956) 60-83

<sup>3</sup> Already demonstrated in van Groningen, Introduction (pp. 1-15). On nomenclature, see Y. Broux and S. Coussement, “Double Names as Indicators of Social Stratification in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” in M. Depauw and S. Coussement (eds), *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World* (Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA 2014) 119-139; Canducci 1990, 1991. Other archives involving the 6475 are TM Arch 294 (Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants), 276 (Diogenis daughter of Lysimachos), 66 (Patron’s descendants), 351 (Apollonios alias Lourios, head of the *grapheion* of Tebtunis); Herodes’ descendants (no TM entry, but see J.G. Keenan, “Census Return of Herakleides, Son of Didymos the Younger,” *Cd’E* 46 (1971) 120-128); all except the first are discussed extensively (together with the Philosarapis archive) in R. Takahashi, *The Ties that Bind: The Economic Relationships of Twelve Tebtunis Families. Leases, Loans, and Labour in a Village of Roman Egypt* (forthcoming; London: Institute of Classical Studies).



is far less solid than it might appear.”<sup>4</sup> Ruben Smolders’ presentation of the archive for Trismegistos (TM Arch 192 pdf) is a valuable short survey, particularly orientated to the archive’s origin and composition (to which my debt is obvious from the references), but naturally it did not attempt new research on either the texts or prosopography.

The new digital resources available to papyrologists (primarily DDPDP, HGV, and Trismegistos, but also the Giessener Papyrussammlung online), greatly facilitates progress towards clarifying the many outstanding problems and obscurities arising from the archive, to which this article represents an initial attempt (although I remain conscious of other serious problems to which I cannot yet see a solution: see the Afterword). In §1, I show that the true name of Herakleia’s father was not Hermias, but Hermes-Lysimachos, and that *P.Ryl.* 2.173A relates to him. An improved interpretation of **12** identifies her mother as Ptolema d(aughter of) Didas, leading to the identification of the addressees of **3** as Herakleia’s parents, confirming that **3** does genuinely belong to the archive, despite the doubts of both van Groningen and Smolders (p. 3). In §2, the case for attributing *P.Ryl.* 2.173A to the archive proper, and not merely to the dossier of texts associated with the family, is shown to be strong, although not completely conclusive. In §3, I identify two more papyri from the Janda collection (both already published) which certainly belong to the archive. These discoveries particularly illuminate the importance of Herakleia and her side of the family, both to the formation of the archive and to maintaining the family’s prosperity in the third generation (when their wealth had to be shared among four surviving sons, and the main patrimony had been depleted by the debts arising from Herakleides’ responsibility for repairing the public archives). In §4, I pursue what further can be reconstructed about the wealth of Thaubarion, the family’s earliest known female ancestor, again leading to a better appreciation of the importance of the wives’ wealth in building up the family resources. In §5, finally, close attention to indications about the age of Philosarapis, the last archive-keeper, shows that, far from being the first-born son, he was actually the youngest of the four siblings in the fourth generation. Once we pay accurate attention to the birth order of the children in each generation, and to the correct form of names, the tradition of naming first-born children after a grandparent emerges more clearly in this family.

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<sup>4</sup> R.S. Bagnall, “Village and Urban Elites in Roman Tebtunis” (Berkeley online Exhibit 2000), [bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/Papyri/bagnall.html](http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/Papyri/bagnall.html). On the texts, see especially Turner; Youtie 1952, 1956; see also the following reviews of *P.Fam.Tebt.*: M. Hombert, *Cd’E* 26 (1951) 163-167, C.H. Roberts, *JEA* 38 (1952) 136-137, A.G. Roos, *Mnemosyne* 5 (1952) 259-261, C.B. Welles, *AJA* 58 (1954) 160-161.

I provide a revision of Smolders' table of the family's landed property, adding also the house property, which especially reflects the brothers' co-residence and co-ownership, and an abbreviated family tree showing Herakleia's ancestry and the birth order of the children of Lysimachos-Didymos.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Herakleia's Parents: Hermes alias Lysimachos Son of Didymos,  
and Ptolema Daughter of Didas*

The documents collected in *P.Fam.Tebt.* regularly record the name of Herakleia's father as "Hermes son of Didymos" (Ἑρμῆς Διδύμου, 12, cf. 5.1), despite some variation in the genitive form, especially in writing Herakleia's filiation.<sup>6</sup> However, van Groningen (p. 7) suggested that the correct name of Herakleia's father was actually Hermias, as his name is written in "the highly official document" 32, the record of his grandson's acceptance as an Antinoite ephebe. Van Groningen's precedent has been followed by subsequent scholars, who all treat Hermias as his true name, with Hermes a less formal variant.<sup>7</sup>

While the Antinoite ephebic record-keepers may perhaps have deliberately written the form Hermias because it was seen as more "pure" Greek, or simply because it was more familiar, this one text, written decades after his death in a city he never visited, is not an adequate reason to reject the form "Hermes" as the man's actual name.<sup>8</sup> Thanks to the Trismegistos "People" data-

<sup>5</sup> Van Groningen's tree (pp. 174-175, reproduced by Canducci 1990, 1991 stemma 14) remains the most complete published representation of the family's connections. On my academia.edu page I provide a pdf showing a full family tree: "Philosarapis family tree," <http://kcl.academia.edu/janerowlandson>.

<sup>6</sup> Ἑρμοῦ (standard Greek) only in 25, 39.12; Ἑρμοῦς in 5.8 and 17, 27, 29.27, 35, 39.5 (cf. *P.Ryl.* 2.273A using both; see below). The genitive Ἑρμοῦς was in fact in standard usage at Tebtunis, with 9 more attestations beyond the Philosarapis archive, including cases (asterisked) referring to the god as well as a homonym (*P.Coll.Youtie* 1.24, *P.Kron.* 50\*, *P.Mert.* 3.105, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.142, 196, *P.Muench.* 3.1.145, *P.Tebt.* 2.366, SB 8.9642 5\*, 18.13907. It is common also in other Fayum villages (Karanis, Narmouthis, Theadelphia), but rare elsewhere (Alexandria, *BGU* 4.1142; Oxyrhynchus, SB 20.14975 – in *P.Oxy.* 62.4334 it is nominative). By comparison, the genitive Ἑρμοῦ was standard at Hermopolis (for both the god and the homonyms Hermes and Hermas), but rare at Tebtunis (only *P.Lund.* 3.9\*, from Akoris or Tebtunis, *P.Tebt.* 2.323, 3.2.947). These data are taken from DDBDP searches for #ερμουσ# and #ερμου# (15/3/15); see also notes 8-9 below.

<sup>7</sup> Canducci 1991, p. 159 and passim, cf. Canducci 1990; Smolders, p. 5; Broux and Coussement (n. 3) 132.

<sup>8</sup> Compare also 29, the official response of the *chrematistai* to his daughter's request, as heir of her father's brother Lysimachos, for permission to proceed against the heirs

base, we can now trace the whole geographical and chronological range of this and the other personal names derived from the god Hermes, which confirms that “Hermes” was a standard personal name in use throughout Egypt and not merely an informal variant.<sup>9</sup>

The only text in the archive currently recognised as actively involving Hermes is 5 (26 Nov. 98\*), a lease addressed to Hermes s(on of) Didymos for two out of three arouras from the six belonging to Hermes at Kerkesephis, already sown with beans and turnips, for which the tenant (Polemon s. Heuremon) was to pay rent of 40 dr(achmas) and 2 art(abas) of turnips on 15th Tybi (10 Jan.), plus for the beans, 25 art. of beans payable the following Pauni (May/June, the usual month for paying arable rents). A prodomatic lease remained valid for another three arouras which Polemon held from Hermes to grow wheat. Although prodomatic leases (in which the rent is paid in advance) do not invariably reflect financial difficulty, they were relatively uncommon in connection with wheat cultivation (for fodder cultivation they were common because the value of fodder fluctuated), which in combination with the quick return on the turnip crop, produces a suspicion that Hermes had arranged these leases to get his hands on some quick cash, while not entirely foregoing a return after the harvest. If so, he seems to have been a shrewd man.

Hermes also appears in a receipt of 112 (2 July) for catoic taxes at Kerkesephis paid by his daughter Herakleia: Ἑρμῆς Διδύμου σὺν ταῖς | εἰς Πτολεμαῖον Διδᾶ διὰ Ἑρακλείας θυγ(ατρὸς) ... (12.4-6); which is translated in the edition as “Hermes son of Didumos together with the (artabae) chargeable to Ptolemaios son of Didas, through Herakleia his daughter” (van Groningen, p. 39). The payment, of 6 7/12 art. wheat plus *epibole* and other extras (making 8 5/8 art. in all), looks like the *artabae* tax due on the 6 ar(ouras) at Kerkesephis already known about from the lease of 98.<sup>10</sup>

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of Lysimachos’ debtor. This twice writes her father’s name as Hermous (lines 8 and 29: Ἑρμοῦτος; though l. 27 uses Ἑρμους as a genitive, not nominative). Hermes was almost certainly dead by 120/121, since he is not mentioned in 20.

<sup>9</sup> The most relevant variants (of 219 total) are Ἑρμίας (TM Nam 2999: 1555 attestations), Ἑρμᾶς (TM Nam 4451: 471 attestations) Ἑρμαῖος (TM Nam 4454: 476 attestations, almost all Hermopolite), Ἑρμῆς (4465: 317), Ἑρμῶν (3003: 145), Ἑρμοῦς (6908: 13), Ἑρμῖος (3001: 9). (Since the database is currently the beta version, these figures for attestations are indicative rather than precisely accurate; e.g. P.Oxy. 66.4533.21, listed under Ἑρμᾶς, refers to a seal of the god Hermes.)

<sup>10</sup> The implied extra half-aroura can be attributed to revision of the area after survey. Youtie 1956, pp. 77-79 improved the interpretation of the figures and calculations for this text.

The fact that his daughter Herakleia actually paid the tax leaves it uncertain whether Hermes was still alive at this date, since land could remain officially registered in the names of deceased persons for years, the taxes being paid by their heirs. Thus a later tax receipt from the family archive, 26 (129-131), records Herakleides s. Maron as the primary tax-payer even though he most probably died in mid-114.<sup>11</sup> Comparison with the wording of this latter receipt, which pairs Herakleides with his wife Didyme (Ἡρακλείδης Μάρωνος) | [σ]ὺν ταῖς εἰς Διδύμ[η]ν Λυσι(μάχου): 3-4, cf. 9-10), alerts us to the real identity of “Ptolemas son of Didas,” whose name in fact should be read as “Ptolema daughter of Didas,” and who thus emerges as Hermes’ wife and the mother of Herakleia.<sup>12</sup>

Van Groningen seems to have been misled by the subsequent entry, a receipt for taxes paid by Ptolema herself on land at Kerkesis (20 August 112\*):

13 Κερκήσεως. Πτολεμᾶ Διδᾶ

14 [ἄ]μπελο(υργοῦ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β ς' κδ', προσμ(ετρούμενα)

The editor expanded the first word of line 14 [ἄ]μπελο(υργοῦ), and translated the entry “From Ptolemas son of Didas, vine-dresser...” But at this point in a tax receipt we expect not a reference to the owner’s occupation but a land category, which gives the key to the rate of taxation. Since the land tax here was paid in wheat, the reference must be to *ge ampelitis*, former vineland given over to arable cultivation, on which the standard tax rate was 1 1/2 art./ar. of wheat, rather than productive vineland, on which money taxes were charged.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The scholarly consensus that Herakleides died in May-June 114 (Van Groningen, p. 6, no. 25) has recently been questioned by Peter Parsons in his revised edition of 17 (*P.Coles* 20, esp. n. 5) because of the implication that Herakleides’ death was recent at the date of that document (now dated after 133). But, since 21.9 explicitly attests that Herakleides was deceased by June 122, this implication cannot be relied on very firmly. I continue to regard mid-114 as the most likely date of Herakleides’ death, although not certain. In 26 introduction, van Groningen cites the persistent delays in updating the property register as a parallel for deceased persons still appearing in tax documents, but a closer parallel is the inclusion in the tax register BGU 8.1897.35 (AD 166) of Didymarion d. Apion, who had died in 138 at the latest; R. Smolders, “SB XXII 15336 and the Interpretation of BGU IX 1897,” *ZPE* 148 (2004) 239-240. Compare 39, attributing taxes to Herakleia d. Hermes, also apparently already deceased (see §5(i) below).

<sup>12</sup> The expression σὺν ταῖς εἰς seems regularly to be used when a male pays taxes on behalf of a woman (his wife or daughter); cf. M. Bakker, A. Bakkers, and K. Worp (eds.), “Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection: Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota,” *BASP* 44 (2007) 41-74, at 53-54.

<sup>13</sup> On checking the papyrus, the reading of “o” (superscript) in l. 14 is certain, implying the expansion [ἄ]μπελο(ῶ) rather than the expected [ἄ]μπελ(ίτιδος). This is anoma-

Ptolema's payment for this land, of 2 5/24 art. plus extras, totalling in all 3 5/12 art., seems to refer to the *ge ampelitis* (1 ar. plus 1/8 ar. *epibole* at Kerkesis) which, as I argue below, was purchased by Hermes' wife in 92.<sup>14</sup>

Before leaving this tax receipt, it needs re-emphasis that, although Hermes undoubtedly did belong to the 6475 Arsinoite *Hellenes*, since his daughter Herakleia certainly did, 12 line 11 does not provide proof of this: Ἑλλήνων refers to the "Greek" calendar, not to Hermes' status, while earlier in the document, κατοίκων Κερκεσήμεως (l.3) was just the standard Arsinoite way of designating owners of catoic land, who were not necessarily *katoikoi* in the sense of being members of the 6475.<sup>15</sup>

A DDBDP search identified another document which clearly refers to our Hermes, and contains his autograph as well as fuller details of his name, age and description. In *P.Ryl.* 2.173A, a loan contract made through the Tebtunis *grapheion* on 30 April 99, two villagers of Memphis (the village in the Polemon division) acknowledged to "Hermes alias Lysimachos son of Didymos, aged about forty years, scar on the right side of his forehead" (Ἑρμῇ τῷ καὶ [Λ]υσιμάχῳ | Διδύμου ὡς ἑτῶν τεσσαράκοντα οὐλῇ μετώπῳ | ἐγ δεξιῶν, 9-11), their receipt of 88 dr. at interest, to be repaid in Pauni of the current year. The document is essentially complete, including the subscription, Hermes' signature, and the record-office date and docket. "Hermes" was not such a popular name in early Roman Tebtunis that the combination of patronymic and suitable age and alias leaves any doubt that the lender here was Herakleia's father Hermes.<sup>16</sup> If it seems surprising that Hermes' double name was not used

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lous, since no other wheat tax payments for ἀμπελοῦ occur in the DDBDP (except *PSI* 10.1113, where the abbreviation ἀμπέλ(ου) could equally be expanded ἀμπελ(τιδος)). However in several cases, the word is abbreviated *ampel( )* or *am( )*: *BGU* 9.1893, *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.25, *P.Mert.* 1.16 (cf. Youtie 1952), *PSI* 14.1407, leaving it possible that the terminological distinction between *ampelitis* and *ampelou* was not in fact as firm as we assume, and that *ampelou* could sometimes also refer to (ex)-vineland taxed in wheat. Otherwise we must assume that the scribe of 12 wrote the "ο" in error.

<sup>14</sup> The category and location both fit, but the tax payment implies a slightly larger area than 1 1/8 ar., either because the land been re-surveyed (cf. also n. 10 above) or the tax rate was higher than the norm.

<sup>15</sup> See Canducci 1990, pp. 216, 219, 223; 1991, pp. 159, 188; R. Burnet, *L'Égypte ancienne à travers les papyrus* (Paris 2003) 126, although the reference of Ἑλλήνων to the Greek calendar was already observed by both Youtie (1952, pp. 111-112) and Turner.

<sup>16</sup> The name Hermes is unattested in the *grapheion* archive, only Hermias (*P.Mich.* 2.121 r<sup>o</sup> 4 viii) and Hermas (*P.Mich.* 2.123 r<sup>o</sup>, coll. 7.4, 10.27, 22.26; 128 col. 9.39, *P.Mich.* 5.238 r<sup>o</sup>, col. 1.21, 2.77; 244 r<sup>o</sup> col. 2.40; 240 col. 2.58, cf. *P.Mich.* 12.633). The contemporary Hermes who loaned money at Talei (*SB* 18.13234, 98/99) was a son of Hermias. The *praktor* named Hermes in *P.Kron.* 54 (116) could be our Hermes, or the son of

by his daughter Herakleia or in the other documents in the archive, we should note that even in *P.Ryl.* 173A he is called simply “Hermes” twice as often as by the double name, including in his own signature: Ἑρμῆς Διδύμου, γέγον[ε]. That was evidently the name he normally used himself and by which he was known to his family. But his double name does occur in another text from the archive, hitherto unrecognised.

The physical description of Hermes in *P.Ryl.* 2.173A, combined with the knowledge that Ptolema d. Didas was his wife, allows the resolution of a problem in one of *P.Fam.Tebt.* texts which has niggled scholars ever since its first publication: the identity of the female purchaser and her *kyrios* in 3.<sup>17</sup> This is one of three texts from the Giessen Janda collection included in van Groningen’s publication (*P.Iand.inv.* 168, bought from the Papyruskartell, like 19 and 37), and although the originals unfortunately perished in World War II, surviving photographs can be accessed online.<sup>18</sup> The text is a copy of a sale agreement, made on 16 April 92 in Ptolemais Euergetis,<sup>19</sup> for 1 ar. of *ge ampelitis* plus 1/8 ar. *epibole* at Kerkesis, with rights to a common reservoir, and rights to the dike(?), hunting, and fishing shared with the neighbour, for the price of 760 dr. The text is reasonably well preserved, apart from the first eleven or so letters of almost every line. The seller was Areios s. Areios, but the name of the female purchaser is completely lost apart from the final letter, as also is the first part of her *kyrios*/husband’s name:

- 4 [- ca.11 -] α ὥς (ἐτῶν) . β ο(ὕλῃ) γόνати ἀριστερῶι μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς —  
5 [- ca.11 -] Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Διδύμου ὥς (ἐτῶν) λε ο(ὕλῃ) μετόπ(ω) ἐκ  
δεξιῶν —

Van Groningen (p. 6, no. 11, cf. Canducci 1991, no. 155) suggested that the husband/*kyrios* might be Hermes’ father Didymos son of Lysimachos, whose wife was named Apia (20.10). But this depended on his miscalculating his birth

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Hermias, or perhaps the tax collector Hermes s. Ptolemaios (*O.Mich.* 1.18, not necessarily from Tebtunis).

<sup>17</sup> Because of this uncertainty, van Groningen expressed doubt whether 3 (along with others, including 2 and 4; cf. n. 22 below) properly belonged to the archive, seconded by Smolders, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> [http://papyri-giessen.dl.uni-leipzig.de/receive/GiePapyri\\_schrift\\_00001920](http://papyri-giessen.dl.uni-leipzig.de/receive/GiePapyri_schrift_00001920). The papyrus had already been published (posthumously) by Karl Kalbfleisch, in “Zwei Rechtsurkunden aus dem Archiv einer griechisch-ägyptischen Familie des Arsinoites,” *ZSav.* 65 (1947) 344–351.

<sup>19</sup> Not Drymou, as restored in the edition (and in the DDBDP text); *BL* 8:198. For other corrections see Youtie 1952, pp. 108–111.

year on the basis of this document as 47 instead of 57 (92-35); making him implausibly (if not quite impossibly) young to be grandfather of Herakleia, born 93.<sup>20</sup> The ages and descriptions also do not fit the spouses Apia-Herakleia born c. 69 and Didymos s. Lysimachos born c. 61, involved in the loan agreement 9 (22 Nov. 107; cf. Canducci 1991, no. 158). But both the age and description in line 5 here do closely accord with that of Hermes-Lysimachos in *P.Ryl.* 2.173A; he too had a scar on the right of his forehead and was aged about forty in AD 99 (the two-year discrepancy of age is easily explained by age-rounding). With the help of 12 we can also supply the correct restoration of the wife's name, where indeed we expect a patronym, though necessarily a very short one, ending in -α. We can therefore restore for these lines:

- 4 [Πτολέμα Διδ]ᾶ ὥς (ἐτῶν) . β ο(ὕλῃ) γόνατι ἀριστερῶι μετὰ κυρίου  
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς —  
5 [Ἑρμοῦς τοῦ καὶ ] Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Διδύμου ὥς (ἐτῶν) λε ο(ὕλῃ)  
μετόπ(ω) ἐκ δεξιῶν —

The online photograph is not sufficiently clear to read the first digit of Ptolema's age, which could equally well be 22 or 32; either would make her comfortably able to give birth to her daughter Herakleia the following year.<sup>21</sup> This identification confirms 3 as genuinely belonging to the family archive, passed on to Herakleia along with her parents' other documents; and it also explains how Ptolema acquired the *ge ampelitis* on which she paid taxes in 112 (12).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Takahashi (n. 3) Appendix 2.3, "The Herodes family."

<sup>21</sup> Hermes and Ptolema were probably relatively recently married; were they converting her dowry into real estate? Cf. Didyme's purchase of vineland (n. 59 below).

<sup>22</sup> This thankfully eliminates one Lysimachos and one Didymos from van Groningen's list of uncertain family members and from Canducci's prosopography: van Groningen, p. 11, no. 110 and p. 10, no. 94; Lysimachos xix s. Didymos xiii; Canducci 1991, Lysimachos p. 172, no. 385; cf. Didymos p. 141, no. 158. Ischyriion s. Achilles, who subscribed *P.Ryl.* 2.173A for the illiterate borrowers, also wrote the subscriptions to 2 and 4, but is not otherwise attested. Both these texts are loans from the 90s made by men named Lysimachos s. Didymos, whom both van Groningen and Smolders agree cannot be identified with any known members of the Philosarapis family because of details in their names or descriptions. Although regular subscribers were normally associated with the record-office rather than the contracting parties, one wonders in these cases if Ischyriion was connected with the creditors. But more work is required to disambiguate the several men named Lysimachos s. Didymos all living at Tebtunis in the 90s AD (including the Lysimachos s. Didymos and his brother Didymos who paid catoic taxes for Theogonis, *SB* 22.15732; 14 Aug. 86).



I have found no other references to Ptolema d. Didas, or to men named Didas at Tebtunis in the generation of her father (the name is absent from the mid-first century *grapheion* archive).<sup>23</sup> But several men named Didas figure among the *katoikoi* from the Apolloniou Parembolē quarter listed in *SPP* 4, pp. 58-83, so Ptolema's name suggests a well-bred family.<sup>24</sup> Hermes may have preferred to choose his wife not from the relatively few families at Tebtunis entitled to pass catoicic status to their children, but from the larger pool of families of the required status available in the metropolis.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. Can P.Ryl. 173A Be Attributed to the Philosarapis Archive Proper?

Papyri from Tebtunis in the Rylands collection are extremely few, and I have recognised no other Rylands text in which the personal names suggest any hint of a connection with the Philosarapis family.<sup>26</sup> The attribution of *P.Ryl.* 173A to the Philosarapis family archive proper, as opposed to the dossier of texts related to the family, therefore cannot be assumed without consideration of how one the family papers could have entered into the possession of the Rylands collection. In this section, I attempt to make the case for accepting *P.Ryl.* 2.173A as not merely part of the family's dossier, but as one of the papers which Herakleia passed on from her parents to subsequent generations of the family.

<sup>23</sup> The closest candidates are *PSI* 10.1154 (2nd c. AD) and *SB* 20.14134 = *P.Tebt.* 2.621 (111).

<sup>24</sup> See Canducci 1991, pp. 136-137, nos. 124-135. No. 133 is Didas, father of Ptolemaios (sic; no. 489), whom Canducci included for the wrong reason (as a *Hellen*; cf. n. 15 above). But both Ptolema and her father should legitimately appear in the prosopography since they are direct ancestors of Herakleia, an attested *katoikos*.

<sup>25</sup> The only other Hermes who could possibly be connected with the Philosarapis family is the tenant of Diogenis (TM Arch 176), Hermes (aged 29) s. Herakleides s. Hermes (*P.Mil. Vogl.* 3.196, AD 140). But although Herakleides here was a suitable age to be a brother of Herakleia, the evidence points to Herakleia being the sole heir of her uncle Lysimachos as well as her of father (see n. 52 below), and she lacked any close male relative by birth to act as *kyrios* when transacting business with her husband in 132 (27; her *syngenes* Lysimachos was actually her husband's cousin, unless there was another link between Herakleia and Didyme's family that we do not know). This seems to rule out the tenant of Diogenis being related to Herakleia.

<sup>26</sup> From Tebtunis itself, only *P.Ryl.* 4.587 (87 BC), which has now been reattributed to Mouchis: S. Coussement, "New Light on the Hawara Undertakers: *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588 and the Expression of Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt," *BASP* 49 (2012) 259-275, esp. 260; cf. *P.Ryl.* 2.158, a donkey sale from Ibion Eikosipentarouron (AD 138?). It should be remembered, though, that some Rylands texts are not fully published.

The initial circumstances in which the Philo Sarapis archive was found are unknown until dealers dispersed them through sales made in 1911 and 1912, mainly among three collections: the British Museum, the Janda collection at Giessen (both 1911), and the Berlin collection (1912). Also in 1912 the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek bought a lot which included either one or two papyri belonging to archive.<sup>27</sup> Two other isolated texts (both census declarations) relating to the family have been rejected as belonging to the archive proper because they were acquired from separate, later purchases and, although they unquestionably concern members of the wider family, have no close connection with the main archive-keepers of each generation and must have been preserved separately.<sup>28</sup> Yet another census declaration, *PSI* 12.1227 (now in Florence), arguably has a strong claim to belong to the archive proper, although its provenance was not from antiquities purchases, but from Bagnani's excavation of a house in Tebtunis in 1934.<sup>29</sup>

The case of *SB* 24.15987 and 16013 (and **36**, if we reject its attribution to the archive proper) provide comparanda for regarding *PRyl.* 2.173A as belonging to the dossier of texts referring to the family but not to the original cache of family papers. However, unlike these, the addressee of the Rylands papyrus was a family ancestor securely known to have contributed documents to the archive proper, through his daughter Herakleia (i.e. at least 5; also 3, as I showed above). Moreover, although the core of the Rylands collection was formed by Mrs. Enriqueta Rylands' purchase of Lord Crawford's library in 1901 (itself comprising the results of a spree of papyrus purchases over the previous few years, and thus too early to be connected with the Philo Sarapis archive), there were several subsequent additions to the collection. These later purchases included thirty-six assorted papyri which formed part of a lot (believed to originate from the Fayum) bought by Carl Schmidt in summer 1912 from dealer Aly Abdelhay el Gabri for the Neutestamentliches Seminar in Berlin, before selling on the majority to the Rylands collection later the same

<sup>27</sup> Smolders, pp. 1-3. Smolders (note 13) rejects **36** (Hamb. inv. 345: a rent receipt paid to Isidora-Tamystha, a relative by marriage and creditor of the Philo Sarapis family). But he accepts **23** (Hamb. inv. 315).

<sup>28</sup> *SB* 24.15987 (P.Haun.inv. 24), and *SB* 24.16013 (P.CtYBR inv. 468); see Smolders, nn. 15-16 on their provenance, and more generally, on 16013, R. Duttonhöfer's *ed. pr.*, "Five Census Returns in the Beinecke Library," *BASP* 34 (1997) 65-70; and on *SB* 15987, R. Takahashi, "Notes on *SB* XIV 11714 (P.Haun. inv. 24 verso): Its Date and Relationship with the Recto (*SB* XXIV 15987)," *ZPE* 185 (2013) 219-228.

<sup>29</sup> See Smolders, p. 3: "Wegener and Bagnall's attribution of this papyrus to the archive of Philo Sarapis is almost inevitable." The assumption is that Bagnani discovered a remaining part of the original cache; Smolders, p. 4.

summer.<sup>30</sup> This 1912 Rylands purchase included five Decian libelli of a group of such texts from Theadelphia, thought originally to have comprised a single archive of the officials responsible, but now scattered among at least six collections, and possibly more (TM Arch 331). The dismemberment of this archive at the same date as the Philsarapis archive, and to some of the same recipients (notably the Hamburg Bibliothek and the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, in addition to the John Rylands Library) provides a model, if one is needed, for explaining how an apparently “stray” text from the Philsarapis archive could be found in the Rylands collection.

It seems that the Philsarapis papyri, probably already reaching the hands of dealers mixed up with other Fayum finds (explaining why the Janda group were all believed to have originated from Theadelphia), were mainly disposed of in the two sales of 1911, to the British Museum and the Janda collection (which, as I show in the next section, has five known texts in addition to the unspecified number lost in World War II). But other texts from the archive evidently became detached from these two main groups and found their way into other collections of assorted Fayum texts destined for other European collections around 1912. Seen in this light, the claim of *PRyl.* 2.173A to belong to the Philsarapis archive proper and not merely the dossier of related texts is as strong as that of the sole Hamburg papyrus securely attributed to the archive (23 = *PHamb.* 1.62; see n. 27 above).

The addition of 3 and *PRyl.* 273A to the archive and the clarification about the meaning of 12 significantly enhance our understanding of Herakleia’s ancestry and of her contribution to the formation of the archive (already recognised by Smolders, nn. 11, 25). We can also add Hermes to the list of literate male members of the family,<sup>31</sup> although the accumulation of more papers of interest to Herakleia (and especially of further ones in which she was actively involved; see §3) adds to our surprise that Herakleia herself never learned to write.

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<sup>30</sup> R. Mazza, “Graeco-Roman Egypt in Manchester: The Formation of the Rylands Collection,” in *ProcGeneva*, pp. 499-507, esp. 501-506. On the composition of Lord Crawford’s library, see M. Choat, “Lord Crawford’s Search for Papyri: On the Origin of the Rylands Papyrus collection,” in *ProcGeneva*, pp. 141-147. The remainder of the lot was published by Meyer and includes part of the archive of Aphrodisios s. Philippos and descendants, from Theadelphia (TM Arch 294).

<sup>31</sup> Van Groningen, p. 15; Smolders, p. 4; Duttenhöfer (n. 28) 66.

### 3. More Giessen Papyri Relating to the Family

The three Giessen papyri already recognised as belonging to the archive are respectively P.Iand.inv. 166, 168, and 169.<sup>32</sup> This prompts consideration of whether P.Iand.inv. 167 also belongs to the archive, especially since the Giessen online information attributes them all to the same acquisition. 167 turns out to be the well-known copy of a *gnomon* of catoic taxes published as *P.Iand.* 7.137, dated palaeographically to the first half of the second century AD. This is currently considered to form part of the “Administrative Archive of Theadelphia” (TM Arch 247), not unreasonably, considering its subject-matter and the fact that the whole acquisition was believed to have originated from Theadelphia (“Fundort: Batn Harit (?)” in the relevant Giessen online entries, including for 3, 19, and 37).<sup>33</sup> However, the edition of *P.Iand.* 137 (pp. 276-277) states that the handwriting of that text is the same as that of 166 verso, which was then unpublished (now 19 = SB 6.9252); and this was endorsed by Kalbfleisch in his posthumous publication of 166, who added the further information that the *recto* of the *gnomon* contained a tax list which most probably formed part of the same roll as the fiscal roll written on the *recto* of 166.<sup>34</sup>

This amounts to strong evidence that *P.Iand.* 137 was not written at Theadelphia as part of the administrative archive of the *sitologoi*, but rather that this schedule of catoic taxes was actually a private copy made and kept by the Philosarapis family to check on their tax obligations. While every generation of this family had an interest in catoic taxes (see Appendix), the links men-

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<sup>32</sup> 3, 19 and 37; on 3 and 19 see above. 37, concerning the slave Martilla, is closely connected with 38 and 40, both owned by the British Library.

<sup>33</sup> See the links provided at <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/pub/papyruspublikationen.html>. The online information for P.Iand.inv. 167 confuses *recto* and *verso*, in that the published tax schedule is said to be on the *verso*, and the *recto* to contain an unpublished list of land parcels and money taxes; but the only photograph (patently showing tax schedule) is said to be the *recto*. The original papyrus was lost in the bombing of Kalbfleisch's house, and with it, the possibility of checking whether the tax list on the *recto* related to the Philosarapis family (but the *recto* of P.Iand.inv. 170 certainly was not related to the family – see below).

<sup>34</sup> K. Kalbfleisch, “Aus dem Amtstagebuch des Strategen Apollonides,” *Archiv* 15 (1953) 90; cf. the summary/review by M. Hombert, *Cd'E* 30 (1955) 139-140. The substantial tax register dated AD 86 on the *recto* of 166, publication of which was planned for *P.Iand.* 10, was never published. This papyrus was also destroyed in the bombing of Kalbfleisch's house in 1944, and the sole existing photograph shows the *verso* (i.e. 19; the online information exhibits the same confusion between *recto* and *verso* as for inv. 167; see previous note). According to its introduction, 28 (the lease of Hermes-Valerius' land) was also in the same hand as 19; a reappraisal of the hands of all the texts in the archive would surely yield useful results.

tioned in the previous paragraph point most strongly to the second generation, Herakleides-Valerius and his wife Herakleia, which was evidently the key generation in the formation of the archive (cf. Smolders, p. 2). Although van Groningen surmises that Herakleides-Valerius did not own any catoicic land after renouncing his paternal inheritance as a result of his father Herakleides' penalty for repairing the damaged public archives (cf. n. 50 below), his wife Herakleia is known to have inherited catoicic land from each of her parents (§1 above), as well as probably also from her uncle Lysimachos (see n. 52 below).<sup>35</sup>

But Herakleia had an even stronger reason for needing to be well-informed about catoicic registration and taxation, since in 129 she acted as witness to the identity of her cousin Herakleia-Ninnous when the latter succeeded to her father Kronion's 6 ar. of catoicic land (25).<sup>36</sup> There still exist no direct parallels to this certificate, but the procedure involved, *gnosteia* (certification of identity), has been illuminated somewhat by additional evidence.<sup>37</sup> And although the extant clauses of *P.Iand.* 137 (with *BL* 3:88) do not explicitly mention *gnosteia*, it was apparently required in the circumstances specified in lines 17-21, of children succeeding to their parents' land having not been already registered by the parents during their lifetime.<sup>38</sup> Herakleia's preserva-

<sup>35</sup> See van Groningen's introduction to 25. The 8 ar. *kleros* owned by the couple's short-lived eldest son, Hermes-Valerius, may also have been catoicic (28).

<sup>36</sup> Van Groningen's (pp. 1-2) rejection of any connection of *P.Iand.* 137 (= inv. 167) with the archive seems surprising, since 25 introduction recognises its particular relevance to 25.

<sup>37</sup> Especially *P.Köln* 5.227; cf. *SB* 20.14997. *P.Col.* 8.223 now shows that *gnosteia* tax was paid by men as well as women; see also *BGU* 7.1588, *P.Fay.* 65, *SPP* 22.50. The clearest succinct explanation of *gnosteia* tax, and its relationship to the τέλος μετεπιγραφής, the main tax on catoicic registry, is C.A. Nelson, "Four Papyri From the Berlin Collection," *BASP* 32 (1995) 123-132, at 126-128.

<sup>38</sup> Still all known examples relate to inheritance. The lower charges applied when children were registered by their living parents (*P.Iand.* 137.10-17) would explain the rarity of *gnosteia* tax receipts compared with the catoicic tax receipts relating to transfers by sale (witnesses to identity are, of course, more frequently documented in other contexts, such as for qualification for Antinoite citizenship; see 30, 32-5). Although it seems logical that *gnosteia* would also be required on the occasion of the first purchase by anyone not already registered as a *katoikos* (137.6-9), the copious sale documentation perhaps sufficed to establish a new owner's identity in these cases (or maybe it was never common for purchases of catoicic land to be made to persons not already listed in the catoicic register?). For a lucid analysis of *P.Iand.* 137 and its implications for the significant cost of transferring catoicic land, especially to females, see U. Yiftach, "Metepigraphê: Ptolemaic and Roman Policies on the Conveyance of Allotment Land," in E. Jakab (ed.), *Legal Documents in Ancient Societies V: Sale and Community Documents from the Ancient World* (Trieste 2015) 133-151.

tion of 25 (a copy of the original certificate) stemmed from her role as witness and should not be understood to imply that she also ultimately inherited her cousin's property; as van Groningen suggests in the introduction, Herakleia-Ninnous' enrolment probably took place when she reached adulthood, and she may have later produced children of her own.<sup>39</sup> Payment of the *gnosteia* tax would be the responsibility of Herakleia-Ninnous, not of Herakleia (and therefore is not mentioned in 25); what we do expect in 25, however, is a statement of whether the land was arable or under trees since, as the schedule in *P.Iand.* 137 makes clear, catoic taxes were substantially higher on tree-bearing land than on arable land (and for female as opposed to male owners), and all types of document concerning catoic registry regularly include this information.<sup>40</sup>

Searching the inventory numbers adjacent to 166-169, I could find no reference to the content or fate of *P.Iand.inv.* 165, although it is not listed among those papyri destroyed in the bombing of 1944 (as 166-169 are).<sup>41</sup> But in any case, 165 seems to have been acquired in a different purchase, so there is no reason to suspect that it belonged to the Philosarapis archive.<sup>42</sup>

However, *P.Iand. inv.* 170 did survive World War II, and we have the benefit of photographs as well as editions of both *recto* and *verso*. The text on the *recto* (*P.Iand.* 7.135a), a first-century *sitologos* report for Sebennytos, has no discernible connection with the Philosarapis family, but the *verso* contains an excerpted *episkepsis* report mentioning Thaubarion d. Mysthes (*P.Iand.* 7.135). This was the name of Herakleides' mother, and there is good reason for believing that this papyrus, too, belonged to the family archive, the discarded *sitologos* report being used as waste paper for writing the *episkepsis* excerpt, most probably for the use of Herakleides when making the arrangements for sharing his late mother's estate with his half-siblings. The extract, dated to year 7 of Trajan (103/104, at least four years after Thaubarion's death), and taken from "volume 10" covering the three villages Magdola, Theogonis, and Lysi-

<sup>39</sup> Under the rules of intestate inheritance, Herakleia-Ninnous would be entitled to share her uncle Lysimachos' estate with her cousin Herakleia. But the absence of any co-heir of Herakleia in 29 is not secure evidence that Herakleia-Ninnous was dead by 133; perhaps Lysimachos had left a will making Herakleia his sole heir.

<sup>40</sup> Especially *PSI* 15.1540, a private letter concerning the information needed to register an inheritance from a grandfather; cf. e.g. *BGU* 1.328, 2.622, 3.866, 7.1565, *P.Gen.* 3.145, *P.Mich.* 6.634, *P.Phil.* 11, *P.Tebt.* 2.357, *SB* 22.15848, *SPP* 22.44. The text of 25 would benefit from a thorough revision.

<sup>41</sup> H. G. Gundel, "Verlorene Papyri Jandanae," *Aegyptus* 41 (1961) 6-16, at p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> H. G. Gundel, *Papyri Iandanae - Eine Einführung*<sup>2</sup> (Kurzberichte aus den Giessener Papyrussammlungen 29; Giessen 1971) p. 6. (digitised at [http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/pub/kgbi29/kggipap29\\_-\\_meta.html](http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/pub/kgbi29/kggipap29_-_meta.html)). *P.Iand. inv.* 164 is a short fragment of c. 582 AD from the Apion archive, published as *P.Iand.* 3.48a.

machis, described the property of Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios and Thaubarion d. Mysthes: “similarly, to (εἰς) Lykarion s. Menelaos,” a fertile vineyard with reservoir, of 2 5/8 ar.<sup>43</sup> The subsequent detailed survey of the component four plots, however, calculated the area as only 2 9/16 ar. The editor translated εἰς to indicate that Lykarion was the tenant of the land (along with that mentioned just before the excerpted entry), but more likely it refers to a former owner under whose name the land was still entered in the records (cf. n. 11 above), implying that Thaubarion and Ptolemaios may have shared a joint inheritance from Lykarion in the past.<sup>44</sup>

Although neither Lykarion nor his father Menelaos is identifiable, both names are strongly Greek (the dynastic name Menelaos was popular among Arsinoite cleruchs), and any hints about Thaubarion’s ancestry are welcome, since neither she nor her father Mysthes can be securely individuated from the mass of names preserved in the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive.<sup>45</sup> Yet Thaubarion was wealthy enough to endow her daughter Apollonarion with 2000 dr., which

<sup>43</sup> Given the relative location of these villages, vol. 10 apparently covered most, if not all, of the Polemon division; see TM Geo 1284, 2376, and 1275. In line 3, the editor’s expansion ἀμπ(ελίτιδος), followed by DDBDP, is inappropriate for a fruit-bearing vineyard (n. 13 above); we need here ἀμπ(ελῶνος), as supplemented by Kortenbeutel’s handwritten marginal note in the Giessen online copy of *P.Iand.* 7 (not listed in *BL*). As the editor notes, the illegible section of line 4 must have referred to the reservoir (I doubt the reference to a house) cf. the suggestions in *BL* 3:88.

<sup>44</sup> A Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios was ceded catoicic land at Tebtunis in 45 (*P.Mich.* 5.338) but the name is too common for confidence that this was the same man as Thaubarion’s co-owner.

<sup>45</sup> Lykarion: TM Nam 3893 (particularly found in Alexandria); Menelaos: TM Nam 4034. We cannot distinguish whether Thaubarion d. Mysthes, Thaubarion d. Bremon (*P.Mich.* 5.304), or Thaubarion d. Petemounis (*P.Mich.* 5.333/334) was the recipient of 120 dr. from Thasis in *P.Mich.* 5.238 line 88. The nominative “Mysthes” does not appear in the *grapheion* archive, although attested in Tebtunis both earlier and later (*P.Tebt.* 3.1 808; *SB* 8.9642 4; 20.14133 etc.), but Thaubarion’s father could be the man who leased 3 3/4 ar. to Herakles (*P.Mich.* 2.123 r<sup>o</sup> col. 3.37; Μύσθου).

However, searches of DDBDP and TM People make clear that “Μύσθου” (Thaubarion’s patronym) functioned as the genitive of Mysthas (TM Nam 4189; 764 attestations) as well as of Mysthes (TM Nam 4190; 317 attestations). (In fact, TM lists all occurrences of Μύσθου except those part of an alias under the variant Mysthas and not under Mysthes.) Space precludes a complete survey of the evidence here, but in brief, the following points confirm this:

(a) The regular genitives of Μυσθᾶς (Μυσθᾶ and Μυσθᾶτος) hardly occur in DD-BDP; the only instance is an expansion - *P.Lond.* 3.909b (p. 32; AD 143/144, Ptolemais Euergetis); τοῦ Μυσθ(ᾶ). Cf. *P.Bru.* 1.21 (AD 205, Prosopite nome) Μύστης Ἀμούνιος Μυστᾶτος (implying that Μυστᾶτος is the same name as Μύστης?); *O.Fay.* 7 (AD 4,



exceeded all but two of the dowries recorded in the *grapheion* archive as well as that of Herakleides' daughter Didymarion (admittedly Thaubarion apparently had actually paid none of this sum before both she and Apollonarion died, and it took Herakleides until 108 to make the final payment to Apollonarion's youngest son, Kastor).<sup>46</sup> To add to the information from *P.Iand.* 7.135, two *P.Fam.Tebt.* texts also yield further information about her property, if their implications are teased out, which is the purpose of the next section.

#### 4. The Wealth of Herakleides' Mother Thaubarion

If **1** were in better condition, it would add much to our knowledge of Thaubarion's property, since her name figures twice in the later clauses,<sup>47</sup> and the reference to Apollonios in l.22 also indicates that the subject of this section was a disposition among Thaubarion's heirs. But the loss of a substantial part of every line to the left and other lacunae make it difficult even to estimate the original line length, and preclude any continuous translation, and our only guide to the date is the reference to "the present ninth year" (l.20), so this text makes an unpromising introduction to the elucidation of Thaubarion's property.

A better starting point, in fact, is **23**, the cession of catoicic land at Ibion Eikosipentarouron between Herakleides' wife Didyme and Lysimachos s. Didymos made in 123, even though this cession never explicitly mentions

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Euhemeria) Ἀφροδίσιος Μυσθᾶτι Ὀρσενούφ(ιος) (dative); but also *P.Ath.* 54 (genitive Μύσθας, twice); *P.Petaus* 102 (Ποτάμων Μυσθᾶς).

(b) Filiations such as SB 14.11706 = *C.Pap.Gr.* 2.24 (AD 110, Ptolemais Euergetis) Μυσθᾶς Μύσθου το(ῦ) Μυ<σ>θου (translated without comment by its editor as "Mysthas, son of Mysthas, grandson of Mysthas"; W. Brashear, "P.Sorb. inv. 2358 and the New Statistics on Death Certificates", *BASP* 14 (1977) 1-10; also *PRyl.* 4.525 l.77 Μυσθᾶς Μύσθο(υ); cf. *P.Lond.* 2.181 (pp. 146-148), 2.259 (pp. 36-42), SB 14.11266.

A Mysthas occurs several times in the *grapheion* archive, especially *P.Mich.* 5.273/*PSI* 8.906, where Mysthas s. Akousilaos, Macedonian of the *katoikoi*, sells his ancestral catoicic *kleros*; the Mysthas who leased pasture from Leonidas (*P.Mich.* 2.123 r° col. 2.21, 4.34; 125.12), could well be identical with the *katoikos*. But however satisfying it would be to connect our Thaubarion with one of the early Roman *katoikoi*, the evidence is much too uncertain to permit the identification of this Mysthas as her father.

<sup>46</sup> **7** and **10**. Few dowries in the *grapheion* archive exceed 1000 dr., but note *P.Mich.* 5.240.37 with BL 9:160 (4900 dr.), *P.Mich.* 5.343 (2160 dr. plus lavish *parapherna*). The evidence is tabulated by U. Yiftach-Firanko, *Marriage and Marital Arrangements: A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt. 4th century BCE–4th century CE* (Munich 2003) 284-289.

<sup>47</sup> Line 28, and 26 with Turner; cf. BL 3:103.

Thaubarion. Didyme was selling half of her plot comprising 10 9/16 ar. catolic land and 1/4 ar. *epibole*, described as “formerly belonging to Herakleides s. Maron and assigned to her by a deed of partition which she drew up with three partners” (πρότερον Ἡρακλείδου Μάρωνος καὶ ἐπικεκλη<ρω>μένων αὐτῇ ἐγ διαίρέσεως, ἧς ἀνήνεγκεν πρὸς γ κοινωνοὺς ... l. 5), dated 23 May 119 in the Tebtunis *grapheion*.<sup>48</sup> Didyme’s remaining arouras formed the southern boundary of the ceded arouras, while the northern neighbours were the three sons of Apollonios: [NN], Lysimachos and Areios (ll. 9-10). Taking his lead from Meyer, the first editor of the cession (*P.Hamb.* 1.62), van Groningen made the tempting supposition that Didyme’s three partners in the division of 119 were the three sons of Apollonios; but however initially tempting, this equation leads to convoluted and implausible scenarios.<sup>49</sup> While the proximity of land formerly owned by Herakleides to that of his half-brother Apollonios’ sons undoubtedly reflects the division of Thaubarion’s estate among her heirs, this division also ought to have involved the third brother, Lysimachos-Gaius, or his heirs. And even if Lysimachos-Gaius had died without heirs since his last attestation in 108, the division must inevitably have involved Herakleides’ two sons in addition to his widow. However we see it, a division of Thaubarion’s estate would not produce exactly three partners for Didyme; moreover, one suspects that her inheritance had already been divided while Herakleides and Apollonios were still alive (probably soon after the final settlement with Apolloniarion’s heirs in 108).

The timing of the deed of 119 is more suggestive of a division following Herakleides’ death in mid-114 (n. 11 above) involving his widow and their three children. Didymarion’s presence was necessary because 600 dr. were outstanding from her dowry, which her brothers eventually settled a few years later (21, dated 25/7/122), but the inheritance itself was shared equally between the two brothers, as Herakleides-Valerius explicitly confirmed in the renunciation document for his share.<sup>50</sup> Didyme’s share of her husband’s estate must have

<sup>48</sup> But the reading ἐπιβεβληκότων (“falling to her”) is preferable to ἐπικεκλη<ρω>-κότων; *BL* 3:103.

<sup>49</sup> Van Groningen suggests (p. 84, n. 4) that Didyme and Apollonios were step-siblings, Thaubarion’s second husband Lysimachos being identical to Didyme’s father. But Didyme’s father was a son of Lysimachos, whereas Thaubarion’s husband was surely a son of Apollonios, given the names of his children (though the Apollonios s. Lysimachos, aged 25, who subscribed for an illiterate in AD 46 [*P.Mich.* 5.273/*PSI* 8.906], is too young to be Thaubarion’s father-in-law).

<sup>50</sup> 17; the re-edition of this text, now dating it after 133 (*P.Coles* 20), precludes any close chronological link between the property division and the renunciation (which perhaps was prompted by some aspect of the family’s financial affairs after they acquired

stood in lieu of her dowry, which is thus implied to have been even more lavish than those of her daughter and sister-in-law, unless its size was inflated to keep as much of the family wealth secure from the creditors.<sup>51</sup> We cannot know what prompted Didyme to sell half her land in 123, but her choice of Lysimachos as purchaser ensured that it would be reunited in the next generation, since Herakleides-Valerius' wife Herakleia was Lysimachos' niece and heir.<sup>52</sup>

The original size of Thaubarion's property at Ibion Eikosipentarouron cannot be reconstructed, since we do not know whether Herakleides' inheritance included more at that village beyond the 10+ ar. acquired by Didyme, whether Apollonios' adjacent plot was of the same size, and whether Lysimachos-Gaius also received a portion of the same plot. However, one of the more legible lines of **1** (l. 25, cf. 28) mentions a third share of a working granary at Talei among the property bestowed on Herakleides by Thaubarion. Granaries in private possession were not common, so this suggests both that Thaubarion's annual grain income was considerable and that the core of her estate was probably at Talei rather than at nearby Ibion.<sup>53</sup>

What more can be established from **1**? As van Groningen observed, the document seems to be an agreement between Herakleides and his wife Didyme concerning their marital property, but is neither their initial marriage agreement nor a subsequent property settlement on the couple by one or more of their parents.<sup>54</sup> The Lysimachos mentioned repeatedly in lines 5-11 was pre-

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Antinoite citizenship). Herakleides-Valerius' appointment as *episkeptes* of the Oxy-rhynchite nome at the start of Hadrian's reign (**18**) still presupposes his ownership of the requisite property qualification for this office; cf. Burnet (n. 15) 129. On the issue of Herakleides' responsibility for the damaged archives, see also A.Jördens "Reparaturen in arsinoitischen Gauarchiven," in *ProcGeneva* 371-379.

<sup>51</sup> Lysimachos paid 2000 dr. for half of Didyme's land, implying an original dowry of 4000 dr. (see n. 46 above for comparison of dowry sizes).

<sup>52</sup> **28** (1/4/133); see Smolders, nn. 11, 25. It is likely but not certain that Herakleia's heirship was known already in 123 (unless Lysimachos had children of his own who predeceased him). **23** is the latest attestation of Lysimachos alive (aged 68), unless the Lysimachos s. Didymos, ex-inspector of fishing tax in the marshes of Tebetny and Kerkeesis (still receiving payments), is the same man (*P.Tebt.* 2.359, AD 126).

<sup>53</sup> For the close proximity and links between Talei and Ibion Eikosipentarouron, see TM Geo 2236 and 885. Compare the private granary of Lysimachos-Louppos (father of Diogenis, TM Arch 276), *P.Kron.* 41; also *P.Mich.* 2.121 r° 3.v, *P.Mich.* 5.346c.

<sup>54</sup> Thus Didymarion's *sungraphe gamou*, drawn up through the Tebtunis *grapheion* in Trajan's 9th year (105/106), was followed (as **21** states) by a *sunchorema* of her father, also made through the Tebtunis *grapheion*, dated 6th intercalendary day of Trajan's 10th year (29/8/107). This *sunchorema* was Herakleides' testament: see U. Yiftach, "Deeds of Last Will in Graeco-Roman Egypt: a Case Study in Regionalism," *BASP* 39 (2002)

sumably Didyme's father; but the subscription implies that he was no longer alive, since Didyme's *kyrios* was a more remote relative (*suggenes*), also named Lysimachos.<sup>55</sup> And although lines 18-28 seem to contain the substance of

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149-164, at p. 152. The same *synchorema* is mentioned also in **11i** 17-19, where the restoration συν[γ]ραφο[ι][διαθήκη . . .] in my understanding is unlikely to be correct, since the term συγγραφοδιαθήκη applied only to marriage documents including parental testamentary provisions which were drawn up in the metropolis before the officials responsible for writing *diathekai* (whereas the agreement mentioned in **11i** is explicitly stated to have been made in Tebtunis); see P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Marriage Agreement with Property Division to Take Effect after Death and Other Documents," *ZPE* 111 (1996) 163-170, (= *SB* 24.16256), esp. line 63 (the term is rare, occurring otherwise only in *BGU* 1.252, *CPR* 1.28=M.*Chr.* 312, *P.Fouad* 33; 7, **10**, and *P.Oxy.* 8.1102; combined marriage/testamentary documents written in a village *grapheion* were termed instead *meriteia* or later, *sunchorema*, as in **21**; see Yiftach, above).

Thaubarion's συγγραφοδιαθήκη was indeed drawn up in the metropolis, on 29/8/87, and its description as a συγγραφοδιαθήκη (not simply a διαθήκη) implies that, in addition to serving as Thaubarion's testament, it also confirmed Apollonarian's marriage settlement, even though her marriage to Kronion must have been initiated some years earlier (their third son was born in 86: **10**). The arrangement was thus similar to the contemporary *BGU* 1.252, which provided for an existing couple to continue living with each other as they did previously. It is tempting to interpret **1** as an arrangement of this kind, combining a (renewed?) acknowledgement of Didyme's dowry with provisions concerning Herakleides' inheritance from his mother, but then one or other parent should be among signatories, which does not appear to be the case.

<sup>55</sup> Didyme's father was surely one or other Lysimachos s. Lysimachos mentioned in *P.Mich.* 5.232 (AD 36), but we cannot tell which:

(a) Lysimachos, the creditor who with Kastor and other brothers acquired 82 ar. of catoic land from an overdue loan of 2 tal. 1200 dr.); otherwise identifiable as neighbours of the sons of Herakleides in the metropolis (*P.Mich.* 5.276), who also acquired a property at Tebtunis (*PSI* 8.908); or

(b) Lysimachos (born AD 9) whose marriage to Arsinoe d. Herakleides the Younger (in c. 37; *P.Mich.* 5.350) united the two most prominent families in Tebtunis (cf. *P.Mich.* 5 pp. 16-18; Bagnall [n. 4]; A. Verhoogt, "Family relations in Early Roman Tebtunis," *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 1, 3 [2004] 21-25 [online at [www.PalArch.nl](http://www.PalArch.nl)]). Despite losing so much land, this family continued to occupy the important post of *komogrammateus* and remained active in economic transactions; having apparently preserved their sacred and other non-catoic land (and even some catoic land) from the hands of their creditors, they bought other property (*P.Tebt.* 2.346 r°; cf. 383, *P.Mich.* 5.267/268, 329/330).

Thus whichever Lysimachos was her father, Didyme came from a wealthy family. (If her father was Lysimachos (b) and her husband Herakleides was the son of Maron s. Herakleides the Younger, then Didyme and Herakleides were first cousins, but this is not more than a possibility.)

Thaubarion's property settlement on Herakleides, Thaubarion herself was not one of the signatories to **1** (unless her signature is lost from the bottom of papyrus), and indeed was already dead when it was drawn up, if "the present ninth year" refers to the ninth year of Domitian (89/90).<sup>56</sup> In fact Herakleides' succession to his share of Thaubarion's estate after her death is the most likely occasion for his drawing up **1**, to confirm inter alia Didyme's right to the land at Ibion that was the object of the sale in 123 (are the eleven arouras mentioned in ll. 12-13 in association with the dowry actually the same land as the 10 9/16 ar. catoicic and 1/4 ar. *epibole* of **23**?), in return for Didyme's financial contribution to the marriage. Although both Didyme and Herakleides were mature, and probably not anticipating further offspring (Didyme was aged 43/44 in 90), **1** includes no (extant) reference to the couple's children or to the apportionment of the family property among them; this was evidently postponed until after the marriage of their eldest child, Didymarion, when Herakleides made his *synchorema*.<sup>57</sup>

Didyme's dowry apparently included a house (**1.8**: [με]τὰ θυρίδος[v]), but if the dowry's value was indeed in the order of 4,000 dr., she may not have received any share of her parents' inheritance if there were any brothers in addition to her securely attested sister, Isidora.<sup>58</sup> But some time after 103, she

<sup>56</sup> I accept van Groningen's argument that this is the most likely date for the papyrus because of the apparent reference in **1.28** to Thaubarion's συγγραφοδιαθήκη, made on 29/8/87. Both Thaubarion and Apollonarion died before 28/12/90 (10th year of Domitian), when Herakleides and his half-brothers drew up the *cheirographon* with Apollonarion's widower Kronion s. Kastor and their three young sons, concerning the outstanding payment of her dowry (**10.16-21**).

<sup>57</sup> On this *synchorema*, see n. 54. Didymarion's dowry from Herakleides was the smallest attested in the family, at 1,100 dr. (**21**; for improved readings, see H.C. Youtie, "Notes on Papyri," *TAPA* 64 [1963] 328-345, at 335-339). As usual in parental marital/testamentary settlements, the contract also included gifts from Didyme to her daughter; half a house and *aule* in Tebtunis, and a pair of gold earrings with genuine pearls of four quarters (weight) and a purple *stole* for wearing as a single tunic. The *synchorema* was made immediately after Herakleides' appointment as *bibliophylax* (July 107; **24.8-9**) which perhaps explains the relative modesty of the settlement (though the family could hardly have predicted how devastating the financial consequences of the appointment turned out). Didymarion's husband is unknown, but was probably dead at the date of **21** (25/7/122).

<sup>58</sup> Van Groningen's deduction that Lysanias was Didyme's brother depends on interpreting the lacunose **111.4-5** as referring to a sister of Didyme named Isidora who was childless (and thus not identical to the mother of her nephews Lysimachos and Kronios, whose father Lysanias must therefore be her brother). This is very dubious, and a more economical reconstruction would postulate only one Isidora, who was Didyme's sister and the husband of Lysanias (restoring some other participle in l. 4:

purchased half of two vineyards and their associated reed beds, paying 1,700 dr. as the final instalment.<sup>59</sup> The vendor, Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios, has the same name as Thaubarion's co-owner in the *episkepsis* report of c. 103, raising the possibility that here Didyme was buying the other half of the same vineyard that Herakleides had recently inherited from his mother, although with such a common name, we cannot be very confident in the identification.<sup>60</sup> Thus Didyme too used her inherited wealth to further the interests of her marital family.

The discovery of Thaubarion's substantial wealth adds further plausibility to the identification of her first husband, Maron, with the second son of Herakleides the Younger known from the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive. Some connection with that family is indeed virtually certain, but van Groningen (p. 9, no. 62) saw no means of deciding whether Thaubarion's husband was the son of Herakleides the Younger, or his cousin Maron, son of Herakleides (the Elder), who in 38/39 sold to his uncle Herakleides the Younger a vineyard of 2 ar. at Thegonis in addition to the 39 ar. he had sold him previously.<sup>61</sup> The sale of

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[ἐκ τῶν καταλιφθέν]των τῇ Διδύμῃ ὑπὸ Ἰσιδώρας τῆς Λυσιμάχου [ . . . ]. But there may have been other brothers not mentioned in our extant evidence, whose own papers were kept separately by their families along with those of Didyme's parents (none of which are found in the archive, in contrast to the many coming from Herakleia in the next generation).

<sup>59</sup> 8, with Youtie 1956, pp. 76-77 (*BL* 4:47). Smolders, p. 7 interprets the text to refer to three plots, (a) half of the vineyard with vines grown on trees of 1 3/8 ar. with half the associated reed bed and well?, reservoir, and mulberry tree?; (b) in another parcel, half of a reed bed, 1 1/4 ar., and (c) a [vineyard] paying one sixth (as tax), of unknown extent – but (b) and (c) surely belong together.

<sup>60</sup> In both cases, the total area is just over 2 1/2 ar. comprising four components, and was equipped with a reservoir (a standard feature for Fayum vineyards); the description in *Pland.* 135.3 is illegible, but might perhaps have mentioned the mulberry or well of 8?). The location of the vineyard in 8 is unknown, and that in *Pland.* 7.135 uncertain (cf. n. 43 above). It is also unclear whether these properties are distinct from those listed in 1.19-24, where the only preserved area (1 2/3 1/8 1/32 ar.) is somewhat smaller, and the property was equipped with windlass as well as reservoir and well (cf. 8.12n., and van Groningen, p. 12). The 1 5/16 ar. vineyard at Thegonis on which the family paid tax in 129-131 in the names of Herakleides and Didyme (26 with Youtie 1956, pp. 79-81), may also be partly or wholly identical; cf. Smolders, p. 4, n. 23.

<sup>61</sup> *PSI* 8.918 (*BL* 6:181 and F. Mitthof, "Bemerkungen zu Papyri XV. no. 452," *Tyche* 17 [2002] 254). This text provides the evidence that both Marons were the grandsons of Maron s. Lysimachos. (*PSI* online does not include an image of this papyrus, but I suspect that in l. 1, for ἀμπελῶνα Σεκκυῶ λογουμέν[ . . . ἀ]ναδενδραδικόν, one might read ἀμπελῶνα ἐκτολογούμεν[ον ἀ]ναδενδραδικόν. And in 8-9, 39 ar. is improbably large for a vineyard; instead of ὑπὲρ ἧς πεποίμαι εἰς αὐτὸν πρ[ά]σεως τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος

such a large amount of land (presumably constituting most of his inheritance) seems an unlikely prelude to making a highly advantageous marriage, but we cannot exclude the possibility that Thaubarion's husband was this Maron rather than his cousin.

Only a scribal mistake deprives us of conclusive proof (one way or the other) of the name of Maron s. Herakleides the Younger's wife, which the sale of a share of the late Herakleides' house in the metropolis by his sons recorded erroneously (repeating the name of his elder brother's wife; *P.Mich.* 5.276). But this does confirm that Maron was already married in 47, and could plausibly already have fathered a son.<sup>62</sup> The lack of overlap between the land parcels listed in Maron's portion in the division of Herakleides the Younger's estate (*P.Mich.* 5.326, AD 48) and those attested later in the possession of the Philosarapis family is no reason for rejecting the identification of Herakleides the Younger's son Maron with the husband of Thaubarion, since our knowledge is so incomplete (in particular, our knowledge of the division of Herakleides' estate on 23/5/119 is confined to one clause), and Herakleides-Valerius later renounced his paternal inheritance.<sup>63</sup> The balance of probability leans towards this identification.<sup>64</sup>

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ἀναδενδραδικοῦ ἀρουρῶν | τριακονταεννέα, perhaps restore πα[ραχώρησεως τοῦ κλήρου κατοικικοῦ?]. PSI online records: "Il gruppo di testi [PSI VIII 901-918] appartiene alla collezione di Re Fuad I, non rintracciabile presso il Museo Egizio del Cairo."

<sup>62</sup> Maron was Herakleides the Younger's second son (Herakleides was the eldest; *P.Mich.* 5.326), but probably younger than his sister Arsinoe (born in 17), since their mother Ptolema was born only c. 3 BC. Thus Maron's age fits well with his fathering his first son in 40. Maron s. Herakleides (the Elder) was presumably older than his cousin, but we cannot estimate by how much (a third brother, Didymos, separated the two Herakleides).

<sup>63</sup> Maron's portion comprised: 12 3/4 ar. at Tebtunis in two parcels, of Theophilos 7 1/2 ar. and 5 1/4 ar. from the Astragalou *kleros*; a third (shared with Herodes and Didymos) of the 2 ar. vineyard\* called Hellenikou at Theogonis; four fifths of deceased Lysas' portion (at Tebtunis and Kerkesoucha Orous); four slaves: Herakleia-Taarmizis\*, Narkissos the muleteer\*, Leontas, Ganymas\* (asterisked items were inherited from his mother Ptolema, the rest from his father).

<sup>64</sup> The disappearance of the name Maron from the family has provoked comment (van Groningen, p. 5, Broux and Coussement [n. 3] 134). Perhaps the early death of Herakleides' father left him with no associations; but the name's general popularity was starting to wane from its peak in the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, in favour of Greek names with more specifically Egyptian connotations (cf. TM Nam 3988). The name Lysimachos chosen for Herakleides and Didyme's second son, in addition to commemorating Didyme's father also recalled Thaubarion's second husband, whom Herakleides perhaps regarded as almost like his true father (it is questionable whether he would have remembered his great-great-grandfather, also named Lysimachos).



5. *The Archive Keepers in Each Generation and  
Their Birth Order among Their Siblings*

Smolders (p. 2) states that the keepers of the archive in each generation “follow the line of the first-born sons of the ancestor Maron.” This is not strictly true; the last two archive keepers were not literally the first-born sons in their respective generations, but rather the eldest surviving or the eldest capable son. The evidence for the third generation is relatively uncontroversial, but still merits a short comment. But as far as I know, no one has previously noticed that the archive keeper Philosarapis was not merely not the eldest child of Lysimachos-Didymos, but apparently younger than all his known siblings, and this requires detailed justification.<sup>65</sup>

(a) *The Third Generation:*

*The Children of Herakleia and Herakleides-Valerius*

Hermes-Valerius is attested only in a lease of crops drawn up in Phamenoth 133 (March 6), in which his father Herakleides-Valerius acted as lessor on his behalf (28); in Pachon of the same year (5 May), he was not enrolled for Antinoite citizenship along with his two brothers Lysimachos-Didymos (aged 7) and Philosarapis (aged 1; 30), and is never heard of again. I concur with van Groningen’s suggestion that he was most probably “a minor who died between Pachon and Phamenoth 133” (p. 7). The name Hermes excludes the alternative possibility mooted by van Groningen, that he was not a son of Herakleia, since his double name is clearly a combination of the preferred names of his mother’s father and of his own father.<sup>66</sup> Since 28 does not actually state that Hermes was a minor (his father could be representing him because he was already seriously ill or for some other reason), we have no clue to his age other than his mother’s age. Herakleia (born in 93) is unlikely to have started her family before c. 113, and quite possibly only some five years later (i.e. aged c. 25), but the gap of eight years before Lysimachos-Didymos’ birth in 126 raises the possibility that even before Hermes-Valerius, Herakleia could have earlier given birth to a first-born son named Herakleides after his paternal grandfather, who died without

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<sup>65</sup> In the earlier generations, Herakleides was almost certainly Maron’s only child. And even Herakleides-Valerius was not his parents’ first-born child; his sister Didymarion was at least two years older (21 makes the age-gap four years, but understates Herakleides’ age by two years compared with the other four attestations).

<sup>66</sup> The description by Broux and Coussement (n. 3) 134 as “only indirectly” referring to his grandfather, results from misconceiving the latter’s name as Hermias.

leaving any record.<sup>67</sup> In any case, the keeper of the archive in this generation, Lysimachos-Didymos, was not the first-born, but the eldest surviving son.

It is interesting from the demographic angle that Herakleia was already almost forty when Philosarapis was born, and that she went on to produce two more sons, though apparently no daughters. Van Groningen (p. 6) cites the tax receipt 39 as evidence that Herakleia was still alive in 172 (when aged almost eighty); but tax receipts are not secure evidence that the payer was still alive, since a family member could pay on their behalf (cf. n. 11 above on 26), and the reference to the three surviving sons' joint succession to their mother's slave Martilla in 167 (37.7: [δ]ο[ύλη] μητρικὴ{ν} κοινῇ{ν} ὀνόματι Μάρτιλλα), shows that she was already deceased before that date.

Smolders (p. 2) notes that the number of texts preserved in the archive declines sharply after 133, when the family gained Antinoite citizenship: "From AD 133 to 144, no texts are present and the archive never again reaches the high numbers of the past decades" attributing this change to the family moving their main residence to Antinoopolis (37; provisioned by supplies sent from Tebtunis by the slave Martilla), where their most important papers would be henceforth kept. But this is only a partial explanation of the change, since many of the papers surviving in the archive from after 133 are of direct relevance to Antinoopolis and would be expected to be kept there rather than at Tebtunis.

A more significant factor is probably that as Herakleia and Herakleides-Valerius advanced through middle-age, they became less active in keeping their papers, but neither Lysimachos-Didymos nor his brothers had the same enthusiasm for preserving family papers as their parents showed in their youth. Only when responsibility was taken over by Philosarapis did the additions increase in number somewhat, though never again reaching the level kept by Herakleia and her husband in their prime.

(b) *The Fourth Generation:*

*The Relative Ages of the Children of Lysimachos-Didymos*

Thanks to his Antinoite birth records (33-34), we know that Herakleides-Valerius was born precisely on 20/1/151, and that his mother was Ninnarous d. Orsenouphis. Judging from the youth of his father (aged 25) and the fact of his being named after his paternal grandfather, he must be Lysimachos-Didymos and Ninnarous' first child. There is no firm evidence for Ninnarous' age, but she is unlikely to have been born later than 135 to have a child born in 151, though not much after 130, since she bore Didyme in 167 and Philosarapis after that.

<sup>67</sup> Her age is attested only by 27, and the time-span of her fertility makes one wonder if she may actually have been a couple of years younger than stated there.

The subsequent fate of this Herakleides-Valerius is obscure; he is not included in the lease 44 (cf. 45; AD 188-190), where Herakleia precedes her siblings Didyme and Philosarapis (which must represent their birth order, since it would be expected for Philosarapis to take precedence as the male). The absence of Herakleides-Valerius from this land lease could be explained because, as the eldest son, he had inherited a different parcel of land from that shared between his siblings. But why did not he but Philosarapis keep the family archive for that generation? If the archive had passed through his possession before Philosarapis took it over, we might expect it to include more documents relating to him.

But the only other (possible) mention is in the census return 48 from 202/203 (a much-amended draft?), which starts:

[Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι] στρα(τηγῷ) Ἀρσι[νοΐτου Ἡρακ]λείδου μερίδος π(αρά)  
 \Οὐαλερί[ο]υ τοῦ καὶ/ Φιλαντινόου [[Φιλαν]]  
 [καὶ Φιλαντινόου] τοῦ καὶ Ἡρ[ώδου ἀμφ]οτέρων Φιλαντινόου τοῦ καὶ  
 Νειλάμμω-  
 [νος, καὶ Οὐαλ]ερ[ί]ου τοῦ κ[αὶ Φιλαντι]νόου (hand 2?) υἱοῦ  
 Σαραπάμμωνος τοῦ καὶ Νιλάμμωνος,  
 [καὶ Φιλοσαράπιδος καὶ] Ἡρακλεί[δου ἀμφοτέρ]ων Λυσιμάχου, τῶν ε  
 Ἀντινοέων.

“To Agathos Daimon, *strategos* of the Arsinoite Herakleides’ division, from \Valerius-/Philantinoos [and Philantinoos]-Herodes, both sons of Philantinoos-Neilammon, and Valerius-Philantinoos (hand 2?) son of Sarapammon-Neilammon, [and Philosarapis and] Heraklei[des, both] sons of Lysimachos, all five Antinoites.”

The fact that Valerius-Philantinoos takes precedence in this return implies that he was the eldest of the five persons mentioned (he also owned individually the other half of the house declared); and we know from *PSI* 12.1227, a copy of his return for the previous census, that he was born in 164. I have no doubt that Philosarapis’ name is correctly restored in line 4, but why is he listed before Herakleides if the latter was his elder brother Herakleides-Valerius? Van Groningen (p. 7) already mooted the possibility that this Herakleides was another, younger, brother, and this would make good sense (there is of course no problem in two sons both having the name Herakleides); but in that case, why does he not appear among the children of Lysimachos in the lease 44 (188/189)?

It is also possible that Herakleides-Valerius grew up incapacitated in some way that prevented him taking on his natural role as eldest son, despite sur-

viving to at least 203. On balance I think this the more likely alternative, but we should not rule out the possibility that he died in childhood, the family preserving his birth records out of sentiment, and that the Herakleides in **48** is another, younger, brother.

From the census return *PSI* 12.1227, we know Didyme was born in 167, and also that she had married her cousin Valerius-Philantinoos, the only documented endogamous marriage in the whole extended family. Since we know from **44** that Herakleia was older than both Didyme and Philosarapis (see above), she must have been born before 167. Being named after her paternal grandmother, she was evidently the couple's first-born daughter, and was thus most likely born only a few years later than Herakleides-Valerius (i.e. c. 155).<sup>68</sup> The subsequent long gap before Didyme's birth suggests that several intervening children had not survived.

If Philosarapis was born not long after Didyme (i.e. c. 170), his mother would probably have been still in her thirties.<sup>69</sup> (Strictly speaking, we have no confirmation that Ninnarous was the mother of Herakleia, Didyme and Philosarapis, but her inclusion in the family tax receipt for 172 (**39**) makes it extremely probable.) Philosarapis married his wife Helene before 201 (**48**); Helene's age is not given in that census return, but her parents' ages (her father Neilos, 50, and her mother Eudaimonis-Kale, 44), suggest that Helene was born around 180, which accords with her husband being about ten years older.

If, on the other hand, Philosarapis was the oldest son, he must have been born before 151 (when his brother Herakleides-Valerius was born), making him about thirty years older than Helene, and older than both of his parents-in-law. This of course is not impossible, especially if Helene was not Philosarapis' first wife, but has not previously been suggested in the scholarship to my knowledge.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Herakleia was thus almost certainly older than her cousin Valerius-Philantinoos, but he precedes her in **44-45** because of being male. Van Groningen's suggested identification of Herakleia with the Antinoite citizen living in Tebtunis named Herakleia d. Didymos (p. 6; *P.Tebt.* 2.334), is certainly tempting, and fits well the chronology and social milieu; in 200/201, this Herakleia petitioned a centurion complaining that, after a lengthy and faultless marriage and the birth of two children, after her parents' death (and despite having received a dowry of 5000 dr.), her husband Hermes had appropriated and was squandering her entire inheritance. (The subscription is not well-preserved, but was apparently written by Herakleia herself.)

<sup>69</sup> Though it does not leave Ninnarous many more years of fertility to produce the putative younger Herakleides. Note that **44** neither suggests nor implies that Philosarapis was actually underage in 188/189, just that he was younger than his sisters and cousins.

<sup>70</sup> Van Groningen sees the Kronion identified by his metronym (Artemidora), whose land tax Philosarapis paid in 224 (55.12n.), as the latter's illegitimate son by a concubine;

In contrast to Thaubarion, Didyme d. Lysimachos, and especially Herakleia d. Hermes, we know relatively little about the wives of the latest two archive-keepers. Ironically, the acquisition of Antinoopolite citizenship freed the men of the family from selecting their marriage partners exclusively from fellow-members of the elite “6475,” since Hadrian granted the Antinoopolites the right of *epigamia* with all *Aigyptioi*. Ninnarous, wife of Lysimachos-Didymos, was herself an Antinoopolite citizen apparently only through her mother, her father Orsenouphis probably being a villager of Tebtunis.<sup>71</sup> He is also the only known member of the family lineage with an Egyptian name. Nevertheless, Ninnarous was an owner of catoicic as well as other private land (37), so her family was not without some wealth.

Helene, wife of Philosarapis, however, was the daughter of Neilos, a weaver from the Arsinoite metropolis. In 202 Neilos and his wife were occupying the ancestral “Philosarapis family” house in the Tameion quarter, together with Sarapias, the ex-wife of Philosarapis’ cousin Philantinoos-Herodes, and her slaves, while Philosarapis and Helene (and Philantinoos-Herodes and his daughter) resided at Antinoopolis (48; unlike these others, Helene is not described as an Antinoopolite citizen). A receipt for hieratic taxes suggests that Neilos may have had priestly connections at Tebtunis to augment his income (46, AD 195), but this does little to detract from the impression that Philosarapis’ marriage was motivated by neither wealth nor status.<sup>72</sup>

Before concluding that the whole family was on a trajectory of downward social mobility, however, we should observe that Philantinoos-Neilammon and his descendants seem to have been doing rather better for themselves. His wife, Kroniaine-Herakleia, was also an Antinoite citizen (though the name Kroniaine betrays her family’s origin in Tebtunis), and their elder son Valerius-Philantinoos inherited two slaves from his mother in addition to his father’s freedman (Sarapion, aged 38 in 188, and no doubt an experienced manager).<sup>73</sup>

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but then one wonders why Philosarapis did not take steps to ensure the son’s legitimacy by divorcing Helene and marrying Artemidora instead – unless Artemidora too was already married.

<sup>71</sup> Implied by 42 (180), where Orsenouphis s. Orsenouphis (presumably Ninnarous’ brother rather than her father, in view of the date) was listed among those exempt from village taxes because of the right of *epigamia* of *Aigyptioi* with *Antinoeis*. I do not share Smolders’ (p. 3, n. 12) hesitation in attributing 42 to the archive, because of its general relevance to the family’s status.

<sup>72</sup> Van Groningen’s (p. 13) surmise that Helene’s beauty was the motive is unprovable but would provide an explanation for the hypogamy.

<sup>73</sup> PSI 12.1227 (188): Diodora, aged 42, and her child Kopria aged 15. For the strong link of the name Kroniaine (like other Kronos-names) to Tebtunis, see TM Nam 3770.

Instead of dividing their inheritance, the sons of Herakleides-Valerius and Herakleia had maintained the family estate as a unit, which survived the friction caused by Philantinoos-Neilammon's use of Martilla, the *vilica* at Tebtunis, to secure a loan (37, 38, 40), and even continued to the next generation in part.<sup>74</sup> However, Philantinoos-Neilammon seems to have registered the major part of his patrimony under his own name before he died.<sup>75</sup>

Neilammon's elder son Valerius-Philantinoos certainly shared the family residences in Antinoopolis and Arsinoe, and evidently that in Tebtunis also, where one of his census declarations was excavated by Bagnani (n. 29 above). The presence of his other census declarations in the archive (44, 48) and his prominence in other family documents alluded to earlier make one suspect that he may have taken charge of the family archive after the death of Lysimachos-Didymos until his own death ca. 202-205. If his marriage to his cousin Didyme was intended to consolidate the family's two main branches, this appears to have been frustrated, since it produced no known progeny.

However, the family was perpetuated by the younger brother Philantinoos-Herodes' two children by different marriages. The first wife, Sarapias d. Sabinos, was merely of metropolite status, a divorcee, and considerably older than Herodes, but not without wealth (she part-owned three slaves). But being already in her forties when she gave birth to Herodes' daughter Tyrannis-Isidora, he probably feared that she would be unable to give him a son, and divorced her in favour of Herakleia-Arsinoe, the daughter of a "Hellene of the 6475," by whom he fathered Julius-Herodes shortly before his own death.<sup>76</sup> Both children shared their father's property (51; not necessarily equally), and before she reached 20, Tyrannis had made a good match to a fellow-citizen of Antinoopolis, Diodoros-Isidoros s. Diodoros (SB 14.11714).

<sup>74</sup> 44-45 (189-190); 5 ar. at Kerkesoucha Orous shared by the five cousins. This is the family's only known possession at Kerkesoucha Orous, which may explain why it was leased out and kept undivided.

<sup>75</sup> 52; 16 ar. at Talei, presumably originating from the former property of Thaubarion. Lysimachos-Didymos must also have inherited an equivalent total area (which he then passed on to his son Philosarapis?), but it is uncertain whether or not this included the land inherited from his mother attested by 39. Of the two other brothers, Philosarapis apparently died without issue, but Sarapammon-Neilammon (and his son, Valerius-Philantinoos) will also have received a share of the landed property, as he did the ancestral house in the metropolis (48). The expression "Neilammon through his children" in 52 obliquely acknowledges that not only Neilammon, but also his two sons, were deceased; the "children" were actually Neilammon's grandchildren (cf. Smolders, p. 3, n. 12).

<sup>76</sup> Philantinoos-Herodes and Sarapias were evidently divorced by 201 (48 with *BL* 7:96); see Takahashi (n. 28).

The inventory of the movables left to Julius-Herodes by his father provides a rare glimpse of the family's comfortable and evidently well-used, but not exactly opulent, household furnishings, linen and kitchenware.<sup>77</sup> Nor does the alimony of 28 dr. per month which Philosarapis as the boy's guardian supplied to his mother (implying that mother and son resided with her father's family, not at the Philosarapis family home) seem over-generous, especially for the initial years when the boy's wet-nurse had be fed and clothed as well as Julius himself (53). The elaborate provision made for Philosarapis to assume guardianship of Julius-Herodes, even though his mother and maternal grandfather were still alive, testifies not merely to the boy's material inheritance as (apparently) the sole male great-grandchild of Herakleia and Herakleides-Valerius, but to the emotional value vested in him by the family as their hope of perpetuating a lineage which had survived unbroken in the male line for at least eight generations, since before the Roman conquest.

For ultimately much more threatening to the family's survival than the low birth of Philasarapis' wife Helene was that, to the best of our knowledge, the marriage was childless. Although earlier generations of the family had benefitted significantly from the wealth brought by wives, especially Thaubarion and Herakleia, into the family, there is no indication that Philosarapis' generation in the early third century seriously needed such an input to maintain the family's customary level of wealth and status. Although the ostensible discontinuation of the archive after 224 has probably more to do with the paucity of third-century papyri in general from Tebtunis than with any factors affecting this family specifically, it seems that at the time that it disappears from the historical record, the continuation of the family lineage to the next generation was more at risk than at any moment since the premature death of Thaubarion's first husband Maron left his only child, Herakleides, barely beyond infancy.

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<sup>77</sup> 1 vegetable pan, 1 chest, 1 glass ball, 1 worn cushion, 1 worn bedcover; ... 1 half-worn scarlet cloak, 1 half-worn coloured veil, 1 half-worn [...] garment of fine texture (?), 1 half-worn cushion, 1 half-worn linen tunic (?), 1 half-worn – blanket, 1 half-worn rattle (?), ... vegetable basket(s?), 1 small basket, ... new cushions, 1 stone mortar, ... hollow dishes, ... hollow trays, ... censers, ... glass, ... censers ... (49). These effects were sold (50), but Tyrannis must have received a similar share, the fate of which is unknown; presumably she moved in with her mother Sarapias between her father's death and her own marriage. On the terminology for household textiles, see W. Clarysse and K. Geens, "Textiles and Architecture in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt," in A. de Moor and C. Fluck (eds.), *Clothing the House: Furnishing Textiles of the 1st millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries: Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Research Group "Textiles from the Nile Valley" Antwerp, 6-7 October 2007* (Tielt 2009) 38-47.



*Afterword*

I hope that this contribution has shown how much important historical information still remains to be discovered from the Philosarapis family archive. Throughout the eight generations over which we can trace its male lineage, from Maron s. Lysimachos born under Ptolemaic rule to Julius-Herodes growing up as a Roman citizen in the third century, we see a family which managed to maintain a remarkably consistent level of wealth despite their losses incurred through Herakleides' position as *bibliophylax* and the sharing of the patrimony between multiple brothers (and sisters) in three successive generations. This was achieved in large measure by the input of wealth brought by the marriages to heiresses and other wealthy women. However, it must be observed that the family never seems to have attained as much wealth as that of the descendants of Patron (TM Arch 66) whose estates also lay around Teb-tunis, nor are the two families known to have formed any marriage or other social connections with each other.

Much more research remains to be done, especially on the texts themselves (which being predominantly British Library papyri are not freely accessible online as digital images, though available for consultation in the library); both the handwriting and some readings would repay further attention. In particular I have been unable to resolve two problems which have a significant bearing on the prosopography of the archive:

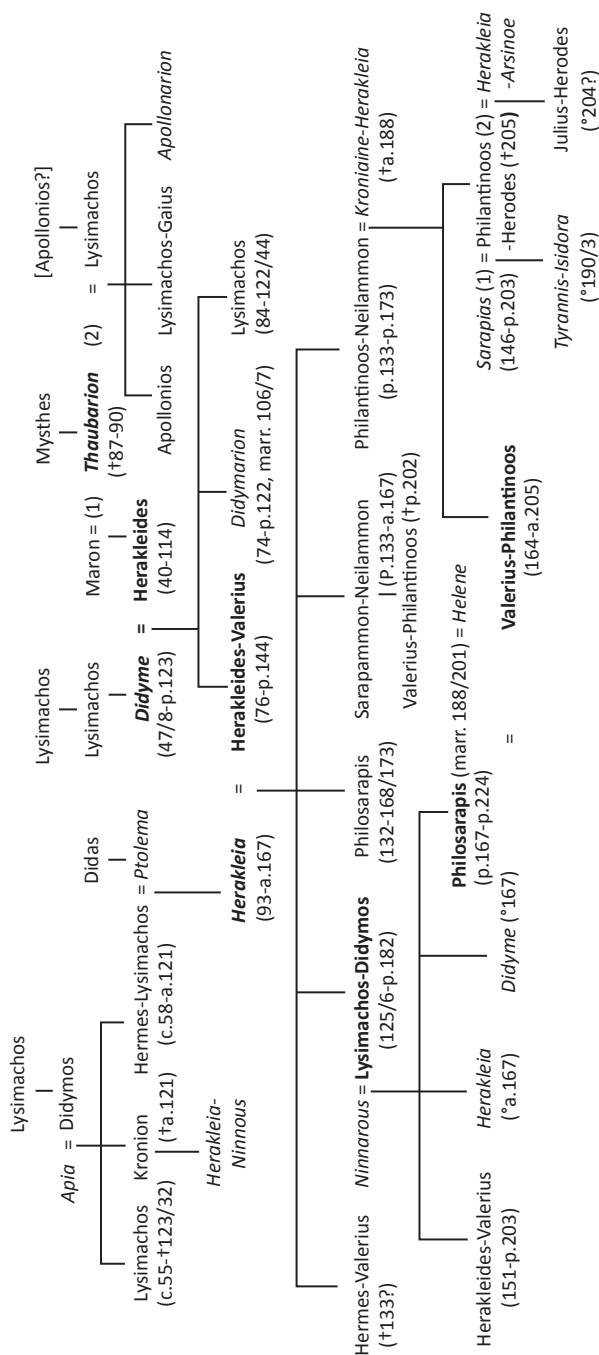
(a) the identity of the men named Lysimachos s. Didymos in **2** and **4**, and thus whether these documents properly belong to the archive. My hunch is that both these are somehow connected to the family of Herakleia d. Hermes, but so far I have not succeeded in identifying a connection;<sup>78</sup>

(b) the reliability of van Groningen's reconstruction of **11i**, which postulates two persons not otherwise documented in the archive: the childless Isidora, and Herakleides and Didyme's minor son [Didymos]. Given the fragmentary state of the papyrus, it seems hazardous to rely on restorations which introduce new persons to the archive unless this is absolutely inevitable. For Isidora, the case is far from strong (n. 58 above), but l. 7 does seem to contain a clear reference to a minor under Herakleides' tutelage who cannot be any of his known three offspring.<sup>79</sup> However, there are other possibilities for the

<sup>78</sup> Cf. n. 22 above. Similar problems of identity arise with Lysimachos s. Didymos, the creditor in **6** (cf. Smolders, p. 3, n. 12), although **6** is certainly connected to the archive through its debtor, Isidora d. Lysimachos, Didyme's sister (or sister-in-law; see n. 58 above), and a serial debtor; **19**, **29**.

<sup>79</sup> Lines 5-7: ἐπὶ μεσ[ι]τείῃ — | [πάντων τῶν ὑ]παρχόντων . . . . .] Λυσιμάχῳ, γενομ[έ]νων ἐπ' ὀνό[μα]τος Διδύμου] ἀφ' ἡλ[ικ]ος νιότη[τος] μου μετὰ φροντιστοῦ ἐμ[ο]ῦ —. *BL* reports no relevant corrections for this papyrus. See also n. 54 above on this text.

child's identity apart from a late-born son of Herakleides, notably a grandson (restoring [ὑἱὸν τοῦ] or [ὑἱὸ] τοῦ; either a son of Didymarion, or of another child who died without leaving other testimony). Van Groningen's (p. 6, no. 13; cf. 11i.6n.) confidence in the restoration of the boy's name as [Didymos] seems even more misplaced. Despite the large lacunae, 11i clearly contains important information on the family's financial affairs during Herakleides' office as *bibliophylax*, and seems a prime candidate for a thorough reappraisal of the text.



*The Philsarapis Family from Tebtunis/Antinoopolis*  
(principal family members are shown in bold)

Appendix: The Family's Property

(a) Land

Date	Source	Parcels of land (in arouras)	Village	Owner
89/90?	1 (BL 3:103, 10:112) Property settlement	(l. 12) 11 +	Talei?	Herakleides s. Maron and Didyme d. Lysimachos
		(l. 18) [--] 1/2 [catoicic?]	[?]	
		(l. 19) share of reed bed?		
		(l. 21) <i>ampelon anadendratikos</i> 1 2/3 1/8 1/32		
16/4/92	3 (BL 3:103, 4:47, 8:198) Sale of land	(l. 24) share of reservoir, well, windlass		Ptolema d. Didas wife of Hermes buys from Areios s. Areios
		(l. 25) third share of granary	Talei	
		1 <i>ge ampelitis</i>	Kerkeesis	
		1/8 <i>epibole</i>		
26/11/98	5 Lease	6 <i>kleros</i>	Kerkesephis	Hermes s. Didymos
after 103/104	<i>P.land.</i> 7.135 (BL 3:88) Survey	2 1/2 1/16 fruiting <i>amp(elon)</i>	Theogonis?	†Thaubarion d. Mysthes (shared with Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios)

Date	Source	Parcels of land (in aouras)	Village	Owner
30/3/103-114	<b>8</b> (BL 4:47) Receipt for sale price	(ll. 12-17) half of <i>ampelon anaden-draitikos</i> 1 1/4 1/8 with associated half reed bed, well? and reservoir with mulberry tree?  (ll. 17-21) in another plot, half of reed bed 1 1/4 and [ <i>ampelon</i> ] taxed at one sixth (see n. 59 above)	?	Didyme d. Lysimachos buys the share of Ptolemaios s. Ptolemaios
February-March 108?	<b>11i</b> Agreement about secured loan	(ll. 8-9) [x ar.] catoicic <i>kleros</i> [and <i>epibole</i> ?] 1/8	Kerkesephis	Underage son (or grandson? see n. 79 above) of Herakleides s. Maron
20/8/112  and 2/7/112	<b>12</b> (BL 3:103, 4:47) Receipt for grain taxes	catoicic c. 6 1/2? (see n. 10 above)	Kerkesephis	Hermes s. Didymos and Ptolema d. Didas through daughter Herakleia
		<i>ampelo(n)</i> 1+ (see n. 14 above)	Kerkeesis	Ptolema d. Didas
6/4/118	<b>19</b> (BL 8:198) Security for debt	2		Isidora d. Lysimachos
23/5/119	<b>23</b> (BL 3:103) Sale of land	10 1/2 1/16 catoicic and 1/4 <i>epibole</i>  (of which sold:) 5 1/2 1/64 catoicic and 1/8 <i>epibole</i>	Ibion Eikosipent-arouron	Didyme d. Lysimachos (acquired from her husband Herakleides by division with 3 others)
23/3/123				sold to Lysimachos s. Didymos

Date	Source	Parcels of land (in arouras)	Village	Owner
July-August 129	25 (BL 3:103, 4:47) Certification of identity	6 catoicic		Herakleia-Ninnous inherited from her father Kronion s. Didymos
16/12/129 and 6/1/131	26 (BL 4:48) Money tax receipt	<i>amp(ēlou)</i> 1 5/16	Theogonis	†Herakleides s. Maron and Didyme d. Lysimachos
6/3/133	28 (BL 3:103, 7:95, 11:125) Land lease	8 <i>kleros</i>	Talei (in the so-called 70 ar.)	Herakleides-Valerius on behalf of son Hermes-Valerius
23/8/154 (and year before)	35 (BL 4:48) Money tax receipt	5 5/32 catoicic	?	Herakleia d. Hermes
Pachon 172 (April-May)	39 (BL 8:198-199) Money tax receipt	(ll. 3-4) <i>arithmetikon katoikon</i> (ll. 4-5) 1 3/4 catoicic (ll. 5-7) 3 1/8 catoicic (ll. 8-9) 13/16 <i>enaphes(ion)</i> (= non-catoicic private land)	Tebtunis	- Lysimachos s. Didymos (sic) - to †Herakleia d. Hermes - to Ninnarous d. Orsenouphis
Thoth 170 (Aug.-Sept.) Pachon 172		(ll. 12-13) 3 3/32 catoicic	Kerkesephis	†Herakleia d. Hermes
10/11/189	44 Land lease	(ll. 14-15) (ditto) 5 catoicic	Kerkesephis Kerkesoucha Orous	half Valerius-Philant., Philant.-Herodes, half Herakleia, Didyme, Philosarapis children of Lysimachos-Didymos
and 10/11/190	and 45	(ditto)	(ditto)	
14/8/195	47 Land lease	3 catoicic	Theogonis	Philantinoos-Herodes, Tanouphis and Didyme (his sisters? cf. van Groningen, pp.10-11)

Date	Source	Parcels of land (in aouras)	Village	Owner
24/3/206	51 (BL 8:199) Return of flooded land	2 catoicic	Kerkeesis	Isidora-Tyrannis and Julius-Herodes, children of Philantinos- Herodes
26/3/208	52 (BL 9:152) Return of unwatered land	16 catoicic	Talei	†Neilammon through his children
224	55 (BL 5:60) Receipt for grain tax	3? <i>kle(rouchon)</i> (cf. van Groningen, l. 15n.)	Tebtunis	to Aur. Kronion son of Artemidora through Aurelius Philosarapis. Lysimachos

(b) Houses

Date	Source	Parcels of land (in aouras)	Village	Owner
89/90?	1 (BL 3:103, 10.112) Property settlement	(1. 8) [house] with windows	Talei?	Didyme d. Lysimachos
25/7/122 (given 29/8/107)	21 (BL 4:47, 5:60, 7:95) Dowry receipt	half of house and <i>aule</i>	Tebtunis	Didyme gives Didymarion as dowry



Date	Source	Parcels of land (in arouras)	Village	Owner
1/4/133	29 (BL 3:103, 7:96, 8:198) Execution of secured loan	two thirds of 2-storied house, <i>aithrion, aule</i>	Tebtunis	Acquired by Herakleia from Isidora d. Lysimachos' heirs
132/133	SB 24.16013 Census declaration	[half of?] house and of another house? (both uncupied)	[Tebtunis?]	Herakleides-Valerius s. Lysimachos
11/8/144	31 (BL 6:67, 11:125) Confirmation of vacant possession	<i>symposion</i> and cellar	Tebtunis	Herakleides-Valerius s. Herakleides and Herakleides-Valerius s. Lysimachos
9/2/151	33 (BL 9:151) Birth certificate of his son	house	Antinoopolis (district 1, block 7)	Lysimachos-Didymos s. Herakleides
12/8/188	PSJ 12.1227 (BL 3:229, 6:185, 8:408, 10:247, 11:350) Census declaration	house, <i>aithrion, aule</i>	Antinoopolis (district 1, block 7)	quarter Valerius-Philantinoos (from paternal inheritance) also quarter Didyme his cousin and wife

Date	Source	Parcels of land (in aouras)	Village	Owner
187/188	44:13-22 (BL 10:112) Census declaration	house and <i>aule</i>	Ptolemais Euergetis, Tameion quarter	eighth Valerius-Philantinoos and Philantinoos-Herodes eighth Didyme (his wife) (for the fractions, see BL 10:112)
202/203	48 (BL 3:104, 6:67, 7:96, 10:112) Census declaration	(l. 6) house and <i>aule</i>	Ptol. Euergetis, Tameion qtr.	half Valerius-Philantinoos, Philantinoos-Herodes ss. Philantinoos-Neilammon; Valerius-Philantinoos s. Sarapammon-Neilammon; Philosarapis, Herakleides ss. Lysimachos (half or eighth Valerius-Philantinoos alone) sixty-fourth Valerius-Philantinoos? (for the fractions, see BL 10:112)

## More Land, More Production, or More Taxes? Growth and the Apion Estate

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Ryan McConnell *Bowdoin College*

### Abstract

Much of the recent scholarship on the Apion dossier has revolved around the extent and composition of the family's estate in Oxyrhynchus. This article evaluates the size and production of the Apion estate by comparing six accounts from administrative divisions of the estate, *προστασίαι*, with two estate-wide accounts separated by 45 years in the sixth century CE. The results show a significant increase in the number of Apion *προστασίαι* between 542 and 586/587, consistent with the increase in the number of new Apion-associated toponyms found in papyri from the same period. The analysis also shows that the simultaneous increase in the estate-wide cash *λήμματα* was due to an increase in the amount of land associated with the Apion estate, through greater tax collection responsibilities or expanded ownership, rather than increased tax rates or greater agricultural production as some scholars contend. The number of Apion *προστασίαι* further allows for more refined estimates of the population under the Apions' collection umbrella and of the scale of income the Apions drew from their lower-level collectors.

The Oxyrhynchite estate of the Apion family is the most richly documented of the early Byzantine period, with a dossier consisting of hundreds of papyri spanning from the fifth to the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> A small subset of those documents are accounts recording target tax and rent collections and local expenditures from administrative divisions of the estate called *προστασίαι*. By

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<sup>1</sup> P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 131-148, gives a useful overview of the historiography of the Apion estate. Recent monographs on the estate and its economies include R. Mazza, *L'Archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001), G.R. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (Cambridge 2008), and T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 2012).

comparing the total target collection figures in these accounts with the figures in a pair of higher-level accounts it is possible to determine the change in the number of *προστασίαι* comprising the Apion estate over time. This comparison shows a significant increase in that number during a forty-five year period in the sixth century. The method used to determine the number of *προστασίαι* also shows that the relative productivity of the different *προστασίαι* over a similar period was uniform. These conclusions significantly narrow the possible explanations for the increase in the Apion estate's revenue over the latter half of the sixth century, recently a subject of occasionally heated debate among scholars working on the dossier.<sup>2</sup>

The Apion estate's holdings were not contiguous, but a patchwork of agricultural land mostly surrounding small hamlets. For collection purposes, these hamlets were gathered into administrative groupings called *προστασίαι*. Collections and expenditures for each *προστασία* were overseen by an agent of the estate called a *προνοητής*. These *προνοηταί* collected taxes from neighboring smaller landholders and also rents on land owned by the estate itself, usually without noting any distinction between the two. Each account records the target receipts, the *λήμματα*, and actual expenditures, the *ἀναλώματα*, in both grain and money for a *προστασία*.<sup>3</sup> Totals in money and grain are given at the ends of these sections, and the final account balance is calculated with surplus money noted as having been passed on to an estate *τραπεζίτης* and grain to the *ἐμβολάτωρ*.

While accounts made by these *προνοηταί* do not offer an estate-wide perspective, two higher-level documents are classified summaries of accounts from the areas over which the Apion estate had collection responsibilities and therefore reflect aggregate collection numbers for the entire Oxyrhynchite es-

<sup>2</sup> E.g., T.M. Hickey, "Aristocratic Landholding and the Economy of Byzantine Egypt," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World* (Cambridge 2007) 288-308, and P. Sarris, "The Early Byzantine Economy in Context: Aristocratic Property and Economic Growth Reconsidered," *Early Medieval Europe* 19 (2011) 255-284.

<sup>3</sup> The revenues side of the accounts represent anticipated or target collections, with missed targets reckoned on the expenditures side. On Apion accounting practices see R. Mazza, "POxy. XVI 1911 e i conti annuali dei *pronoetai*," *ZPE* 122 (1998) 161-172; E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931); A.C. Johnson and L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949); J. Gasco, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine: recherches d'histoire agraire, fiscale et administrative," *Travaux et mémoires* 9 (1985) 1-90; J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001) 89-101; and Hickey (n. 1). D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century AD Egypt* (Cambridge 2007) on the earlier Appianus estate is also instructive for the Apion accounts.

tate (Fig. 1). *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup> from 542 CE gives money λήμματα from the estate's προστασία followed by money ἀναλώματα. The introduction to *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 from 586/587 CE includes only a brief description and transcriptions of ll. 5-6 and 31 of an account on the verso. While a complete edition of *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 v<sup>o</sup> has yet to appear, Todd Hickey gives a fuller description of its contents and organization, including an explication of many of the significant figures.<sup>4</sup> In that text grain λήμματα are given first, then money λήμματα, and finally money ἀναλώματα. Grain ἀναλώματα are absent. Both documents classify entries by ἐλίς, and both calculate totals.<sup>5</sup>

The account headings, the classification by ἐλίς, and the large size of the numbers involved all indicate that the money λήμματα in the two accounts col-late figures for προστασίαι from the entire estate.<sup>6</sup> The number of προστασίαι comprising the estate can therefore be determined by dividing the total value of the collections from these two high-level accounts by the total value of a paradigmatic προστασία. The first step then is to examine whether there is such a thing as a paradigmatic προστασία, and, if so, to determine its level of pro-duction. In other words, what were the levels of production on the προστασίαι and were they similar from one to the next across space and over time? There are six extant προνοητής accounts for which the gross λήμματα in wheat and money are extant or can be calculated (Fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> But because the ratio of wheat to gold in these collections is not consistent across the different accounts (ranging from about 2:1 to more than 11:1 *artabae* : *solidus*), it is not possible simply to take either the grain λήμματα or money λήμματα from one προνοητής account and compare them with the grain or money λήμματα from the another, nor

<sup>4</sup> T.M. Hickey, "An Inconvenient Truth? *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 v<sup>o</sup>, the Apion Estate, and *fiscalité* in the Late Antique Oxyrhynchite," *BASP* 45 (2008) 87-100. On p. 94 some digits given for the ἀναλώματα in the fourth section of the papyrus appear to have been transposed in the publication. The number of *solidi* should read 13,541, not 13,451.

<sup>5</sup> ἐλίς; "The *helides* in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v were presumably part of a roll or codex in the possession of the Apiones' central management," Hickey (n. 4) 92-93. See also *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 r<sup>o</sup> 20 n.

<sup>6</sup> These sections are *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.1-17 v<sup>o</sup> and section 3 of *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 as described in Hickey (n. 4) 92-93. Hickey (n. 4) 88, 92-93 reads *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.31 v<sup>o</sup> as γί(v.) λημμ( ) ὀ(ιὰ) πρρο/ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) (μυρ.) α/ηφιβ ἄλλ(α) κ(εράτια) ρραLd'. He understands πρρο/ as προ(στασιῶν) or προ(νοησιῶν), rather than προ(σφορῶν), a reading which raised doubts already for the editors of *P.Oxy.* 18.2196. *P.Oxy.* 16.1918.1 v<sup>o</sup> prints λήμματα προν(οητῶν).

<sup>7</sup> Line-numbers where these totals appear in the accounts of the προνοηταί can be found in the "Account" column of Fig. 1.

Figure 1: Numbers from the six extant προνοητής accounts and the two extant estate-wide accounts, along with their total values calculated using *adaeratio* rates from *P.Oxy.* 16.1909 of 10 *artabae* : *solidus*. Fractions in the papyri are rendered as decimals to two places. *Denarii* are reckoned at 4,800 myriads to the *solidus*; see *P.Oxy.* 55.3804 272 n.

	Date	Account <i>P.Oxy.</i>	Grain λήμματα <i>artabae</i> <i>choin.</i>		Money λήμματα <i>solidi</i> <i>car.</i> <i>myr.</i> <i>dena-</i> <i>rii</i>		Ratio <i>art:</i> <i>sol</i>	Total value in <i>solidi</i>
προνοητής accounts	556	16.19142-3	1,342	8	390.55	-180	3.50	517.25
	557	16.1911.68-69	1,509.25	1	647.13		2.33	798.63
	566	16.1912.111-113	3,941.25	7	410.00		9.61	806.38
	566	55.3804.141-142	1,509.25	1	647.13		2.33	798.63
	576	18.2195.75-76	4,008.75	6	353.57		11.34	755.64
	590	19.2243a.59-67	3,245.25	2	507.85	-108	6.45	828.09
Estate-wide accounts	542	16.1918 v <sup>o</sup> 12			14,325.19			14,325.19
	586/7	18.2196 v <sup>o</sup> 31	108,816.5		18,512.00	191.75	5.88	29,401.64

to the λήμματα of the estate-wide accounts (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> Instead, it is necessary to determine the value of the λήμματα, cash and wheat combined, of a προνοητής account to see if a suitable paradigmatic production level can be discovered.

Instances of *adaeratio*, the practice of using money to pay obligations reckoned in units of grain, give the conversion rate between grain and *solidi*. *P.Oxy.* 16.1909, a document of the late sixth century, has *adaeratio* at the rate of 10 *artabae* to the *solidus* using the same standards of *artaba* and *solidus* as the λήμματα in the προνοητής accounts. Applying this rate to value the wheat collections in *solidi* and then adding that figure to the money collections yields the total value of produce on the προστασία and allows for an apples-to-apples comparison of the different προστασίαι. Other prices of wheat are attested in Oxyrhynchus, mostly ranging from 9 to 13 *artabae* to the *solidus*, though the standards of *solidus* and *artaba* vary or are unspecified.<sup>9</sup> There does not appear to be a consistent upward or downward trend over time in the rates and applying the different rates from the range attested in the papyri has a relatively small effect on the final results (Fig. 4).<sup>10</sup>

At the rate from *P.Oxy.* 16.1909, five of the six προνοητής accounts for which final money and wheat λήμματα are available, dating from the 550s to the 590s, have total values of between 750 and 830 *solidi*, with an average of just under 800 *solidi* (Fig. 5).<sup>11</sup> *P.Oxy.* 16.1914 is an outlier at 517.25 *solidi*. Its figures, however, come from the calculations determining the surplus at the end of the account, after several deductions not present in the other accounts had already been made, so this number is probably low.<sup>12</sup> The consistency of the other figures does, therefore, permit us to discuss a paradigmatic προστασία

<sup>8</sup> These differing ratios might be explained by variability in the frequency of *adaeratio*, crop selection, and access to markets among the inhabitants of different locations associated with the estate. Given such variability, from the estate's perspective the total output of a given προστασία would have been key rather than the particular composition of its contributions.

<sup>9</sup> See Johnson and West (n. 3) 177 for a list of prices, to which can be added *P.Oxy.* 55.3805.46-47 with 10 2/3 and 10 *artabae* to the Alexandrian *solidus*; and *P.Oxy.* 51.3628.11 and 25 with 13:1, and l. 40 with 12:1, in unspecified standards. *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.184-185 n. discusses an outlier rate of 24:1, which appears in a charitable rather than commercial context.

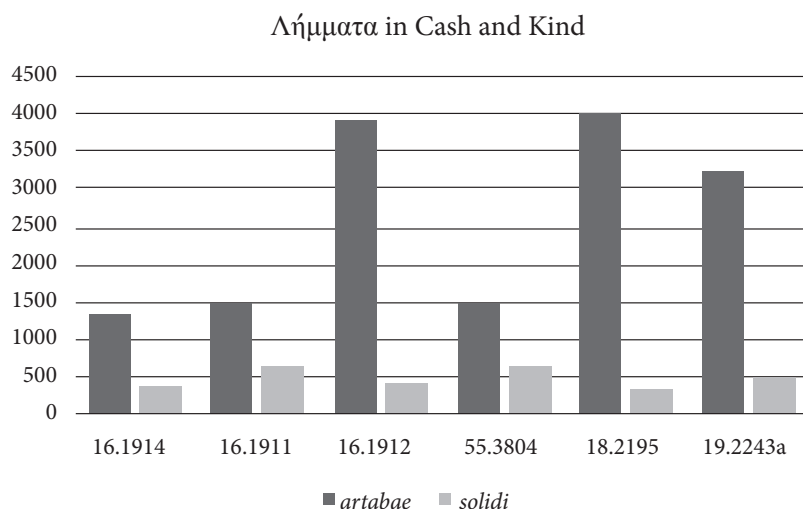
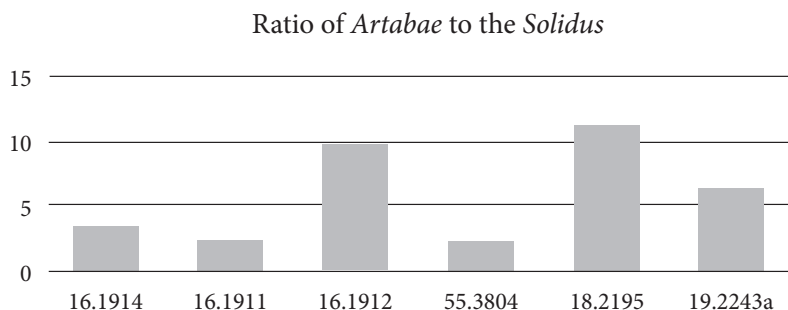
<sup>10</sup> See n. 11, 15, and 17.

<sup>11</sup> The standard deviation is about 27, or 3% of the mean. Including *P.Oxy.* 16.1914 would drop the average to a comparable 750 *solidi*. Assuming the high end of the *adaeratio* spectrum, 13:1, would drop the average to 730 *solidi* with a standard deviation of about 42, or 6% of the mean; assuming the low end, 9:1, would raise the average to 830 *solidi*. See Fig. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *P.Oxy.* 18.2195 and 19.2243a.



Figure 2: Collections in cash and wheat from the six extant προνοητής accounts

Figure 3: Ratio of *artabae* to the *solidus* in the six extant προνοητής accounts

and to peg the target collection from the paradigmatic προσασία at a value of about 800 *solidi* per year. The same procedure can be applied to the aggregate λήμματα in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 ν°, the later of the two estate-wide documents, to determine a total value.<sup>13</sup> Doing so yields just over 29,400 *solidi* for the entire

<sup>13</sup> Money λήμματα in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 ν° are at l. 31, following the reading in Hickey (n. 4) 92: γί(ν.) λημμ( ) δ(ιὰ) προο/ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) (μυρ.) α/ηφιβ ἄλλ(α) κ(εράτια)

account.<sup>14</sup> Dividing this total by the paradigmatic average of 800 gives a figure of about 37 *προστασίαι* in 586/587.<sup>15</sup>

Based on the entries in *P.Oxy.* 16.2032, an account of payments to the estate from 540/1, Ruffini counts contributions from *προνοηταί* for 16 *προστασίαι*, the minimum possible number of *προστασίαι* administered by the Apion estate at that time.<sup>16</sup> Dividing the *λήμματα* from the earlier estate-wide account, *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup>, by the value of the paradigmatic *προστασία* gives a similar figure of about 18 *προστασίαι* in 542.<sup>17</sup> A comparison with the 37 *προστασίαι* of the later estate-wide account shows more than a two-fold increase over that 45-year period. The two estate-wide accounts, however, may not be strictly comparable since grain figures are absent from the earlier *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup>.<sup>18</sup> The more grain (if any) we assume was omitted from the earlier document, the more modest the level of expansion by the time of the later document. But even if an amount of grain proportional to that in the later *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 v<sup>o</sup> is assumed to have been collected – a reasonable high-end estimate since ratios in the lower-level accounts do not trend either upwards or downwards over time – but for some reason omitted from the earlier account, then there were still nearly a third more Apion *προστασίαι* in 586/587 than there were 45 years before.<sup>19</sup> Based on this analysis, the increase in the number of *προστασίαι* associated with the Apion estate from the 540s to the end of the century falls in

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ροαLd'. Grain *λήμματα* are given as line 4 of section 1 in Hickey (n. 4) 88: γί(ν.) ὁ(μοῦ) σί(του) (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) ι̅ καὶ η̅/ ωιςL.

<sup>14</sup>  $(108,816.5 \text{ cancellus artabae} \div 10) + 18,512 \text{ solidi} + (191.75 \text{ carats} \div 24)$ . This excludes collections made from villages separate from the *προστασίαι*.

<sup>15</sup> This number assumes a consistent *adaeratio* rate of 10:1 for all accounts. Assuming instead the maximum difference in the rates of *adaeratio* between the higher- and lower-level accounts gives 32 and 42 *προστασίαι* at either extreme.

<sup>16</sup> Ruffini (n. 1) 106-108 notes four repeated names in this list, reducing the count from the 20 given in Hardy (n. 3) 82.

<sup>17</sup> The total of the money *λήμματα* is given at *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup> 12: (γίνεται) μ(υριάς) α/ δτκε ς' μη'. This number again assumes a consistent *adaeratio* rate of 10:1. Assuming the maximum difference in the rates of *adaeratio* gives 17 and 20 *προστασίαι* at either extreme.

<sup>18</sup> That grain *ἀναλώματα* are absent from *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 v<sup>o</sup> and grain is absent entirely from 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup> might indicate the documents were drafts or meant to aid in drawing up other documents rather than final products. The figures they contain nevertheless offer a baseline for comparing the scale of collections made on the Apion estate as a whole.

<sup>19</sup> It is also possible that *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup> reflects total collections, with the grain having been wholly converted through *adaeratio*.

the range of 30 to 100%.<sup>20</sup> This increase tracks closely the surge in new Apion-associated toponyms that can be seen between the 540s and 590s.<sup>21</sup>

Figure 4: The total values of the accounts assuming the high and low ends of range of *adaeratio* in the sixth century

Date	Account	Total value at low and high ratios of <i>artabae</i> to <i>solidus</i>	
		at 9 : 1	at 13 : 1
556	<i>P.Oxy</i> 16.1914	532.18	486.30
557	16.1911	815.41	763.81
566	16.1912	858.43	723.68
566	55.3804	815.41	763.81
576	18.2195	800.19	663.13
590	19.2243a	864.15	753.20
586/587	18.2196 v <sup>o</sup>	30610.71	26890.49

Having an idea of the number of *προστασίαι* on the estate also permits estimates of the population from which the Apions made their collections. Examining the names and groups appearing in *προνοητής* accounts and using generally accepted demographic multipliers, Ruffini estimates that the average population of a single *προστασία* was about 631 men, women, and children. Based on the figure of 16 *προστασίαι* from *P.Oxy.* 16.2032, he calculates a low-end population of about 10,000 residents in 540/541 CE.<sup>22</sup> The *προστασίαι* numbers offered here indicate that by 586/587, when *P.Oxy.* 18.2196 v<sup>o</sup> was composed, the population from which the Apion estate made collections had grown to more than 23,000.

<sup>20</sup> The 16 *προστασίαι* in *P.Oxy.* 16.2032, consonant with the 18 expected from the figures in *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup> before possible missing grain collections, makes the higher end of the range somewhat preferable. At the 28th International Congress of Papyrology in 2016, Amin Benaissa presented an unpublished Apion account recording the greatest number of named *προστασίαι* yet attested.

<sup>21</sup> Ruffini (n. 1) 123 (Table 11), relying on data from Mazza (n. 1) 20-38 (Tabella A). This rise cannot be attributed only to increasing numbers of documents from the period; see Ruffini (n. 1) 122 (Table 10), relying on data from Mazza (n. 1) 20-38 (Tabella A).

<sup>22</sup> Ruffini (n. 1) 118.

The *προστασίαι* numbers also clarify the scale of income the Apions derived from the collection arrangements with their *προνοηταί*. *P.Oxy.* 1.136 from 583 is a contract for a *προνοητής*, stipulating that he was to pay the estate 12 *solidi* and an additional 15% of the wheat *λήμματα* for the privilege of collection. The consistency of the *λήμματα* from various *προστασίαι* suggests that the sphere of responsibility for a *προνοητής* was determined by the expected *λήμματα*, rather than, say, the number of hamlets or people involved. Because each *προστασία* had similar expected revenue, the fee the estate could expect to extract from the *προνοητής* in exchange for the privilege of collection should also be similar. This similarity argues in favor of generalizing from *P.Oxy.* 1.136, since the excess amount beyond the target *λήμματα* that the collector could extract should track the level of the *λήμματα*. In other words, more excess could be extracted from a richer set of hamlets than a poorer set, but because the produce of each set is more or less the same across time and space, we should expect the amount each *προνοητής* paid to the estate was nearly the same. If this contract is taken to be standard, then the scale of the benefits the estate received from their *προνοηταί* can be estimated by multiplying its figures by the number of *προστασίαι*. For each of the *προνοηταί* the estate employed it could expect to receive 12 *solidi* in gold each year: total 444 *solidi* in 586/587.<sup>23</sup> Even more significant is the additional 15% of wheat the *προνοηταί* were to contribute to the collections. 15% of the total amount of wheat to be collected by the *προνοηταί* in 586/587 was some 16,322 *artabae*, worth more than 1,632 *solidi* at the *adaeratio* rate in *P.Oxy.* 16.1909. This gives as a grand total in 586/587 of contributions worth more than 2,073 *solidi* paid by *προνοηταί* to the Apions, or about 7% of the estate's total target *λήμματα* for that year.

Along with an increase in the number of *προστασίαι* from which the Apions collected and in the number of Apion-associated toponyms, there was about a 30% increase in the money *λήμματα* over the 45 years between *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup> and 18.2196 v<sup>o</sup>, the two estate-wide accounts. Hickey lays out several possible explanations for this increase in the money collections: investment and increased productivity, the acquisition of more land (i.e., more rental income), expansion of fiscal obligations (i.e., the number of people whose taxes the Apions collected), or increases in tax levels.<sup>24</sup>

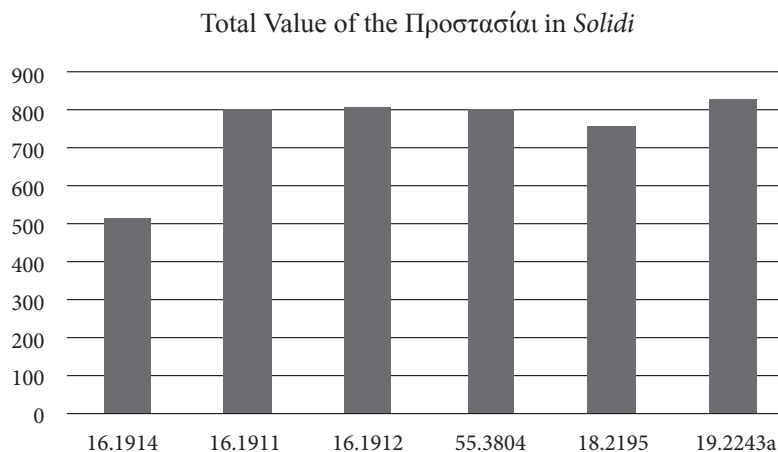
The stability of the overall value of the *προστασίαι* indicates that production levels were relatively uniform and remained consistent over the course of more than thirty years. Increased productivity from animal driven mechanical irrigation would have led to progressively higher *λήμματα* per *προστασία*

<sup>23</sup> 12 *solidi* × 18 *προστασίαι* = 216 *solidi* in 542; 12 × 37 = 444 in 586/587.

<sup>24</sup> Hickey (n. 4) 99. Sarris (n. 1) and Banaji (n. 3) argue in favor of the first explanation.

inconsistent with the foregoing results.<sup>25</sup> Uniform productivity also militates against tax increases as an explanation, since higher taxes would likewise have caused the λήμματα per προστασία to rise with the aggregate. Even if the estate reduced its rents in proportion to a tax increase on the property it owned, which is unlikely, higher taxes would still have resulted in higher total λήμματα in the προνοητής accounts over time because entries in the high- and low-level accounts show that the estate made some collections strictly for taxes from inhabitants of villages and from smaller landowners.<sup>26</sup> This leaves land acquisition or the expansion of fiscal obligations as possible explanations for

Figure 5: The total value of the six extant προνοητής accounts calculated using the *adaeratio* rate in *P.Oxy.* 16.1909



the estate's increased revenue.

In more general terms, estate-wide cash λήμματα could have increased either by getting more out of the land associated with the estate or by associating more land with the estate (or both). Only associating more land with the estate can also explain the increase in the number of προστασίαι, the stability of production on the προστασίαι, and the increase in the number of Apion-

<sup>25</sup> Mechanical irrigation was likely introduced before the Apions rose to prominence. See D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 105-115 and Hickey (n. 4) 100 and n. 61.

<sup>26</sup> E.g., collections from κῶμαι in the upper level accounts and collections ὑπὲρ ἰδίας γῆς at *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.92, 16.1911.22, 16.1912.87, 16.2032.10, 29, and 31; on which see Hardy (n. 3) 53.

associated toponyms. Collecting rent on more land or collecting taxes for a greater area are therefore the likeliest explanations for the rise in the Apion estate's collections between 542 and 586/587 CE.

The question remains, however, whether Apion expansion in the sixth century should be attributed more to outright ownership or wider tax collection responsibility. Because the accounts from the estate are for collection of both rents and taxes and no distinction is usually made in the accounts as to which is which, it is not possible to determine whether one or the other is responsible for the lion's share of the increase. The related question of why rents and taxes are difficult to distinguish in the accounts at all is perhaps easier to answer. There was little distinction between taxes and rents in the accounts because there was little distinction between them in reality for the Apions in the operation of their estate. Landowners, though responsible for taxes on the land they owned, would price the associated taxes into the rent they charged a tenant, so that by collecting rent they were in effect also collecting taxes.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the Apions appear to have preferred to make their collections using a revenue farming system in which collectors, such as the *προνοηταί*, would pay a fee for the right to collect and then "recoup their investments and make a profit on what they [were] legally entitled to collect – and often on what they [could] get away with collecting beyond that."<sup>28</sup> *P.Oxy.* 58.3958 is a contract between the estate and a collector of urban rents in Oxyrhynchus. The collector is to pay the estate 125 *solidi* for the right to collect from some of the estate's urban holdings, that is, he is employed under a revenue farming system. The *προνοητής* contract in *P.Oxy.* 1.136 in which the collector is to pay the estate for the right to collect, suggests that the *προνοηταί* were employed under a similar system to collect rents and taxes on and around the estate.

The insignificance of the distinction between rents and taxes in the *προνοητής* accounts (excepting special cases) stems also from the orientation of the higher estate bureaucracy, where documents like *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v<sup>o</sup> and 18.2196 v<sup>o</sup> would have been drawn up. Just as the *προνοηταί* collected revenue on behalf of the Apions, the Apions collected taxes for land they owned and from neighboring landowners on behalf of the state.<sup>29</sup> The non-tax rights to land owned by the estate were also held by the Apions, so that they rented out the rights to the produce (tenant farming) and the other productive assets on the land, such as mills, oil presses, dovecotes, and irrigation machines, along

<sup>27</sup> On leased land, the Apions were able to pass tax burden for which they were ultimately responsible onto someone else through higher lease rates, an arrangement known as an indirect tax.

<sup>28</sup> M. Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue* (Berkeley 1988) 72.

<sup>29</sup> This is the fiscal participation model proposed in Gascou (n. 3).

with the tax collection rights.<sup>30</sup> Once the right of tax collection had been conferred upon the Apions and the amount they were obligated to pay the state settled, all the collections they made on this land were bound for the same coffers, irrespective of whether the particular collection right was for taxes or for other revenues, or from land they owned or land they did not own. From those coffers the tax liability for which the Apions were responsible was paid to the state. Once the outlay had been made to acquire the right to collect a tax, that right was just another valuable asset associated with a piece of land, like wheat, grapes, or rents from mills and dovecotes.

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<sup>30</sup> Several such examples are in *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.



## Notes on Papyri

### *Kleine Beobachtungen zu P.Oxy. 16.1925<sup>1</sup>*

In der Lexikographie der griechischen Papyri gibt es immer noch genug „Rätsel“, die es zu lösen gilt. In der vorliegenden Miszelle soll einem bisher in den wichtigsten Wörterbüchern der griechischen Sprache nicht als Adjektiv belegten Wort προαστίτης nachgegangen werden, dazu einem δελφινάριον genannten Schlüssel für einen Abtritt, der sonst nicht als solcher belegt ist. Beide Wörter begegnen in *P.Oxy. 16.1925*, einer Liste aus dem 7. Jh., deren Titel lautet: † γν(ώσις) σκευῶν διαφόρ(ων) ἐνε<χ>θέ(ντων) ἐν τῷ προαστίῳ (l. προαστείῳ), „† Verzeichnis der verschiedenen Gegenstände, die im Gutshof verwendet worden sind“.

#### δελφινάριον

Von einer bestimmten Art Schlüssel für den Abtritt in der Gestalt eines Delphins ist die Rede in *P.Oxy. 16.1925.37* (καὶ ἐν ταῖς χρείαις κλ<ε>ιδ(ίον) ἤτ[ο]ι δελφινάρ(ιον), „und im Abtritt ein Schlüssel und zwar einer in Gestalt eines [kleinen] Delphins“). Das Wort δελφινάριον hat aber bis heute in dieser Bedeutung noch nicht den Weg in die gängigen Wörterbücher der griechischen (und byzantinischen) Sprache (LSJ, Lampe oder *LBG*) gefunden.

Im *DGE* (ähnlich im neuen *Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*) findet sich außerpapyrologisches δελφινάριον als „pequeño delfin“ (kleiner Delphin) aus Hero, *Automatopoetica* (*De automaticis* im TLG) 27.2: καταλαβὼν σανίδα ἔγραψα τὰ δελφινάρια, ἥλικα βούλομαι, καὶ περιέτεμον καὶ περιερρίνησα τὴν ἐκτὸς γραμμὴν. Husson<sup>2</sup> hat das Stichwort nicht.

ἤτοι in *P.Oxy. 16.1925.37* ist das einschränkende und beschreibende „und zwar“: ein Schlüssel und zwar einer in der Gestalt eines kleinen Delphins.

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<sup>1</sup> G. Poethke (Berlin) sei herzlich gedankt für seine Hilfe bei der Literaturbeschaffung und für nützliche Hinweise. Das *BASP*-Team hat wertvolle Überlegungen beigetragen.

<sup>2</sup> G. Husson, OIKIA. *Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris 1983.

## προαστίτης

σκάλη ξυλ(ίνη?) τοῦ προαστίτου ἵππικοῦ heißt es in *P.Oxy.* 16.1925.42; es ist die Rede von einer (ursprünglichen) Pferderennbahn bzw. einem „Zirkus“ (so auch im *Chronicon Paschale*) „in der Vorstadt“ / „auf einem Gutshof“ außerhalb der Stadt.

I. Fikhman<sup>3</sup> beschäftigt sich mit Pferderennbahnen, erwähnt aber *P.Oxy.* 16.1925 nicht. A. Puk<sup>4</sup> hingegen macht eine Erwähnung des öffentlichen Hippodroms in Oxyrhynchos und sagt auch, daß es daneben private Einrichtungen gegeben habe.

In den Papyri gibt es (nach DDbDP, Stand 1/2016) drei Belege von προαστίτης: *P.Oxy.* 16.1925.42 und *P.Oxy.* 58.3941.19 und 21 (604/5 n.Chr.):

19 [Αὐρ]ήλιος Βίκτωρ προαστίτ(ης)  
21 (Hand 1) † ἀπόδειξ(ις) Βίκτορος προαστίτ(ου) . . .

Bei LSJ gibt es einen Beleg für das Substantiv aus Stephanus von Byzanz (s.v. ἄστν); das *Revised Suppl.* nennt noch den Beleg aus *P.Oxy.* 58.3941.19. προαστίτης „klingt“ in Z. 19 und 21 dort fast schon wie ein Beiname bzw. eine Herkunftsbezeichnung.

An einigen, zufällig ausgewählten Begriffen können wir uns dem προαστίτης in *P.Oxy.* 16.1925.42 grammatisch nähern. Diese Beispiele zeigen, daß Begriffe auf -ίτης sowohl Substantive als auch Adjektive sein können.

σκηνίτης: Vgl. LSJ (+ *Revised Suppl.*): kann Substantiv („dweller in tents“) und Adjektiv („dwelling in tents“) sein. Kein Beleg im DDbDP. Unter den vielen Belegen im TLG drückt wohl am besten eine Stelle bei Diodoros Sikeliotes / Diodorus Siculus (3.10.3.5) die Wertigkeit des Begriffs σκηνῖται aus: νομάδες καὶ σκηνῖται. Von Σκηνῖται Ἄραβες spricht schließlich nicht nur Eustathios von Thessalonike<sup>5</sup>.

κτηνίτης (zu κτήνος): Kein Beleg im DDbDP. Neun Belege gibt es allerdings für den ἐπικτηνίτης (Belege von 3 Jh. n.Chr.). Im LSJ ist für ἐπικτηνίτης („drover“, „Viehhirt“) nur ein papyrologischer Beleg angegeben (*P.Flor.* 2.126, 255 n.Chr.: bei LSJ falso 1.26) und ein Hinweis auf eine Glosse.

<sup>3</sup> *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im spätantiken Ägypten. Kleine Schriften von Itzhak F. Fikhman*, hrsg. v. A. Jördens unter Mitarbeit von W. Sperling, Stuttgart 2006, S. 131.

<sup>4</sup> A. Puk, *Das römische Spielewesen in der Spätantike*, Berlin/Boston 2014, S. 140, Anm. 332, S. 169f. besonders mit Anm. 88.

<sup>5</sup> In K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, vol. 2, Paris 1861: Eustathios Thessalonicensis, *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* 936.9.

Im LSJ begegnet der κτηνίτης nur im mythologischen Zusammenhang (Theseus). Im TLG gibt es lediglich 12 Belege, die den κτηνίτης aber als real existierenden Beruf zeigen, z.B. in den *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae (sub auctore Onesimo)*<sup>6</sup>, sectio 33.9: ὁ δὲ κτηνίτης ἠκολούθει βοῶν καὶ λέγων.

Ζευγίτης: Der ζευγίτης ist seit Platon und Aristoteles belegt (vgl. TLG). Die ζευγίται stellen ursprünglich die dritte Klasse der Bürger Athens dar (vgl. LSJ). Später wird er als eines der vielen Begriffe für Bauer und Ackersmann verwendet, allerdings überraschend selten; die meisten der Nennungen im TLG beziehen sich auf die genannte athenische Klasseneinteilung.

Der ζευγίτης ist also der „Ackersmann“, der im LBG allerdings nur in einem Sprichwort des Maximos Planudes (um 1300) begegnet<sup>7</sup>; ein Νικόλαος ὁ Ζευγίτης tritt uns in der Urkunde 18.24 des Zographou-Klosters (1300 n.Chr.) entgegen<sup>8</sup>. Im PLP 3.6555 finden wir den Νικόλαος Ζευγίτης noch unter der alten Bezeichnung AZog 36. Ein Ζευγίτης ὁ Ἀργυρός begegnet uns auch in einer weiteren Athos-Urkunde<sup>9</sup>. Im DDbDP ist ζευγίτης nicht nachgewiesen.

Wösendorf

Johannes Diethart

<sup>6</sup> M.R. James, *Apocrypha anecdota*, Cambridge 1893.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Sprichwörtersammlung des Maximus Planudes*, erläutert von E. Kurtz, Leipzig 1886, 17.3: Ἡ θύτης ἢ ζευγίτης: „Entweder Priester oder Ackersmann“. Dortselbst wird auch ngr. ζευγάς erwähnt.

<sup>8</sup> C. Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou*, Sofia 2014.

<sup>9</sup> *Acta Monasterii Lavrae, Nota falsa de possessionibus Lavrae in Lemno*, App. 18.38 (spätbyz.).

P.Haun. 3.67

The first three lines of this order from AD 398 are presented as follows in the edition:

Φιλέας.

παράσχου εἰς τὰ ἅγια μαρτύρ<ι>α ἅπα Τ[. . .] σίτου ἀρτάβας ὀκτώ, λαχανο-  
σπέρμου ἀρτάβας δύο, (γίν.) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) η, λαχ(ανοσπέρμου) (ἀρτ.) β μ(όνας)

The date in line 4 is according to the era of Oxyrhynchus, which is therefore the provenance of the papyrus. The same Phileas issued the order *P.Mich.* 15.727, which is therefore also from Oxyrhynchus rather than from the Cynopolite nome mentioned in the text.

In the lacuna to the right of line 1 of the Copenhagen papyrus (not indicated in the edition) is the addressee, which may or may not be the one addressed in the Michigan papyrus. The translation in the improved edition of the Copenhagen papyrus in *Christian Oxyrhynchus*<sup>10</sup> reads:

“Phileas [to N.N. . . . greeting]. Supply to the holy Martyrium of Apa T . . . eight artabae of grain (and) two artabae of vegetable seeds, total 8 artabae of grain, 2 artabae of vegetable seed, only.”

The editors of *Christian Oxyrhynchus* do not address the real problem in the text, because they continue to treat the plural τὰ ἅγια μαρτύρ<ι>α as if it were a singular, just as the *ed.princ.* The *ed.princ.* and the editors of *Christian Oxyrhynchus* do this because it would be odd to have multiple martyria named for one martyr. But this is the wrong way out of the problem.

What neither the *ed.princ.* nor the editors of *Christian Oxyrhynchus* noticed is that the order, as understood and translated by them, does not identify the intended recipient of the 8 art. of grain and the 2 art. of vegetable seed. I think ἅπα Τ[. . .] . . . is that intended recipient. The name is in the dative (to tell from the plate in the *ed.princ.* it ends in an *iota*).<sup>11</sup> The expression εἰς τὰ ἅγια μαρτύρια refers to the ultimate intended recipients, the holy martyria which

<sup>10</sup> L.H. Blumell and T.A. Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus* (Waco, TX 2015) no. 124.

<sup>11</sup> There is an odd space preceding the *iota*. On a scan kindly provided to me by Kim Ryholt, I would read the letter preceding the space as an *omega* and the letter preceding that as a *tau*. The letter preceding the *tau* in the lacuna must have been a *sigma*, given the way the *tau* is shaped. Before that there is ample room for another letter in the lacuna. The editors read a *tau* before the lacuna, but it seems more like a *pi*, because the horizontal of the presumed *tau* would not extend far enough to the left. If all my readings in this footnote are accepted, the name can be restored as ἅπα Π[ις]τῶι. There is a roughly contemporary (abba) Pistos in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (with just one anecdote in the various collections), and there are several more ecclesiastics named Pistos in the

will get their allowances through Apa T.<sup>12</sup> The correct translation is therefore: “Supply *for* (εἰς) the holy martyria *to* (dative) Apa T ...” If it had been a singular martyrion, Apa T would have been its priest. But given that the (plural) martyria in Oxyrhynchus (without further specification) are targeted by the order, the intermediary can only be the bishop of Oxyrhynchus.<sup>13</sup> Apa T can be added to the already crowded roster of bishops of Oxyrhynchus from the late fourth century (Hieracion in the Greek *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 5.6 [ca. 395] and Apa Apphou of the Coptic *Life* [ca. 400], nos. 166 and 167 in *Christian Oxyrhynchus*).

University of Cincinnati

Peter van Minnen

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earlier fourth century (see Smith-Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography* 4 [1887] s.n.). The Upper Egyptian name Πιστωῖ (attested, e.g., at Edfu) is inappropriate here.

<sup>12</sup> Such intermediaries were probably also identified in the lacunae of *P.Oxy.* 82.5333.2, 5, and 6.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps ἄπα also works better for a bishop than for a martyr at this relatively early date. See T. Derda and E. Wipszycka, “L’emploi des titres abba, apa et papas dans l’Égypte byzantine,” *JJP* 24 (1994) 23-56.

*Opérations comptables dans un ordre de paiement arabe:  
à propos de P.Vindob. inv. A.P. 3172*

Dans un article récemment publié, P.M. Sijpesteijn édite un intéressant petit ordre de paiement qui vient accroître le nombre, déjà important, de documents de ce type.<sup>14</sup> L'émetteur de l'ordre précise qu'il faudra verser un quart de *qisṭ* d'huile d'olive (*zayt Filasīn*)<sup>15</sup> à un *ḡulām* («jeune esclave» ou «garçon»). L'objet du message se termine, comme dans les autres ordres de paiement, par la formule *'in šā llāh* («si Dieu le veut»), suivie du nom du scribe, un certain Muḥammad, d'une date et de la formule pieuse *ḥasbunā llāh wa-ni'm al-wakīl* («Dieu nous suffit et quel protecteur il fait»).

À la l. 3, l'éditrice lit la séquence  *wa-ḥtasib min dālik*, qu'elle traduit par «and debit (to him) of that». En dehors de la conjonction *wa-* et du démonstratif *dālik*, la lecture semble douteuse. Tout d'abord, on remarquera que la forme VIII du verbe *ḥasaba* n'est pas clairement identifiable dans le *rasm*. Pour s'en convaincre, on comparera par exemple le tracé de ce qui serait dans notre texte *wa-ḥtasib* avec la graphie qu'adopte cette même forme verbale dans *P.Cair.Arab.* 5.329.5  ou encore dans *P.World*, p. 152, a.3 . Par ailleurs, on notera que la ligature supposée entre l'impératif *iḥtasib* et la préposition *min* ne correspond guère à la dynamique de l'écriture arabe de cette époque. En outre, on doit constater que le verbe *iḥtasaba*, pour lequel les lexicographes enregistrent bien le sens de «compter» ou «porter en compte», ne se construit jamais avec la préposition *min*.<sup>16</sup> Dans les documents égyptiens, en particulier, où la forme VIII de *ḥasaba* est bien attestée<sup>17</sup>, il se construit uni-



<sup>14</sup> P.M. Sijpesteijn, «Making the Private Public: A Delivery of Palestinian Oil in Third/Ninth-Century Egypt», *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 2 (2014) 74-91 (uniquement accessible en ligne à l'url <http://ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/StOrE/article/view/41377>).

<sup>15</sup> L'éditrice lit *zayt Filasīnī* («de l'huile palestinienne»), mais je ne vois pas de *yā* final caractéristique de la nisbation. Je lis *zayt Filasīn* («de l'huile de Palestine»), comme dans le billet inédit P.Utah inv. 707 où je lis *bismi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm | wa-qisṭ zayt | Filasīn | ma'a dīnār* || ☉ («Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Et un *qisṭ* d'huile de Palestine ainsi qu'un *dīnār*»).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. entre autres Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire* 1, p. 423b-424a, Lane, *Lexicon*, 2, p. 565-566 et Dozy, *Supplément* 1, p. 284.

<sup>17</sup> On le rencontre principalement en contexte comptable: cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.113.3 (où il faut certainement corriger l'impératif *iḥsab bihā* en *iḥtasib bihā*); 5.302.8; 329.5; 351.8 (cf. la correction dans W. Diem, «Philologisches zu arabischen Dokumenten. II. Dokumente aus der Sammlung der Egyptian Library in Kairo», *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 56 [2012] 27-78, en part. 73-75); 357.2 (cf. la correction dans Diem, «Philologisches», 77); 358.3 (cf. la correction dans Diem, «Philologisches», 77); *P.Prag Arab.* 84.4 et 85.4; et *P.World*, p. 152, 3. Il est également utilisé en contexte religieux: cf.

quement avec la préposition *bi-* introduisant la chose comptabilisée<sup>18</sup> et avec *li-*,<sup>19</sup> *ilā*<sup>20</sup> ou *alā*<sup>21</sup> régissant la personne au nom de qui une somme est créditée. Il paraît donc difficile d'adhérer à la lecture qui a été proposée.

Que faut-il lire en ce cas? Je déchiffrerais la séquence  *wa-ḥsab* («porte en compte»), la forme I de *ḥasaba*, bien attestée dans les papyrus, entre autres dans les ordres de paiement.<sup>22</sup> Je reconnais ensuite dans le *rasm*  le mot *taman* («prix»), dont le tracé est très semblable à celui que l'on rencontre dans *P.Berl.Arab.* 2.40 *passim*; *P.Marchands* 1.4.7, 5.10 et 6.5. Il faut donc lire l'ensemble de la fin de la l. 3 *wa-ḥsab taman ḏālik* («et comptabilise le prix de cela»). La correction que je propose a une implication très concrète en terme de comptabilité: il ne s'agissait pas d'imputer 1/4 de *qisṭ* d'huile en nature, mais bien d'en imputer le prix, soit environ 2 1/2 dinars,<sup>23</sup> dans la comptabilité. Ces opérations ne sont pas sans rappeler les pratiques comptables attestées dans les archives de l'intendant agricole de Théadelphie, Hérôninos (*floruit* 249-268), qui avait l'habitude de comptabiliser en argent les débours en nature, même quand une opération n'avait pas engagé de numéraire<sup>24</sup>.

Princeton University

Naïm Vanthieghem

*P.Marchands* 2.17.2, 20.3-4 et *P.Camb.Michael.Pap. inv. A 560* (publié dans Y. Rāḡib, «Une lettre familiale rédigée en 102/721», *AnIsl* 45 [2011] 273-284). On notera enfin que dans *PERF* 576 verso, 9 (édité dans L. Reinfandt, «Leinenhändler im Herakleopolites in arabischer Zeit: P.Vindob. A.P. 15021 [*PERF* 576]», *BASP* 44 [2007] 97-123), ce n'est pas la forme VIII qui est utilisée, mais la forme I du verbe.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. entre autres *P.Cair.Arab.* 5.329.5 et 351.8.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 5.302.7.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 5.357.2.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 5.358.3.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 5.356.5-6 *Iḥsab li-Abī Qīr ibn Tūrus* | 'annī dīnār wāḥid mītqāl.

<sup>23</sup> Le prix peut être établi grâce à un document contemporain, *P.Berl.Arab.* 2.40, qui sera très prochainement réédité dans un article de Y. Rāḡib à paraître dans les *Annales Islamologiques*. À la l. 6, qui a été mal lue par le premier éditeur, 1/8 de *qisṭ* d'huile palestinienne coûte 1 1/4 dinar.

<sup>24</sup> Sur cette question, voir J. Bingen, «Hérôninos, Théadelphie et son vin», *CdÉ* 63 (1988) 367-378; id., «Le *P. Prag.* II 204 et la comptabilité des *phrontides* de type héro-ninien», *CdÉ* 71 (1996) 122-128.



*The Problematic Occurrence of the Greek Term  
ζυγόν/ζυγός in a Coptic Wine List*

The Greek term ζυγόν/ζυγός is used with a variety of meanings, such as the yoke of a plough or carriage,<sup>25</sup> (metaphorically) the yoke of slavery,<sup>26</sup> a coachman's seat(?),<sup>27</sup> a monetary standard,<sup>28</sup> a pair,<sup>29</sup> and a measure of land.<sup>30</sup> In some cases, the meaning is not obvious, as in *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59484.13-14: ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὸν στήμονα (the “yoke” of a loom?).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *P.Oxy.* 48.3407.3-6: σπουδάσατε τὸν ταυρελάτην μετὰ τῶν μόσχων καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ καὶ σχοινίω(ν) αὐτῶν ἐξέλασε (l. ἐξέλασαι); *P.Corn.* 4.9-11: κατασκευῆσαι ζυγὸν ἀμαξικὸν καὶ κόφινον; *P.Michael.* 18.1: ζυγὸν σιδηροῦν; *P.Fay.* 121.3-6: εἰ ποιήσεις δοὺς Οὐήσητειν εἰς τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ ζυγόδεσμον καινὸν στερεόν; *SB* 20.14197 v° 3.46-47: ἔλθων εἰς σύρσιν ζυγῶν ἀντλητικῶν; *SB* 26.12381.33: τιμὴ ζυγ(οῦ) κτηνῶν ἀντλητικῶν; *SB* 18.13127.8: βαστάζω[ν]τες τοὺς ζυγοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐχυσιαίας.

<sup>26</sup> *M.Chr.* 63.10-11: δούλιο[ν] ζυγὸν ἔλευ[θέρους] προσάπτοντες; *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67120.11: καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν εἰς δουλικὸν ζυγόν; *P.Köln* 3.157.9-14: κατέστησά [σε τὸν] προγεγραμμένον Μην[ᾶν] ἐλ[εύθερον] ἀπὸ παντὸς ζυγοῦ δουλείας (l. δουλείας), ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπ[ὶ] τὸν χρόνον; of other burdens, *P.Lond.* 5.1674.15-16: εἰλ[κ]ύσθημεν εὐγενῶς κ[αί] ἐλευθερικῶς τον βίον κατ[α]γ[ό]μεν[ον] . . . . . ] τῆς παραρχίας ζυγόν.

<sup>27</sup> LSJ refers to *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67303.15, but this also concerns a yoke.

<sup>28</sup> *P.Oxy.* 16.1918 v° 1.7: ὑπ(ἐρ) παραλληλ(ισμοῦ) ζυγ(ὸν), and elsewhere. See D. Castrizio, “*Demosios zygos e idiotikos zygos: un'interpretazione numismatica*,” *Analecta Papyrologica* 25 (2013) 243-256.

<sup>29</sup> *P.Oxy.* 16.1921.4: σινδονί(ων) ζυγ(οῦ) ἀγορασθ(έντος) (καὶ) δ[ο]θ(έντος); *P.Bingen* 120 r° 2.16: τιμῆς σινδ(όνων) ζυγ(ὸν) β E, v° 2.27: ζυγ(ὸν) γ Zφ; *P.Oxy.* 56.3867.6: περὶ δὲ τῶν δύο ζυγῶν τῶν σινδονίων γνῶναι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι; *P.Lond.* 4.1433.467: ὄν(όματι) πλουμ(ακίων) βασιλ(ικῶν) γ (καὶ) σι(ν)δ(ονίων) ζυγ(οῦ) α, 560, 571: τι(μῆς) σινδ(ονίων) ἀντισκίν(ων) ζυγ(οῦ) α; *P.Lond.* 4.1433.372: ὄν(όματι) πλουμ(ακίων) βασιλικ(ὸν) β (καὶ) σινδ(ονίων) ζυγ(ὸν); *P.Lond.* 4.1435.39: (ὕπερ) τ[ι]μ[ῆς] ζυγ(ὸν) ιη λ(όγ)ω(φ) φορέ(τρον) ἀνδ(ρα)π(όδων) τ[ο]υ/ δ[η]μ[ο]σί(ου)] νο(μίσματα) θ γ'; *P.Lond.* 4.1438+1484: μισθ(οῦ) ζυγ(ὸν) (καὶ) καταλ(αγῆς) νο(μίσματα) β γ'; *P.Lond.* 4.1443.66: (ὕπερ?) τιμ(ῆς) ζυγ(ὸν); *P.Lond.* 5.1720.8-9: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνωτί(ο) χρυσο(ῦ) Ἑλληνικ(οῦ) ζυγ(οῦ) ἐνός; *P.Mert.* 1.41.10-12: ὕπερ) τιμ(ῆς) διμάλλων ζυγ(οῦ) α τῷ κυρ(ίφ) μου πατρὶ Πέτρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ) τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Καισαρ(είου) χρυ(σοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) γ π(αρά) ἔξ; *P.Sijp.* 50.4 = *SB* 12.10802.4: σανδαλίων ζυγόν; *SB* 18.14063.4: σχοινί(ων) ἦτοι κρίκ(ων) ζυγ(ὸν) α; *SPP* 20.10.204.5, 6: ταυρῶ(ν) ζυγ(ὸν) α.

<sup>30</sup> *SB* 6.9459.1, 11, 14: ἀμπελικὰ χωρία ζυγῶν] πεντήκοντα πέντε.

<sup>31</sup> Other ambiguous cases are *P.Dion.* 10.21: ζυγ[ὸ]ν α; *P.Oxy.* 55.3803.4-7: ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι [μισ]θώσασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι ἐν παιδίοις (l. πεδίοις) τῆς αὐτῆς [κώ]μης Ψάβθεως ἀπὸ μηχανῆς ἐξερτισμένης (l. ἐξηρτισμένης) πάση ξυλικῇ [κατωρίτῃ] καὶ σιδηρώσει (l. σιδηρώσει) ζηγόν (l. ζυγόν) ἕνα, 18: μεμίσθωμαι τ[ῶν] ἡμῶν τῆς [μηχανῆς] ἡ σηκόν (l. ζυγόν); *P.Stras.* 1.32.12: καὶ ζυγὸν δὲ ἐνάγων παρὰ σοί; *P.Wash. Univ.* 2.71.9-10: οὐ μ[ὴ] ἄρω ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ζυγόν; *P.Lond.* 4.1421.2b.27: ] μέ(ρους)

Uncertainty also surrounds the combination ζυγόν scil. διπλῶν, which is supposedly implied by a Coptic wine list from Vienna (P.Vindob. inv. K 4825), originally published in *CPR* 12.4 (incomplete), then re-edited in *APF* 41 (1995) 194-204 (with German translation) and included in *SB Kopt.* 3.1435 (Coptic text only).<sup>32</sup> Products packed in διπλᾶ (or διδιπλᾶ)<sup>33</sup> are: liquids such as wine, as in the Coptic wine list, must, vinegar, etc.,<sup>34</sup> fish sauce (garum),<sup>35</sup> fish,<sup>36</sup> pickled preserves,<sup>37</sup> turnips (probably also pickled),<sup>38</sup> meat,<sup>39</sup> and coins.<sup>40</sup>

In the Coptic wine list from Vienna the editor presents the text on the *verso* in two columns as follows. Lines 70-85 and 88-104 each consist of three parts: (mostly) names, (mostly) numbers, more numbers. In line 69 and 87 one finds above the two columns with numbers two abbreviated words, above the first column: ΔΙΠ( ) for διπ(λᾶ) scil. οἴνου, and above the second column: ΕΝΧ( ), which the editor expands as ἐν(ε)χ(θέντα) (scil. διπλᾶ οἴνου). I do not

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τόπ(ου) Ζυγ(οῦ) νο(μίσματα) β σ[ί(του) ἄρτ(άβ.)] β; and *P.Oxy.* 12.1513.8-12: α, β, γ, δ, ε, ς ζυγοῦ (ζυτοῦ prev. ed.) λί(τραι) νε, νε, νγ, ν, ν, μθ. An especially problematic example is found at *BGU* 17.2713 r<sup>o</sup> 6: ζυγοῦ αὐτῆς κερ(άτιον) α (the entries surrounding it give us no clue as to the meaning of this entry).

<sup>32</sup> For a catalogue record and images of the *recto* and *verso* see [http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/YJSCJVGMVDVSYEJ7X2FSSUSUNPQ5Y2199AB9SKI39PF5EXA1IA-09136?func=find-b&find\\_code=WRD&adjacent=N&request=1435&x=0&y=0](http://aleph.onb.ac.at/F/YJSCJVGMVDVSYEJ7X2FSSUSUNPQ5Y2199AB9SKI39PF5EXA1IA-09136?func=find-b&find_code=WRD&adjacent=N&request=1435&x=0&y=0). The *verso* is scan 1.

<sup>33</sup> For the contents of διπλᾶ and products packed in them, see my article “A Survey of ἀπλᾶ, δι(δι)πλᾶ and τριπλᾶ Measures in the Papyri,” *ZPE* 131 (2000) 145-149, in particular 147.

<sup>34</sup> οἴνου διπλᾶ = very common; one finds the following further specifications: οἴνου εὐαρέστου διπλᾶ, *P.Neph.* 34.3; οἴνου νέου ἐπιτηδείου διπλᾶ ἐκ ξεστῶν ζ, *P.Select.* 2.7, 8; οἴνου νέου ἐπιτηδείου διπλᾶ πενταξεστιαῖα, *P.Coll. Youtie* 2.93.8; οἴνου νέου εὐαρέστου ἐπιτηδείου ἐπιχωρίου διπλᾶ, *SB* 16.12639.17, 19; οἴνου παλαιοῦ διπλᾶ, *P.Apoll.* 94.1; *P.Erl.* 111.10 (cf. *APF* 45 [1999] 109); *PSI* 3.191.2, 3; *O.Stras.* 1.658.2-5, 8; ὄξους διπλᾶ, *PSI* 8.953.2.4, 6, 9, 12, 14, 37. In Coptic documents, too, one finds διπλᾶ: connected also with ὄξος (in *P.Lond.Copt.* 696) and λαγάνη (vegetable, see *P.Crum* ST 255.10); σταλάγματος διπλᾶ, *P.Oxy.* 16.2051.6ff. (σταλάγματος = στάγματος? see *ZPE* 84 [1990] 69-74).

<sup>35</sup> γάρου χυδαίου δι(πλ.), *P.Erl.* 111.15 (see *APF* 45 [1999] 109).

<sup>36</sup> θρισίων δι(πλᾶ) σφραγ(ισθέντα), *P.Oxy.* 16.1923.9.

<sup>37</sup> ταριχίων διπλᾶ, *P.Oxy.* 3.520.6, 8, 11, 21.

<sup>38</sup> γογ|γυλιδίων σε . . . να δι(πλοῦν) α, *P.Erl.* 86.8 (the *ed. princ.* prints in this and the previous line 7 δι(πλᾶ) α; for the product see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 71 [1988] 286-287).

<sup>39</sup> κρεῶν δι(πλᾶ) σφραγ(ισθέντα), *P.Oxy.* 16.1923.10; κρεῶς δι(πλᾶ) (l. δι(πλοῦν)) α, *P.Erl.* 86.7.

<sup>40</sup> κέρματος διπλοῦν κνίδιον α, *P.Oxy.* 34.2729.11 (on packing coins in jars, see *P.Hamb.* 4.267).

know what is meant by the second header. Presumably all διπλᾶ were at some time “brought” (that is what ἐν(ε)χ(θέντα) means) from one place to another; the editor mistakenly translates ἐν(ε)χ(θέντα), as “ausgehändigt.” In line 72 the second column of an entry reads more than just a number: ΔΓΓ β, which the editor expands as ἀγγ(εῖα) β; in line 73 in the second column of another entry again more than just a number occurs: ΖΥΓ β, which the editor expands as ζυγ(ᾶ) β. Both entries are in the column headed διπ(λᾶ). The editor marks her readings as far from certain (ΔΓΓ and ΖΥΓ). Do we have to assume that a different kind of product was introduced by the scribe in lines 72-73, or that he wished to change from vessel type A (διπ(λᾶ)) to vessel types B (ἀγγ(εῖα)) and C (ζυγ(ᾶ)), or both? A change of vessel type, from διπ(λᾶ) to ἀγγ(εῖα) (translated by the editor as “Krüge”) is conceivable and would fit the traces in line 72, but the reading in line 73 is not obvious, as one can tell from the image. The *zeta* is a “cork screwer coming down,” and one could also read xi instead, as in ὀξου(ς) (two διπλᾶ of vinegar may have been meant). I am not convinced that either ζυγ(ᾶ) (translated by the editor as “Doppelkrüge,” but how does that differ from διπ(λᾶ)?) or ὀξου(ς) is correct, and even αγγ( ) in line 72 should be reconsidered.

*Santpoort-Zuid*

K.A. Worp

## Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 3 (2015)

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Alain Delattre *Université libre de Bruxelles*,  
Jitse Dijkstra *University of Ottawa*, and  
Jacques van der Vliet *Leiden University/Radboud University Nijmegen*

### Abstract

Third installment of an annual overview of published inscriptions in Greek and Coptic from Christian Egypt and Nubia.

The third issue of our epigraphical bulletin on Christian Egypt and Nubia covers the inscriptions published in 2015. To these are added one item from 2013 (1) and two from 2014 (17, 33-53) that came too late to our attention to be included in the previous bulletins.

**1. Qusur ‘Irayma (Pherme) and Qusur ‘Izayla (Kellia). 2 Tim. 4:7-8 in Coptic *dipinti*, 6th-7th cent.** S.J. Davis, “Completing the Race and Receiving the Crown: 2 Timothy 4:7-8 in Early Christian Monastic Epitaphs at Kellia and Pherme,” in H.-U. Weidemann (ed.), *Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity: The Reception of New Testament Texts in Ancient Ascetic Discourses* (Göttingen 2013) 334-373. Discussion of a group of commemorative *dipinti* in (Bohairic) Coptic from the oratories of Hermitage 26 at Qusur ‘Irayma and Hermitage 90 at Qusur ‘Izayla. Each of the nine *dipinti* quotes, following the name and date of death of a deceased “father” and preceding a prayer for the “rest” of his soul, a variant of 2 Tim. 4:7-8: “He has completed the race. He has kept the faith. Finally, he has received the crown of righteousness.” A presentation of the archaeological context of the *dipinti* (pp. 335-337) and their spatial setting and formulae (pp. 337-340) is followed by an extensive discussion of agonistic symbolism in early Christian literature (pp. 340-353) and its visualization in specific monastic settings in Egypt (pp. 353-359). An appendix (pp. 360-364) presents a reading text and English translation of the nine *dipinti*, after the *editio princeps*, as follows:

Davis, Ph(erme)1 = *ed. princ.* N. Bosson, “Choix d’inscriptions de l’ermitage QE 26 (100 à 138),” in P. Bridel (ed.), *Explorations aux Qouçoûr Hēgeila et ‘Ēreima lors des campagnes 1987, 1988 et 1989* (Leuven 2003) 376 (no. 114)

Davis, Ph2 = *ed. princ.* Bosson, p. 378 (no. 122)

Davis, Ph3 = *ed. princ.* Bosson, p. 379 (no. 125)

Davis, Ph4 = *ed. princ.* Bosson, pp. 379-380 (no. 128)

Davis, Ph5 = *ed. princ.* Bosson, pp. 381-382 (no. 133)

Davis, K(ellia)1 = *ed. princ.* R. Kasser, J. Partyka, and N. Bosson, "Choix d'inscriptions de l'ermitage QIZ 90 (122 à 163)," in P. Bridel (ed.), *Explorations aux Qouçoûr el-Izeila lors des campagnes 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989 et 1990* (Leuven 1999) 300-301 (no. 124)

Davis, K2 = *ed. princ.* Kasser, Partyka, and Bosson, pp. 304-305 (no. 132bis)

Davis, K3 = *ed. princ.* Kasser, Partyka, and Bosson, pp. 306-307 (no. 134)

Davis, K4 = *ed. princ.* Kasser, Partyka, and Bosson, pp. 311-312 (no. 147)

In his discussion of the formulaic structure of the inscriptions, the author proposes an interpretation of the petition to "remember" the deceased in terms of the "rhetoric of paraenesis" (p. 340). For a different point of view, see J. van der Vliet, "What Is Man? The Nubian Tradition of Coptic Funerary Inscriptions," in A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2011) 171-224, in part. pp. 192-197. In the translation of the inscriptions, ⲁⲭⲏ should have been rendered as "indiction year" (not "hour"), which, moreover, would have allowed for a more precise dating in a number of cases; see P. Luisier, "Les années de l'indiction dans les inscriptions des Kellia," *ZPE* 159 (2007) 217-222, in part. pp. 221-222, citing Davis' nos. Ph5 (15 February 570), K2 (14 January 665), and K3 (29 August 651 or 666).

**2. Wadi el-Natrun (Deir el-Surian). Commemorative *dipinto* in Coptic and Syriac, 889 CE.** *Ed. princ.* K.C. Innemée, G. Ochala, and L. Van Rompay, "A Memorial for Abbot Maqari of Deir al-Surian (Egypt): Wall Paintings and Inscriptions in the Church of the Virgin Discovered in 2014," *Hugoye* 18 (2015) 147-190. In 2014 new paintings and *dipinti* were discovered in the church of the Holy Virgin at Deir el-Surian. On the southern wall of the nave to the left of a painting of the Three Patriarchs in Paradise, known since 1996, a depiction of St. Macarius and the Cherub is found. A Syriac inscription to the right of the saint's head confirms his identity ("[Ab]ba Maqari the Great"). Above the cherub, some letters are visible, which consist of two vertically written words, the second one ending on ⲁⲃ+. One could think of reconstructing [ⲉⲑⲟⲩ]ⲁⲃ+ here. Further to the left, a painting represents two saints on horseback, a young and an old one. Left of the head of the young saint is a fragmentary *dipinto* in Coptic ([ⲁⲓⲣⲓ]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲁ ...) and Syriac. Beneath the horse of the old saint two small figures are depicted, one of whom is identified by a Syriac and Coptic (or Greek) *dipinto* (ⲁⲗⲉ|ⲛⲁⲛ|ⲁⲣⲟⲥ). In between the paintings of St. Macarius and

the two horsemen, two monumental *dipinti*, the one on top in Syriac and the one below in Coptic, commemorate the death of Abbot Macarius in May 889 (10 May according to the Syriac, 11 May according to the Coptic text; since both memorials mention that he died on Pentecost Sunday, the correct date is given in the Coptic text, as one of the editors notes [p. 169], since 11 May 889 was a Sunday). A first edition of both texts is provided at pp. 160-165 (Syriac, by L. Van Rompay; Fig. 6) and 165-171 (Coptic, by G. Ochała; Fig. 7).

Except for the content, the Syriac and Coptic texts do not share formulae and seem to have been written independently, but parallels for two of the formulae used in the Coptic text can be found in a Coptic and Syriac colophon of a manuscript from Deir el-Surian (Ms BL Add. 14,635, dated to 893/894 and written by Yuhanon, who is mentioned as the son of Maqari in the Syriac text, l. 25). The Syriac text is written vertically in a frame, consists of 27 lines, and is quite elaborate. After the funerary formula (“[He] has departed from this life ... to the place full of joy ...”) and the date (ll. 1-8), a long list of optative clauses for the rest and resurrection of the deceased is given (ll. 8-24, with a quotation from Matt. 11:29 in l. 11). The last lines (ll. 24-27) ask “everyone who reads (this)” to pray for his soul, as well as for his son Yuhanon.

The (Bohairic) Coptic text is also written in a frame and consists of fifteen lines written in an ornamental bookhand. Every two lines are written alternately in black and red. The text begins with an invocation of the Trinity (ll. 1-2). The funerary formula follows in ll. 3-4: ΕΛΥΜΤΟΝ Μ[Μ]ΟΥ ΉΕ[Ν ΠΟC ΝΧΕ] ΠΙΝΔΙΑΤΥ ΔΛΗΘ[Ω]C ΚΑΤΑ Τ'ΕΡ|ΜΗΝ|ΪΑ ΜΠΕΡΑΝ, “he went to rest in the Lord, the truly blessed, according to the translation of his name” (with a play of words on μακάρι and Greek μακάριος). The name of the deceased is written, but not fully preserved, in l. 4 (perhaps read Π[ΑΠΑ ΜΑ]ΚΑ[Ρ]Ι), with his titles in ll. 4-5. The date of death is given in ll. 5-7. The text then asks for remembrance and forgiveness of the deceased (ll. 7-12) and closes with a quotation from Matt. 25:34 and “Amen” (ll. 13-15). In l. 2, the reading Ν{Ν}ΟΜ[Ο- <Ο>]Υ[CΙΟ]C should be corrected, as the letters ΟΜΟ are visible and then a trace of either Υ or Ψ (the ligature of ΟΥ, which is sometimes used in the text). The second solution would make the addition of Ο unnecessary and we therefore propose to edit Ν{Ν}ΟΜΟΟΥ[CΙΟ]C (with ΟΥ ligatured). In l. 10, instead of ΝΕΦΝ[ΟΒΕ], one should restore the Bohairic form ΝΕΦΝ[ΟΒΙ], which also fits the space of the lacuna better.

**3-4. Faiyum. Two Greek funerary stelae, 5th-7th cent. Ed. princ.** L.H. Blumell and M. Hussen, “New Christian Epitaphs from the Fayum,” *ZPE* 193 (2015) 202-206. Two limestone stelae from the storage magazine of Kom Aus-him (Karani; for two Coptic funerary stelae from the same source, see CIEN 2 [2014] nos. 51-52; a combined publication of all four items would have been

preferable). Appearance and formulae assign the stones unambiguously to the Faiyum, but a more precise provenance cannot be given.

3. Kom Aushim inv. 309. *Ed. princ.* Blumell and Hussen, pp. 202-204. The stela (50.5 x 26 x 15.5 cm) is representative of a familiar type that shows a richly sculptured cross within an *aedicula*; the text is inscribed at the top, in a weakly shaped triangular pediment, provided with clear *akroteria*. The text consists of five lines and contains a prayer of the type “Lord, give rest to the soul of,” followed by the rare name Thenes. The mason got confused over his text in l. 3. To solve the problem, the editors split up the text and read ll. 3-4 as the distinct formula “peace (be) to the soul of NN,” which, in addition, compels them to change the case endings of ll. 3-4. In our view, the mason erroneously began to write the formula ἐν εἰρήνῃ “in peace,” which frequently accompanies the ἀνάπαυσον prayer, in l. 3, taking the ending -ην (of ψυχ|ην) for the preposition ἐν. He then noticed his error and, without finishing the word εἰρήνη, returned to his former text by repeating the (now strictly spoken redundant) group τὴν ψυχ|ήν. Instead of constructing two garbled formulae, we therefore prefer to read: ἀνάπα|υσον {τὴν ψυχ|ην εἰρη} τὴν ψυχ|ήν Θέου “give rest to the soul of Thenes.” One could read the text as a double epitaph and take εἰρη of l. 3 as, for instance, a form of the not uncommon name Irai, but epitaphs for more than one person, although well attested in the Faiyum, are usually more clearly marked as such. In l. 1, we prefer to resolve κῦ to κύ(ριε), instead of κ(υρίο)υ (editors). The owner appears to have died on 1 Thoth of a third indiction, but the readings are far from clear and might have deserved some commentary. The editors propose a date in the 6th-7th centuries.

4. Kom Aushim inv. 310. *Ed. princ.* Blumell and Hussen, pp. 205-206. Rectangular slab (27.5 x 34.5 x 6.5 cm) inscribed with three lines of text above a row of three incised crosses. The text reads: ἐν ἡρήνῃ τῇ | κεκυμημένη Κυρά, which we prefer to translate as: “In peace. For Kyra, who has fallen asleep” (editors: “For Kyra, who has fallen asleep in peace”). No date of death is given. The spellings, well attested otherwise, are discussed extensively by the editors, who assign the stone to the 5th-7th centuries.

5-12. el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus). Coptic *dipinti*, ca. 6th cent. *Ed. princ.* N. Bosson, “Inscriptions d’Oxyrhynque provenant du secteur 19,” in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XIII. Quinzième journée d’études* (Paris 2015) 69-89. Ensemble of seventeen *dipinti* in (Sahidic) Coptic from the apse of the oratory (called “this church” in inscription no. 17 = 12 below) of a monastic community, discovered in 2010. The majority consists of prayers of the litany type, requesting spiritual favors for the authors of the texts. According to the editor, traces of Middle Egyptian dialect would argue in favor of an early date (mid-5th century). The certain invocation of the Saqqara triad



in no. 15 (11), however, is rather indicative of the end of the 5th century as a *terminus post quem*. Here only those items are presented that show some interest or merit discussion.

5. Bosson, p. 73, no. 2, Fig. 3. *Ed. princ. Dipinto* in black ink, containing a moralizing sentence: ΚΑΡΡΩΚ ΤΑΡΡΕΚΧΝΕ “Keep silent and you will be appeased,” recalling Eccl. 28:13, according to the editor’s plausible interpretation. Note the repeated doubling of the ρ.

6. Bosson, pp. 73-74, no. 4, Figs. 4-6 (color p. 5). *Ed. princ. Dipinto* in black ink. Invocation of the first four (“canonical”) archangels in the order Michael, Gabriel, Suriel and Raphael, with notable lambdacism (l. 4: ΓΑΒΛ[Ι]ΗΛ; l. 6: ΛΑΦΑΗΛ). L. 7 reads ΔΜΟΚ ΠΙΛΑΧΧΙΣΤΟΣ, for ΔΝΟΚ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ “I, this most humble one,” with a double χ, discussed by the editor at p. 72.

7. Bosson, p. 74, no. 5, Fig. 7. *Ed. princ. Dipinto* in black ink, partly first engraved in the plastered surface. As the *dipinti* are non-funerary in nature, it would seem that indeed the date of the birthday (ΖΟΥΜΙΣΕ) of a Moses the younger is recorded here (ll. 4-5). In the date (l. 5), note the spelling ΜΗΧΟΤΕ “thirteen,” Sahidic ΜΝΤΩΟΜΤΕ, and compare ΜΗΧΟΤΕ in no. 17 (12), l. 5. The invocation mentions Apa Enoch (l. 1) and Apa Jeremiah (l. 3; see also no. 15 = 11).

8. Bosson, p. 75, no. 6, Figs. 8-9. *Ed. princ. Dipinto* in black ink, first engraved in the plastered surface. Invocation of the litany type, beginning with a rare ΑΠΑ ΚΑΣΤΩΡ, for whom plausibly see *P.Sarga*, p. 131.

9. Bosson, p. 76, no. 10, Fig. 11 (color p. 6). *Ed. princ. Dipinto* in red ink. Another prayer of the litany type, invoking among others “our mother Mary” and “our father Adam,” for “your (singular) servants *papa* Mena and Phoibamon” (ll. 4-6).

10. Bosson, pp. 76-77, no. 11, Fig. 11 (color p. 6). *Ed. princ. Dipinto* in black ink, below but older than no. 10 (9). Invocation of the litany type, opening with the names of the three founding fathers of Bawit, Apa Apollo, Apa Phib, and Apa Anoup (for which the editor acknowledges a suggestion by A. Boud’hors). For the ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΜΑΤΑ of ll. 13-14, the editor refers to the homonymous monastery (κοινόβιον) at Oxyrhynchus itself, known from a 6th-century Greek papyrus (PSI 8.953.9, listed in Timm 1, 290).

11. Bosson, pp. 78-79, no. 15, Fig. 14. *Ed. princ. Dipinto* in red ink, written above nos. 16 and 17 (12). Invocation of the litany type, opening (in ll. 1-3) with the names of the Saqqara triad, read by us as: ΑΠΑ Ι[ΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ] | ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ | ΑΜΑ ΣΙΛΛΑ. ΣΙΛΛΑ is a variant spelling of Sibylla, frequently written ΣΙΒΛΑ at Saqqara, here with backward assimilation of the labial β. Apa Enoch and Apa Jeremiah, probably the same persons, also occur in no. 5 (7). In l. 4, emend ΑΡΙ Π<ΔΜ>ΕΕΥΕ, not ΑΡΙ ΠΕ<ΥΜΕ>ΕΥΕ, as the prayer continues in the first person

singular. In l. 6, we read a single  $\eta$  after  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ , perhaps the first letter of the name of the author (nothing seems to follow). As noted above, this *dipinto* dates the ensemble to a somewhat later period than proposed by the editor (Jeremiah was a contemporary of the Emperor Zeno [474-491]).

12. Bosson, pp. 79-80, no. 17, Fig. 15 (color p. 7). *Ed. princ.* *Dipinto* in black ink, framed. *Dipinto* no. 16 (Bosson, p. 79, Figs. 14-15), equally framed and in black ink, is written immediately above it and goes undoubtedly with the longer text, of which it highlights the date given in l. 5 (13 Mesore) in larger script (and in numbers). This long text (seventeen lines) is by far the most interesting *dipinto* of the set, as it commemorates the reconsecration of the oratory, after it had been devastated by “barbarians,” apparently on 13 Mesore (ll. 4-5; for the spelling of the numeral, see no. 5 = 7). The authors of the inscription, a reader Sarmata and brothers Theophilos, Enoch, Jeremiah, and Joseph the younger, claim to have swept clean, sprinkled and decorated the church ( $\Delta\text{N}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}\text{Z}\text{P}\text{E}\text{C}$   $\text{E}\text{B}\text{O}\text{A}$   $\Delta\text{<N>N}\text{O}\text{X}\text{C}$   $\Delta\text{N}\text{C}\text{T}\text{E}\text{F}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{Y}$  |  $\text{M}\text{O}\text{O}\text{C}$  [read  $\text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}$ ], ll. 11-13). Next, the Eucharist was celebrated by an Apa John on the third of Khoiak. This description is, as far as we know, unique in Coptic epigraphy, but paralleled in literary texts, e.g. in the Coptic *Life of Aaron* 50, where the conversion of a private house into a church is described in much similar terms ( $\Delta\text{Q}\text{M}\text{E}\text{Z}$   $\text{M}\text{O}\text{O}\text{Y}$   $\Delta\text{Q}\text{E}\text{I}\Delta\Delta\text{Q}$   $\text{E}\text{B}\text{O}\text{A}$  [ $\Delta\text{Y}\text{W}$ ]  $\Delta\text{Q}\text{C}\text{T}\text{E}\text{F}\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{Y}$   $\text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Q}$   $\text{Z}\text{N}$   $\text{Z}\text{E}\text{N}$ [ $\text{B}\Delta$ ]  $\text{M}\text{N}$   $\text{Z}\text{E}\text{N}\text{C}\text{I}\text{N}\Delta\text{W}\text{N}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$  “He fetched water, washed it (the house) entirely and adorned it with palm branches and linen cloths,” in the new critical edition in preparation by J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet). The events are situated in the time of  $\Delta\text{N}\Delta$   $\text{N}\text{E}\text{T}\text{P}\text{E}$   $\text{P}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$   $\text{N}\text{P}\text{O}\text{M}\text{E}$ , presumably the superior of the monastery. The text ends with a prayer for him and his kin (ll. 16-17). In l. 17, one expects  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{I}\text{C}$   $\text{E}\text{P}\text{O}\text{B}$   $\text{M}\text{N}$   $\text{N}\text{E}\text{B}\text{K}\text{E}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$   $\text{T}\text{H}\text{P}\text{E}\text{B}$ , but apparently this cannot be read (the edition has  $\text{P}\text{O}\text{I}\text{C}$   $\text{E}\text{M}\text{N}\text{H}$   $\text{E}\text{N}\text{E}\text{B}\text{K}\text{E}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$   $\text{T}\text{H}\text{P}\text{E}\text{B}$ ; the photo does not allow verification).

13-14. Bawit. Dossier of the Archimandrite Daniel, ca. early 8th cent. F. Calament, “Du nouveau sur l’*apa* Daniël, ‘Père du *topos*’ à Baouît,” in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XIII. Quinzième journée d’études* (Paris 2015) 91-105. Discussion of the epigraphical and papyrological dossier of Apa Daniel, “father of the *topos*” (pp. 91-94), the sources mentioning the title  $\text{N}\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{T}$   $\text{M}\text{H}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}$  (pp. 94-96) and the chronology of the archimandrites of Bawit in the 8th century (pp. 96-99). Two recently discovered inscriptions, one of which was found *in situ*, are edited here for the first time. They warrant the conclusion that Daniel was responsible for major works in the great basilica of the monastery in the early 8th century (pp. 99-100).

13. I.Bawit II-2, Coptic Museum inv. 13016. *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 91, Pl. 1, Fig. 2 and cover photo. Limestone slab (51.5 x 41.5 x 5.4 cm, broken in various fragments) found inserted centrally in the pavement of the nave of

the basilica, in the access to the chancel, in April 2009. Three lines of text, carefully engraved: + ἀπα δδανι|ηλ πιωτ μη|τοπος.

**14. I.Bawit II-3.** *Ed. princ.* Calament, p. 94, Pl. 3, Fig. 5, color p. 8. Sculpted limestone block with a raised relief decoration, discovered in April 2010. The block was sawed up for later reuse in a secondary context; only the upper half is preserved. Present dimensions: 36.8 x 11.3 x 22 cm. In the middle, a cross within a simplified wreath in raised relief. The text is engraved partly in the lowered field surrounding the wreath, ἀπα φιβ ἀπα δ|δανιη|λ πι[ωτ ν|πτο|πος], partly on the wreath itself, ενωχ φο[ιβδμμων], in which the latter reconstruction is very uncertain. Every second letter is filled in with red paint.

**15. Wadi Sarga.** R. Dekker, “The Monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga: Points of Departure for a Relative Chronology,” in G. Gabra and H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt: Al-Minya and Asyut* (Cairo 2015) 1-13. The contribution attempts to reconstruct a relative chronology of the superiors of the monastery of Wadi Sarga. The epitaphs found at the site (*I.Sarga* 29-31, 35-37, 39-42, 48, 50-51, 54, 59) invoke monastic local saints, who could be identified with the superiors of the community. The author shows that the lists evolved in seven phases, from inscriptions mentioning “Thomas and his brethren” (*I.Sarga* 29-30) to more complete lists. On the basis of this analysis, she is able to propose a relative chronology of the epitaphs and a list of successive superiors: Thomas, Peter, Joseph, Anoup, Pamoun, Germanus, Justus, Enoch, and Amoun.

**16. Karnak. Christian graffiti as evidence for temple reuse.** E. Ghaly, “The Monastery at the First Pylon of Karnak Temple: A Case Study of the Contested Space Theory in Late Antique Egypt,” *Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Newsletter* (Summer 2015) 1-3, briefly touches upon the debate of whether Christians violently destroyed temples or reused them for more practical purposes from Late Antiquity onwards. He settles on the latter and illustrates it with reference to the Christian graffiti found in and around the First Pylon at Karnak.

**17. Esna (Deir el-Fahuri).** Coptic dedication of a wall painting in the church, mid-12th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Delattre, N. Vanthieghem, “Une inscription disparue du Dayr al-Faḥūrī,” *BIFAO* 114 (2014) 149-154. Lost *dipinto* published here after the plates of Jean-Jacques Rifaud’s *Voyages en*

*Égypte* (for which, see CIEN 2 [2014] no. 1). It contains a late Sahidic prayer for the donor, a deacon and monk John, of a still existing painting of John the Baptist; cf. J. Leroy, *Les peintures des couvents du désert d'Esna* (Cairo, 1975) 24, Pls. 62-63; R.-G. Coquin, "Les inscriptions pariétales des monastères d'Esna: Dayr al-Šuhadā' – Dayr al-Faḥūrī," *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 280. The text starts with a prayer of the type "may the Lord bless the life of" (ll. 1-8), followed by the name (ll. 9-23). Since John is said to be deacon and monk of "this monastery of our holy father Apa Mattheos" (ll. 17-23) and there is only one such monastery in Egypt, the provenance can be established with certainty. The likely date (not given in the text) is provided by another painting in the same church.

**18-20. Aswan (Syene). Three Greek funerary stelae, 6th-7th cent.** *Ed. princ.* J.H.F. Dijkstra, "Three Christian Funerary Stelae from Aswan," in A. Jiménez-Serrano and C. von Pilgrim (eds.), *From the Delta to the Cataract: Studies Dedicated to Mohamed el-Bialy* (Leiden 2015) 24-35. Edition of three sandstone funerary stelae found during emergency excavations by the Swiss-Egyptian archaeological mission in the north cemeteries of Aswan (Area 45) in 2008.

**18.** Inv. 9-45-299-1/1. *Ed. princ.* Dijkstra, pp. 28-30, no. 1, Fig. 3.4. Decorated stela (25.2 x 32.7 cm) with a triangular pediment in which a conch is carved on two columns. A cross "pattée" is engraved between the columns. Under the decoration, three lines of Greek are found, which are carelessly written. The inscription and the decoration were painted over in red. In l. 1, the editor proposes Ταξιάρχμ, also attested in another stela from Aswan (Lefebvre, *Recueil* 568.3), as the likely name of the deceased, with the mother's name Τανοῦχε (with the Coptic letter ϣ) in l. 2. In l. 3, the οὐδείς ἀθάνατος "no one is immortal"-formula is written in a corrupted form in smaller characters, which are less deeply incised.

**19.** Inv. 9-45-299-1/2. *Ed. princ.* Dijkstra, pp. 30-32, no. 2, Fig. 3.5. The stela, of which the left part is preserved (17 x 33 cm), was found reused in the superstructure of a tomb (see Fig. 3.3). The text is written between two columns (the column to the right now lost), which are supported by an arch. Beneath the arch a cross "pattée" is carved and another cross of the same type is found below the text. Traces of red paint are still visible in the letters and the decoration. The epitaph begins with the formulaic μν[ημ]ῖον "memorial," followed by the name of the deceased, which is only partly preserved. The text ends with the date, in which surprisingly horizontal strokes are placed over the month and the article τῆς introducing the indiction year.

20. Inv. 9-45-299-1/3. *Ed. princ.* Dijkstra, pp. 32-35, no. 3, Fig. 3.6. Right

21. Aswan (Qubbet el-Hawa). Coptic commemorative inscription,

The text is reconstructed to start with the formula  $\pi\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  “the memo-

The second important piece of information is introduced by  $\bar{\eta}\tau\phi$   $\pi\bar{\nu}_\tau$ ,

spot, “the holy mountain” almost certainly refers to Qubbet el-Hawa, where Joseph apparently founded a monastery and became its first abbot (as a parallel, the editor refers to the tombstone of Abba Pousi, bishop of Philae, from the nearby monastery of Apa Hatre, who was  $\pi\omega\rho\eta\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\prime\mu\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\nu\alpha[\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu]$  “the first father of this monastery” (SB Kopt. 1.789 = W. Brunsch, “Koptische und griechische Inschriften aus Alexandria,” WZKM 84 [1994] 24 = S.G. Richter, *Studien zu Christianisierung Nubiens* [Wiesbaden 2002] 119, ll. 12-13, which she dates to the early 8th century, confirming the date proposed by Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 325-326, n. 93). It can be assumed that the stone was incorporated into the wall of “this great pious foundation” mentioned in the text. On the basis of parallels from Nubia, the editor hypothesizes (p. 20) that the bishop was also buried in the church, with which the stone would thus have had the double function of a tombstone and building inscription.

The text continues with the usual formula  $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\chi\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron\nu\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varphi$  “he went to his rest” (ll. 12-13), then the dating formula in Greek  $\epsilon\gamma\rho(\acute{\alpha}\varphi\eta)\ \mu(\eta\nu\acute{\iota})$  “(it was) written in the month” plus month and day (for  $\theta\acute{\omega}\theta$ , read  $\Theta\acute{\omega}\theta$ ; l. 13). The last, relative clause (ll. 13-14), in which an Apa Basilios is said to have succeeded Joseph as abbot, is construed as still dependent upon  $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\varphi\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon$  (l. 6). It is unclear whether the text would have continued after l. 14 on another stone, and is thus incomplete, though it can stand on its own. When compared with the stelae from the Hatre monastery, the formulae suggest a date in the 8th/9th century.

**22. Amheida (Trimithis). Greek *dipinto*, after 325 CE.** Inv. 14441. *Ed. princ.* R. Ast and R.S. Bagnall, “New Evidence for the Roman Garrison of Trimithis,” *Tyche* 30 (2015) 1-5, Pl. 3, Fig. 4. A *dipinto* (14 x ca. 65 cm), discovered on the west wall of Room 25, Building 6, at Amheida in 2011. It bears witness to the speed with which such *dipinti* can disintegrate, as the charcoal – already quite faint upon discovery – had completely disappeared by 2014. Before the text, the editors provide an up-to-date account of the military presence at Amheida on the basis of Greek ostraka. The text itself, consisting of three lines, mentions a Flavius Apollonios, *praepositus* of the *castra* of Trimithis (ll. 1-2). The status designation places the text after 325 CE.

**23. Nubia. “Berichtigungsliste.”** G. Ochała and G. Ruffini, “Nubische Berichtigungsliste (1),” *Dotawo* 2 (2015) 291-303. First installment of a list of corrections (in English, not German) to published epigraphical and papyrological texts from Christian Nubia, cited in the order of the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts (available online at [www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl](http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl)). A vast majority of the entries concerns inscriptions. The order of the DBMNT numbers appears to be arbitrary, which makes the consultation of this otherwise useful tool unnecessarily cumbersome.

**24. Nubia. Identification of the name Timikleos with Dongola in Greek/Coptic texts.** A. Łajtar, “The Mystery of Timikleos Solved!” in A. Łajtar, G. Ochała, and J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 231-243. The author lists one Coptic document and eight Greek inscriptions with provenances from Aswan to Banganarti and dates between the 9th/10th and 14th centuries, which contain the thus far obscure name Timikleos (Τιμικλεος, and variants; pp. 231-236). On the basis of three Coptic/Arabic lists of Nubian episcopal sees, preserved in later manuscripts but going back to earlier materials and published in the same volume by R. Seignobos (pp. 151-229), the name can now be positively identified with Dongola. In light of the discovery, the author offers new translations for the passages in each of the nine texts where the name occurs, discusses its etymology (it is probably derived from the name TOUNGOL used for Dongola in the Greek and Old Nubian inscriptions from Banganarti, as demonstrated by the same author, “On the Name of the Capital of the Nubian Kingdom of Makuria,” *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 12 [2013] 127-134 and discussed in CIEN 1 [2013] no. 50) and updates the list of known bishops of Dongola, to which three bishops can now be added (pp. 242-243).

**25. Nubia. The cryptogram  $\mu\chi\gamma$  in Nubian inscriptions.** A. Tsakos, “The Cryptogram MXI as a Variant of the Cryptogram XMI: On Text and Image in Christian Nubia,” in A. Łajtar, G. Ochała, and J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 245-262, discusses the remarkable phenomenon of the cryptogram  $\mu\chi\gamma$ , which is found virtually only in Nubian epigraphical sources. The author provides a list of twelve attestations (pp. 247-251), adding three new occurrences: one on a clay stamp from Sai and two on potsherds from Qasr el-Wizz (Figs. 1-3). He accepts that  $\mu\chi\gamma$  could have functioned as a variant of  $\chi\mu\gamma$  in its meaning of X(ριστὸν) M(αρία) γ(εννῶ) “Mary gives birth to Christ,” but at the same time opens up the possibility that it was interpreted as M(ιχαήλ), X(ριστός), Γ(αβριήλ) “Michael, Christ, Gabriel,” with Christ in central position between the archangels, as in wall paintings.

**26-29. Northern Lower Nubia. Four Greek/Coptic funerary stelae, 7th-9th cent.** *Ed. princ.* J. van der Vliet and K.A. Worp, “Four North-Nubian Funerary Stelae from the Bankes Collection,” in A. Łajtar, G. Ochała, and J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 27-43 (photos of the objects can be found at [www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk](http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk), under the inv. no.). Four tombstones, three in Greek (26-28) and one in Coptic (29), from northern Lower Nubia, probably all from the region of Kalabsha-Tafa. They belong to the collection of W.J.



Bankes (1786-1855), which he took with him either from one of his two visits to Nubia (1815, 1818) or through the intermission of Henry Salt (1780-1827) to his estate Kingston Lacy in Dorset, England.

**26. Probably Tafa (Taphis). Greek funerary stela, ca. 7th cent.** National Trust, inv. 1257703. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet and Worp, pp. 30-32 (no. 1). Sandstone stela (33 x 23 cm) with a loose border around the text, which contains the remnants of red paint. It is clearly written, though aberrations in the spelling abound, some typical for Nubia. Double and triple dots mark the dating formula in ll. 2-3 (the triple dot returns once more in l. 9) and the ζ in l. 3 is completely surrounded by dots; most ι's have a *diaeresis*; and crosses are found at the beginning, at the end of ll. 10-11, and below the text (l. 12, three of them).

The text starts with the formula ἔνθα κατάκειται "here lies" (the latter word spelled κατάκηδε; l. 1). Together with the formula ἐκοιμήθη "she fell asleep" (spelled εἰκομήθη) plus name in ll. 3-4, this strongly suggests a provenance of the stela at Tafa. In between is the dating formula with indiction year (ll. 2-3), which is thus placed, oddly enough, before not after ἐκοιμήθη (in the critical apparatus at l. 2 rather note the abbreviation as ινδικς). The name of the deceased, Protokia, is unattested but can be plausibly seen as a variant of Prosodokia. The text continues with a prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs (ll. 5-9), and is rounded off with a triple "Amen" (ll. 9-10) and an invocation of the Holy Trinity (l. 11).

**27. Probably Kalabsha (Talmis). Greek funerary stela, ca. 7th cent.** National Trust, inv. 1257704. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet and Worp, pp. 32-3 (no. 2). Another sandstone stela (18.5 x 14 cm) with traces of red paint. In the dating formula (ll. 3-5), raised dots are used; there are crosses at the beginning (l. 1) and end (l. 11) of the text. This one also starts with the formula ἔνθα κατάκειται "here lies" (the latter word spelled κατάκοιτε; ll. 1-2), here as usual plus name (Edra, a thus far unattested female name; ll. 2-3), though the following formula ἐτελεώθη "she came to perfection" (ll. 3-4) rather suggests Kalabsha as provenance. After the dating formula with indiction year (ll. 4-5) come a prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs (ll. 6-10) and triple "Amen" (l. 11).

**28. Kalabsha (Talmis)-Tafa (Taphis) region. Greek funerary stela, ca. 7th-9th cent.** National Trust, inv. 1257706. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet and Worp, pp. 34-38 (no. 3). Sandstone stela (27.5 x 20 cm) with traces of red paint, its rounded top followed by the border that envelopes the text. Above the text proper there is what is described as a "squarish cross" but looks more like a Solomon's knot, with the *nomina sacra* for Jesus Christ (ΙC XC) on either side (l. 1; for a parallel, see the Solomon's knots on a Coptic tombstone from Serra-West, 10th/11th century, *I. Khartoum Copt.* 16 [Pl. 11], with commentary at p. 56); a series of crosses are found at the end (l. 17). The first half of the text (ll.

2-10) contains a rare prayer to Jesus. Its liturgical model can be traced back to a manuscript at Grottaferrata and it is only paralleled in a group of seven Nubian stelae (listed at p. 36). Four of these are from either Kalabsha or Tafa, and so again a provenance in this region can be assumed. These stelae are all undated, so that a wide margin for the date has been maintained. The text continues with a prayer for rest of the deceased, the priest Severos, in the bosom of the Patriarchs (ll. 10-14). The date with indiction year is introduced by the formula τέλει δὲ τοῦ βίου ἐχρ[ήσατο “he reached the end of his life” (ll. 14-16; as remarked by the editors, for lack of space the verb should be somehow abbreviated). Before the crosses in the last line is a triple “Amen” (l. 17).

**29. Kalabsha (Talmis)? Coptic funerary stela, ca. 9th cent.** National Trust, inv. 1257705. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet and Worp, pp. 38-42 (no. 4). Sandstone stela (18 x 14 x 8 cm) with crosses at the beginning (l. 1) and end (l. 20), the latter ones apparently inscribed before the text as they interrupt it. After a dating formula in Greek (ἐγράφη μὲνός [read μηνός] plus month and day; l. 1), the text starts with the familiar formula ΣΙΤΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ “through the providence of God” (ll. 2-3), followed by the name of the deceased, Kolothos the deacon (ll. 3-4; the name is abbreviated ΚΟΛΟΘ( ), so could in principle also be resolved with other variant spellings).

The rest of the text is a long composite prayer which consists of five elements (ll. 4-19): a prayer for rest (ll. 4-8); a prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs (ll. 8-11); a prayer to feed the deceased ΣΝ (read ΣΜ) Π{Μ}ΜΑ ΝΟΥΟΤΟΥΕΤ “in the place of verdure” (ll. 11-16); a prayer to include him among the saints (ll. 16-17); and a prayer to make him worthy of (hearing) the blessed voice (ll. 17-19). Such composite prayers are common in both Egypt and Nubia, but the closeness in formulation to the epitaph of the *meizoteros* Paulos from Kalabsha (re-edited by J. van der Vliet, “Gleanings from Christian Northern Nubia,” *JJP* 32 [2002] 185-191, no. 3 = *SB Kopt.* 3.1645) makes that site a likely candidate. The date is based on the form of the prayer. The text closes with “Amen” written twice and ΕΛΕΩΘΗΕ (read ΕΛΕΩΘΗΕ) “so be it” (and three crosses) in between (ll. 19-20).

**30-31. Faras (Pachoras). Two Old Nubian *dipinti*, 11th/12th cent.** *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar and G. Ochała, “Two Wall Inscriptions from the Faras Cathedral with Lists of People and Goods,” in A. Łajtar, G. Ochała, and J. van der Vliet (eds), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 73-102. As part of their efforts to produce a full edition of the Greek, Coptic, and Old Nubian texts from Faras, the editors hereby present two *dipinti* in Old Nubian from Faras cathedral. They are both lists of people and goods dating to the 11th or 12th century, and in the analytic part of their study (pp. 87-102) the editors go to great lengths to unravel the function of these

lists. They discuss various possibilities and choose as most likely context for the drawing up of the lists the custom – widespread in the Christian East – of bringing in products for the Eucharist. Drawing on the available sources various aspects of this custom are described, though uncertainties about exactly what kind of ceremony was behind the lists from Faras remain.

**30.** Excavation no. L 49a.3. *Ed. princ.* Łajtar and Ochała, pp. 74-84 (no. 1), Fig. 1. The huge *dipinto* (62 x 88 cm) is reported to have been written in yellow paint, though – given the rareness of this colour – the editors wonder whether it is not faded brown or red. The text starts with a cross and Trinitarian formula (ll. 1). The next lines, which may have contained some sort of introduction of the list or heading, is largely unintelligible (ll. 1-4). For each of the twenty-eight people in the list, apparently starting with the most prominent persons, amounts of food and drink, especially (different kinds of) bread and wine, are specified (ll. 4-17).

**31.** Excavation no. B 120a.3. *Ed. princ.* Łajtar and Ochała, pp. 84-87 (no. 2), Fig. 2. A much shorter *dipinto* in black paint (14 x 11 cm), again starting with, in this case, two crosses and a Trinitarian formula (ll. 2-3) immediately followed by a list of seven persons (ll. 4-10). No titles of the persons involved are mentioned and the only amounts of food are (different kinds of) bread, though in ll. 9-10 there is the possibility of other foodstuffs.

**32. Ukma-West. Burial Chamber with Incipit and Explicit of Luke and Incipit of John in Greek, 11th-12th cent.** *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, “An Inscribed Tomb Chamber in Ukma-West,” in A. Łajtar, G. Ochała, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 103-118. The contribution publishes the texts from tomb 5 of cemetery B at Ukma-West, excavated in 1968/1969 by the Sudan Antiquities Service. The inner walls of the burial chamber were decorated with crosses and Greek texts painted in red. Monumental crosses were painted on the east and west walls, as well as *dipinti*, but only traces remain (possibly a  $\phi\omega\varsigma\text{-}\zeta\omega\eta$  acclamation within the cross on the east wall). On the north and south walls, four framed panels were used to write texts, of which traces are preserved on the south wall only. In the panel on the eastern part of this wall (43 x 31 cm; Figs. 7-8), after a line with crosses and/or symbols or a heading (now mostly lost), the beginning and end of the gospel of Luke (1:1-2; 24:53) can be read (ll. 1-11) and below it the names of the archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (ll. 12-14). In the panel on the western part of the wall (Figs. 9-10) just a few letters remain, but they can be identified as the opening verses of the gospel of John (1:1-3). The editors therefore assume that the western panel had a similar lay-out as the eastern one and that the opposite north wall would have contained the first and last verses of the gospels of Matthew and Mark.

The burial chamber in Ukma-West is comparable to other such inscribed tombs from medieval Nubia, especially those at Qasr Ibrim (A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim: The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions* [Warsaw 2010] 261-280, nos. 91 and 92) and Dongola (on which see from the same authors “Wall Inscriptions in a Burial Vault under the Northwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H [Dongola 2009],” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 21 [2011] 330-337). The disposition of the panels suggests an association between the gospel incipits (and explicits) and cardinal points as found elsewhere (even if there is no fixed association between each gospel and a particular cardinal point). The inscriptions and decorations in these tombs can be interpreted as apotropaic and intended for the protection of the deceased.

**33-53. Banganarti. The Archangel Raphael in Greek/Old Nubian visitors’ inscriptions, 13th-14th cent.** A. Łajtar, “Archangel Raphael in Inscriptions from the Upper Church at Banganarti,” in B. Żurawski, *Banganarti 2. Kings and Pilgrims: St Raphael Church II at Banganarti, Mid-Eleventh to Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Warsaw 2014) 261-283. In the context of the larger project to publish the 963 inscriptions from the Upper Church at Banganarti, mostly in Greek, Old Nubian, or a mixture of both and dating to the 13th and first half of the 14th centuries, the author offers a selection of twenty-one texts (nos. 1-21 = **33-53**) pertaining to the Archangel Raphael. The frequent references to Raphael indicate his central position in the church, which was probably dedicated to him, and give a lively picture of his various roles in popular piety. After a thorough introduction (pp. 261-268), the texts are presented in a preliminary edition, some with facsimiles (unfortunately, the editor does not explain why some texts are given in facsimile and others are not).

Nos. 1-4 (**33-36**) are simple invocations of Raphael, by writing his name once (no. 1 = **33**; note the face drawn in the ϕ of Ῥαφαήλ) or twice (no. 2 = **34**), in central position between the other archangels (no. 3 = **35**; note, however, that the traces of λ. 1 on the facsimile do not support the reading ΜΙ[ of ΜΙ[χαήλ]) or as a monogram (no. 4 = **36**; the editor translates the text as “Raphael. Priest of the church of Job,” explaining the surprising absence of a proper name as a sign of modesty, but this interpretation bears little conviction; it seems more likely to take Ἰὼβ πρε(σβύτερος) as a proper name + title and translate “Iob, priest of the church of Raphael”). The name is also found as “I, Raphael” (no. 5 = **37**). Normally one would expect ἐγώ to be followed by a personal name. However, as the editor explains (p. 263), it is here probably a truncated form of the phrase ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ ὁ παρεστάμενος ἐνώπιον κυρίου “I am Raphael who is standing before the Lord,” which occurs in a group of inscriptions from the church (e.g. in no. 6 = **38**; at pp. 263 and 272 change the accentuation to ἐγὼ εἰμι/εἰμιν) and refers to Tob. 12:15, where Raphael reveals himself to Tobit.

References to Raphael's trip with Tobias to Media in order to heal his father's eyesight (e.g. no. 7 = **39**) and his freeing of Sara from the demon Asmodeus (e.g. alluded to in no. 16 = **48**, l. 2) occur in other texts, thus highlighting the archangel's role as healer and protector. The similar phrasing and spelling in these texts suggests that they may go back to a common liturgical source.

There follow a series of prayers in Greek (nos. 8-11 = **40-43**; in no. 11 = **43**, the ϕ of Ῥαφαήλ is written with wings) and Old Nubian (nos. 12-15 = **44-47**; no. 14 = **46** is partly in Greek), in which Raphael is addressed in various ways, e.g. as πρεσβευτά μου "my ambassador," indicating his intercessory role (nos. 8-9 = **40-41**). A longer prayer is no. 16 (**48**), left by the Deacon Papa, in which he requests Raphael, who is called ἰούτωρ, i.e. ἁδίουτωρ "helper," to protect him against all kinds of evil. Nos. 17-18 (**49-50**) are personal accounts of visits to the church in Greek and Old Nubian. The first, by one David, mentions Raphael in an invocation of God; the second seems to record the visit of one Ogijjinga to the church of Raphael, which may confirm the dedication of the Upper Church to this saint. A church of Raphael is also mentioned in several other visitors' inscriptions (e.g. 19-20 = **51-52**, both in Old Nubian), though in these cases it cannot be verified which church of Raphael is referred to. Finally, the popularity of the saint appears from his frequent occurrence in compound personal names, such as Raphakouda (e.g. no. 21 = **53**).

**54-57. Selib. Four Greek graffiti from the church of St. Menas, 6th-beginning of 7th cent.** *Ed. princ.* A. Deptuła, "Inscriptions from Saint Menas' Church in Selib," in A. Łajtar, G. Ochała, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 119-135. The author edits four graffiti left by visitors and addressed to Menas, the patron saint of the church as indicated by later inscriptions on a sandstone column, an ostrakon and a ceramic vessel, which all bear the name of St. Menas. The four graffiti (nos. 1-4 = **54-57**; Figs. 4-7 contain facsimile drawings) begin with an invocation of Menas, thrice-blessed (τρισμακάριε in nos. 1-3 = **54-56**) or saint (ἅγιε in no. 4 = **57**); in nos. 1 (**54**) and 3 (**56**), only the first word of the inscription (τρισμακάριε) has survived. The two complete graffiti ask for help (βοήθισον [read βοηθήσον] in no. 2 = **55**) or mercy (ἐλέησον in no. 4 = **57**) and are written by an epideacon of the protoeparch (ἐπιδιάκον(ος) τοῦ πρωτ(ο)επάρχου in no. 2 = **55**) and a second deacon of the king (τοῦ βασιλέως διάκον(ος) δεύτερος in no. 4 = **57**). The inscriptions are dated on the basis of the archaeological context to the 6th or early 7th century. Hence they can be counted among the earliest Christian inscriptions from Nubia.

**58-60. el-Koro and Karmel. Three Greek/Coptic terracotta funerary stelae.** *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar, "Three Fragments of Terracotta Epitaphs from el-

Koro and Karmel (Abu Hamed Reach),” in A. Łajtar, G. Ochala, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 137-148. Edition of three fragmentary terracotta epitaphs discovered as surface finds during the Polish expedition “Fortresses of Sudan: Following O.G.S. Crawford” in 2008. The first two come from one of the cemeteries at el-Koro (58-59; the former is Greek, the latter Coptic), the third from one at Karmel (60; Greek or Coptic), both in the Abu Hamed Reach. In his concluding remarks (pp. 142-148), the author draws attention to the remarkably high number of terracotta tombstones from this area.

**58. el-Koro. Greek funerary stela, ca. 10th-11th cent.** *Ed. princ.* Łajtar, pp. 138-139, no. 1, Fig. 1. Fragment of a Greek epitaph (ca. 8 x 7.5 cm), which preserves a few letters from the formula ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων “God of the spirits.”

**59. el-Koro. Coptic funerary stela, 11th. cent. or earlier.** *Ed. princ.* Łajtar, pp. 139-141, no. 2, Fig. 2. The lower left part of a Coptic epitaph (ca. 16 x 13 cm), which contains the end of a prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs and the month of death (Pachon).

**60. Karmel. Greek or Coptic funerary stela, probably before 11th cent.** *Ed. princ.* Łajtar, pp. 141-142, no. 3, Fig. 3. Fragment of an epitaph (ca. 10 x 9.5 cm), perhaps written in Greek. Only a few letters are visible. As the editor remarks, the letters ]HOM[ in l. 2 may be interpreted as ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μ[ακάριος “the blessed NN fell asleep.”

## Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt: From Invasion to Integration

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Hans Hauben *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*

Review article of: Christelle Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. xxvi + 447 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-00775-8.

This rich and fascinating book has been a huge and courageous undertaking. A gold mine for researchers, it is the first comprehensive study of what is considered “one of the best-documented ancient armies” (p. 1). It is also the first study of its kind to have so radically broken with the one-sided Hellenocentric approach of past generations. Rather than offering an encyclopedic compendium, it focuses on the army’s embedment in Egypt’s bilingual and multi-ethnic society, studying its impact on the Ptolemaic state, which, over the three centuries between Alexander and Augustus (323-30 BC), was affected by fundamental changes. Coping with a rapidly altering international context from the end of the third/beginning of the second century BC onward, the crumbling empire had to reorganize and recompose its army, reshape its administrative and military structures, and try out new relationships between Greeks and Egyptians. Although the author is primarily concerned with infantry and cavalry, officers as well as private soldiers, and focuses on Egypt proper, as did the Ptolemaic state from its second century onward, she also deals, especially in Part I, with the Mediterranean empire and its backbone, the famous war fleet. To cover all this in a single and coherent book, was a real tour de force.

Just as it is impossible to gauge the fascination with Ptolemaic intercultural relations of the moderate Flemish nationalist Willy Peremans two generations ago without taking into account his specific Belgian environment, we will never understand the present author’s sensitivity for this kind of delicate and complex issues, nor her rather outspoken positions, without considering her mixed linguistic and national (European/American – Swiss/Californian – French/English) backgrounds. As Peremans still lived in the formative decades of papyrology as a scholarly discipline, remaining almost exclusively focused on Greek sources, his reasoning was rather superficial and unbalanced ac-



cording to present standards. Christelle Fischer-Bovet (henceforth FB), on the other hand, could stand on the shoulders of distinguished forerunners like the Egyptologist Jan Krzysztof Winnicki, and even benefit from some sociological literature. However, as nowadays Hellenocentrism in its different guises is often seen as a spin-off of Eurocentrism, imperialism, colonialism, and the like, mental attitudes and political ideologies now deemed incorrect and obsolete, we should not forget that, apart from her strictly personal backgrounds, FB is also a product of *her* epoch, in which modern (in fact Western) values are promoted, such as individual equal rights, religious openness, universalism and multilingualism, equivalence of cultures, positive appraisal of mixed ethnic groups, etc.

Not an easy read, the study is difficult to summarize. It grew from a Stanford PhD dissertation submitted in 2008 and still bears the imprint of its origins. Some discussions are redundant and intricate, stuffed with superfluous scholarship, hard to follow and barely accessible to the non-initiated or hasty reader. It is true that our source material is defective, incomplete, and not always unequivocal, which has to do, *inter alia*, with a fluctuating terminology (a recurrent problem: cf. p. 206) and constantly changing structures; but still, in several places the exposé could surely have been much more limpid. Salient examples are the chapter on “Military organization and hierarchy” (pp. 116-159) or the pages on the *Persai tes epigones* (pp. 178-191). On the other hand, too much relevant information is concealed in footnotes. That said, one cannot but admire the logical structure of the arguments, the clear introductory texts systematically posing the right questions, and the concise conclusions.

Before giving a chapter by chapter overview, it might be interesting to summarize a few of FB’s leading and recurrent ideas.

1. By exploiting Egyptian and Greek sources alike, FB confirms, so to speak, the “rehabilitation” of the long neglected native Egyptians in modern research and historiography, rendering them their due place in Ptolemaic society. In FB’s view that society was basically mixed. Instead of ethnic separateness, simple coexistence, or outspoken dichotomy, she perceives a permanent productive interaction between Egyptians and Greek-speaking immigrants. Although what she calls Period B (see further on) was a crucial transition in this and many other respects, an “interactive” situation already existed to a certain extent under the early Ptolemies. Correspondingly, the concept of “Egyptianization,” no longer seen as a synonym for decline, is freed from its negative connotations. On the other hand, FB seems inclined to minimize possible nationalistic motives in conflict situations (e.g. pp. 22-23), stressing the analogies between Greeks and Egyptians and their mutual collaboration.

In this way the “Egyptian factor” in Ptolemaic history is cleared as much as possible of narrowly nationalist interpretations.

2. The army was the cornerstone and “engine” of the Ptolemaic state, influencing and penetrating all other segments of society. As such it was the most active, the most important factor of unity and integration, initially, in the third century, within the miscellaneous group of (mostly Greek and Macedonian) immigrants; later on, from the second century onward, within society as a whole, between natives and Hellenophones. The military forces were not isolated from the rest of society. In this way FB tries to integrate military, political, institutional, socio-economic, and cultural (including religious) history.

3. FB uncovers particularly strong interactive bonds between the military and the Egyptian temples, the heart of Egyptian life. Not only native soldiers and officers were involved, nor was the phenomenon restricted to the strategically important south. While some of these bonds already existed in the third century, they became numerous and prominent from the second century onward. The “marriage” between army and temple, incorporating Greeks, Greco-Egyptians, and Egyptians, became one of the pillars of Ptolemaic power and survival in the latter part of the Hellenistic era.

Even if, quite understandably, FB seems inclined to interpret the documentation as much as possible according to these leading (sometimes perhaps preconceived) views, her arguments are generally well substantiated.

The book contains two introductory chapters (1-2), three main parts with, respectively, three (3-5), two (6-7), and two (8-9) chapters, and an overall conclusion (10). It is illustrated by a series of tables and figures and a few maps. There is an appendix with two lists pertaining to the last chapter, followed by a concise glossary of technical terms, an extensive up-to-date bibliography, an index of sources, and a general index.

In her introduction (Chapter 1, pp. 1-14) FB justifies her innovative approach, intertwining different aspects of Ptolemaic history, occasionally covered by a sociological sauce, while doing justice to the Egyptian side. Archaeological evidence is practically restricted to Chapter 2. Reviewing the army’s gradually changing composition (due to altering immigration patterns), its evolving role within an expanding and subsequently declining (maritime) empire, as well as its increasing interaction with Egyptian society and its impact on inter-ethnic relations, she distinguishes three periods in Ptolemaic history: Period A: 323-c. 220 BC (Ptolemy I-III); Period B: c. 220-c. 160 BC (Ptolemy IV, V, and the first two decades of VI/VIII), a crucial “time of crisis, transition and reform” (p. 7), when the army became a unifying force between immigrants and natives; Period C: c. 160-30 BC. The major differences between the periods A, B, and C are clearly visualized in the pie charts of Fig. 1.2 (p. 46).

FB's periodization departs from the traditional, rather simplistic view which sees a growing expansion until the Battle of Raphia (217 BC), followed by a continuous decline and a concomitant process of Egyptianization. Raphia, nevertheless, "eine der grössten Schlachten des Altertums,"<sup>1</sup> remains a symbolic turning point.

Chapter 2 (pp. 15-47), conceived as a preamble to the Ptolemaic era proper, is a condensed survey of Egypt's military history in the so-called Late Period, from Psamtik I (who opened up his country after centuries of isolation, bringing it within the horizon of the Greek world and inaugurating an era of prosperity strongly resembling that of the Ptolemies), through the Persian occupation(s) and the last indigenous pharaohs to Alexander (664-323 BC). Already for these early times FB sees it as her mission to save from oblivion the significant role played by native soldiers, a role nearly swept under the carpet by classical and modern Hellenocentric historiography, inclined to systematically overestimate the importance and impact of foreign mercenaries: think of the long undervalued contribution of indigenous colonial (or Afro-American) troops in the two world wars. A second major thread in this introductory chapter is the theme of historical continuity between the Late Period and the Ptolemaic era: general historical circumstances, inter-ethnic relations, military organization and personnel, continuity even in a literal sense (like Ptolemy I, who seems "to have used troops from the previous army": p. 41).

There are relatively detailed discussions on the provenance, enrollment, service, and sophisticated equipment (pp. 20-21) of foreign mercenaries, immigrating from the mid-seventh century onward – Greeks, Carians (good overview, pp. 34-36), and others, the Cypriots having been rightly set apart (p. 37) – and their relationship with the Egyptians, stressing to what extent their lives were transformed by their contact with Egypt (p. 18) – and *vice-versa*, as we may presume. Their early recruitment is likely to have facilitated the immigration of the late fourth and a large part of the third centuries. An overview of the first Greek settlements is to be found on pp. 31-34.<sup>2</sup> The importance of the navy is rightly emphasized, like under the early Ptolemies. FB goes into the famous expedition of Psamtik II to Ethiopia in 593/592<sup>3</sup> and mentions the

<sup>1</sup> J.K. Winnicki, "Die letzten Ereignisse des vierten syrischen Krieges. Eine Neudeutung des Raphiadekrets," *JJP* 31 (2001) 134.

<sup>2</sup> To some extent the role and *raison d'être* of Naucratis may be compared to that of the Dutch trading post Dejima in the bay of Nagasaki between 1641 and 1853. On the Jewish garrison of Elephantine (pp. 36-37), see also J. Méléze Modrzejewski, *Les Juifs d'Égypte de Ramsès II à Hadrien* (Paris 1997<sup>2</sup>) 37-67, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> In his 2001 tentative reconstruction of the command structure in Psamtik's river fleet, referred to by FB at p. 29, the present reviewer overlooked the interpretation

fleets of Necho II and of the dubious philhellenic (p. 23 with n. 39 [but cf. pp. 33-34]) Amasis (pp. 16 and 39) as well as the participation of the Egyptian fleet in the Achaemenid navy (p. 39; on the command structure at the battle of Salamis 480 BC, see *AncSoc* 4 [1973] 23-37). The section dedicated to the Egyptian component within the global army organization during the whole Late Period (pp. 37-42), often neglected or misrepresented by Greek sources, shows a great deal of originality. Against Herodotus FB maintains that there was no specific warrior class in Egypt (p. 38), whereas the Egyptians seem to have adopted to a certain extent the military equipment and techniques of foreign mercenaries (p. 39). All in all, the armies of the Late Period, including their leaders, appear to have been more ethnically mixed than previously thought.

Part I (pp. 45-196) is about the changing structure and role of the Ptolemaic army against the background of the vicissitudes of Hellenistic history. The long Chapter 3, "Military challenges faced by the Ptolemies. Power, money, crisis and reform" (pp. 45-115),<sup>4</sup> is subdivided into two parts: the military

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proposed by Méléze Modrzejewski (n. 2) 40-44, who was also inclined to regard Psammetichus son of Theocles as the leader of the Nubian expedition.

<sup>4</sup> Brief remarks. P. 55: Demetrius' warships at the end of his career were based in Caunus, not in Ephesus: Plut. *Demetr.* 49.3; cf. W. Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332-30 v. Chr.* (München 2001) 211. – P. 65: the Canopus decree does not mention "major floods," but a deficiency in the Nile's fertilizing overflowing (with a reference to previous periods of water shortage), presumably causing unrest among the population: see *APF* 36 (1990) 33-35. – P. 65, n. 61: there is a slight misunderstanding concerning the reviewer's alleged suggestion that the naval defeat off Andros (uncertain date) might have forced Ptolemy III to return to Egypt, as the whole paragraph concerning that controversial topic (*APF, ibid.*, p. 35 §7) is put in the conditional form. – P. 72, n. 88: 90,000 oarsmen, "quelque 90000 rameurs sans compter les autres membres de l'équipage" and without adducing those working on the transports (as suggested by FB), put forward by E. Van 't Dack and H. Hauben (*Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, ed. H. Maehler and V.M. Strocka [Mainz 1978] 73) is a theoretical figure, just like the 68,320 of FB, obtained by a different but also conjectural count. As the Ptolemaic "ship quotient" (the average strength of the warships *stricto sensu*) under Ptolemy II was 4.83 (cf. *ibid.* and *Chiron* 6 [1976] 5, n. 35 [at the battle off Salamis, Cyprus, 306]) or, rounded up, a *penteres*, and if such a ship needed 270 oarsmen (Casson), we should reckon with some 270 x 336 (the latter figure representing the speculative number of Ptolemaic warships, as can be gleaned from Callixeinus) = 90,720 oarsmen, presuming that their number was always strictly proportional to a ship's strength. – P. 74, n. 96: concerning *P.Stras.* 7.622 (16 June 210) and the two-months payment of 1860 drachmas for a Nile boat, one should refer to *BL* 9 or W. Clarysse, *AncSoc* 21 (1990) 35 and 37. The figure of 31 men (deduced from the monthly amount, if one reckons one drachma per day, a suggestion made by W. Clarysse and E. Lanciers, in *AncSoc* 20 [1989] 131-132) is plausible *in se*, but remains theoretical, as there are some uncertain parameters: the officers' and

events before (Period A) and those after Raphia (Periods B and C taken together). Much light is thrown on the financial aspect, also in relation to the navy (pp. 71-72), comparing Ptolemies and Seleucids (pp. 75-83). There is also the question of land allotments, tax revenues, booty, the numerical strength of troops and fleets (confronting us with ancient authors' unrealistic figures), the difficulty to gauge costs of recruitment and maintenance, and, of course, the nationality of the soldiers. Concerning the first three Ptolemies, FB zooms in on the famous Ptolemaic "thalassocracy," founded by the first ("without winning any major naval battles" [p. 55], though regularly commanding his fleet in person and at any rate surpassing his son in military skill), flourishing for three decades under the second (who, according to Meadows' recently advanced view endorsed by FB, was the actual founder of the League of the Islanders [p. 55]), and still thriving under the third Ptolemy. What is adequately termed the third's initial "expansionist policy" (p. 84) is contrasted with his final two decades of relative inertia (pp. 64-67; cf. p. 85, seeking a comprehensive explanation), during which the cleruchic system was fully elaborated, a system eventually causing a lack of training among the soldiers (p. 86). The "climax of the [maritime] empire" (p. 64) became its watershed. Its dismantling had virtually become a fact at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy V (p. 67). There is a stimulating discussion (pp. 62-64, 67; cf. 83-85 ["General assessment"])

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crew's wages certainly differed and in turbulent monetary times any speculation on the topic is hazardous. The fact that a *pros tei grammateiai tou nautikou* is involved, an office unfortunately not discussed by FB (there is only a general reference to army secretaries on p. 211), proves that the ship, a *kerkourokeles*, was used for military purposes. It is the first attestation of the term. It may be assumed that the boat combined the relatively considerable size of the *kerkouros* with the swiftness of the *keles*, both (in normal circumstances) merchant galleys that could be deployed at sea as well as on the Nile: see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 157-166, 394-395. – P. 76, Table 3.6 (comp. Table 3.3, p. 73): where does the figure 25,000 ("Egyptians or ethnic troops") come from? – P. 88 with n. 131: it looks as if FB has not properly understood a particular point in J.K. Winnicki's interpretation (*JJP* 31 [2001] 133-145, esp. 138-140 and 142) of ll. 23-26 of the Raphia decree (issued in Memphis, 217). The passage is rather obscure and so is Winnicki's commentary in some places. He apparently argues that after the battle there was not only a temporary recovery of Coele Syria by Ptolemaic troops but also a *transgression of the traditional border* between the two spheres of influence, in other words: an invasion of old Seleucid territory (where Ptolemaic officers had joined the enemy). – Pp. 98-100: on the Seleucid invasions of 170 and 168, triggering the Ptolemaic army reforms of the 160s, and the Day of Eleusis, see now FB's recent article "Est-il facile de conquérir l'Égypte? L'invasion d'Antiochos IV et ses conséquences," in *Le projet politique d'Antiochos IV*, ed. C. Feyel and L. Graslin (Nancy 2014) 209-259.

of the thalassocracy's ultimate failure, at any rate "not caused by the use of Egyptians" (p. 64), yet departing from Polybius' simplistic views. A number of classic topics could not be avoided, so the contrasting figures in Callixeinus and Appian (pp. 55-59), the ever contentious Battle of Cos (pp. 61-62), or the story of Patroclus' lazy Egyptian *nautai* (marines, not just sailors<sup>5</sup>) in the Chremonidean War with its historical implications (pp. 41, 60-61, 63), Ptolemy II allegedly showing himself "a fine strategist" (p. 61).

Very instructive are the tables 3.4-6 (p. 76) with juxtaposed figures concerning the Ptolemaic and Seleucid armies, a recurrent theme in this chapter. The Ptolemies, whose fleet was three to six times as large (p. 78), spent three times more on the navy than the Seleucids, the latter devoting huge amounts to their land army even in peace time (p. 77). But the demographic basis of the Ptolemies, who at Raphia had gone to the limits of their human resources, was much weaker than that of the Seleucids. For the third century FB assumes a population of only c. 7 million for the whole empire, that is, 3-3.5 or 4 in Egypt and 3-3.5 in the foreign possessions, whereas the Seleucid empire, which could fall back on a broader and richer recruitment base, especially in the East, would have numbered between 15 and 20 million inhabitants (pp. 69, 75, 77, 81 n. 112, 83, 170; the slightly divergent data should be brought into better alignment).

Several pages are dedicated to the Battle of Raphia and the Fourth Syrian War (221-217 BC), which brought a pre-revolutionary climate over Egypt (pp. 78-83, 86-92). We learn about the composition of the armies, the numbers of the different units, the financial implications and, as might be expected, the increased role of the Egyptians in the army as well as their growing impact on state and society in general. Rather than Raphia itself, it was the resulting Great Revolt (206-186), together with the Fifth Syrian War (202-195), that had a decisive influence on the position of the native population, bringing about a reform of state and military institutions (pp. 96-98; cf. 114).

Confronting two crucial Polybian passages on the post-Raphia upheavals (5.107 and 14.12), FB arrives, in the reviewer's opinion, at a somewhat distorted interpretation (pp. 89-92). While it goes without saying that economic and social motives were involved (p. 92), it also seems that FB tries to play down the national(istic) factor, which was prominently lurking, whether one likes it or not. As the πόλεμος in 14.12.4 points to the Great Revolt of 206-186 (see p. 89), it is clear that the "πόλεμος against the Egyptians" in 5.107, though said

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<sup>5</sup> See also my "Callicrates of Samos and Patroclus of Macedon, Champions of Ptolemaic Thalassocracy," in K. Buraselis, M. Stefanou, and D.J. Thompson (eds), *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile: Studies in Waterborne Power* (Cambridge 2013) 39-65, esp. 60-61, where it is argued that the *nautai* incident is indicative of the deep mistrust and contempt of native Egyptians by Greeks and Macedonians in and outside Egypt.

to have happened “immediately” after Raphia, must refer to the same cluster of events. Yet, following a rather complicated line of reasoning, FB thinks that there actually were two distinct conflicts, conflated by Polybius: one already in 217, the other, the Great Revolt, from 206 on. For the sake of dramatization Polybius would have (improperly) called the former “the war against the Egyptians,” whereas it was in fact a merely military revolt without national(istic) overtones, a typical case of “praetorianism” (p. 91), started in northern Egypt and to be distinguished from the Great Revolt. Centered in the Thebaid with Egyptians prominently implicated, the latter was possibly provoked or facilitated by the rebellion of 217.

Despite the fact that reality may indeed have been “more complex than Polybius’ summary” (p. 91), there is in the reviewer’s opinion no need to underestimate the Greek historian or to be hypercritical about his text. In Polybius’ perception, the Egyptians’ recovered self-awareness and state of rebelliousness resulted primarily from their massive mobilization and participation in the victory at Raphia (compare the Flemish emancipation after the trenches of World War I). These feelings may have simmered for some time before coming to an outburst due to frustrated expectations. The interval 217-206 is not that large, nor should the εὐθὺς in 5.107 be pressed. If there were problems with defecting officers in Syria, as believed by Winnicki (p. 88, n. 131), it was not in (northern) Egypt (what FB says on p. 89 is purely conjectural), and the siege of Lycopolis in the Delta during the Great Revolt only happened in 197 (pp. 89, 92). Thus, there is no proof at all that the Great Revolt was actually triggered by disaffected (professional and predominantly Greek) officers and soldiers. It had to do with *Egyptian* self-assurance, as described by Polybius. That it had national(istic) implications, irrespective of the natives’ previous (in FB’s eyes comparatively favourable) conditions, cannot possibly be argued away.

On pp. 94-95 (cf. p. 101) FB dwells on the ambiguous (sometimes repressing, sometimes subversive) role of the Alexandrian garrison’s soldiers in urban riots and dynastic struggles from 203 onward. Trying to minimize ethnicity as a possible source of conflict, she stresses the heterogeneous, not only Egyptian, composition of the Alexandrian mob as well as the mixed character of the garrison. Overviewing the period between Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra VII (180-30 BC: pp. 98-115), she shows how, thanks to the Egyptian contribution, the state, notwithstanding its decay, maintained enough energy to reshape its army and institutions, while the kings increasingly relied on the Egyptian priestly and military elites.



The fourth chapter (pp. 116-159) is about “Military organization and hierarchy.”<sup>6</sup> The critical Period B entailed a series of consecutive reforms, in part due to a rather quick shift of military activities from the Mediterranean to Egypt and Syria (p. 148). The settled land- and even temple-based army of Period C looks completely different from the well-trained seaward looking third century Ptolemaic forces, mostly recruited outside Egypt. Heavy, light, and an intermediary type of infantry, cavalry, and elite troops are extensively dealt with over the successive periods, with peculiar attention for their equipment (with illustrations) and remuneration in wages and land. In contrast with the historical overview in the previous chapter, the fleet is almost absent.

Some problems remain unclear, like the relationship between the numbered and the ethnic hipparchies (pp. 126-128). FB (pp. 118-123) distinguishes mercenaries (*misthophoroi*, not necessarily foreigners), cleruchs (system started by Ptolemy I and developed under Ptolemy II and III), and the relatively short-lived, difficult-to-categorize group of *misthophoroi klerouchoi* (from Ptolemy III until 173 BC: pp. 122-123). It is not always made clear how other categories mentioned, like the *katoikoi hippeis*, *machimoi*, or garrison troops, might fit into this or the other schemes. The section on the “military hierarchy” (pp. 155-159), dealing with the high command (*hegemones*, *hipparchai*, *strategoi*, eponymous officers), also lacks some transparency (esp. concerning the eponymous officers’ place in the system), the more so as Ptolemaic terminology was not consistent. Fig. 4.1 (p. 124), to which the reader is referred (p. 155), does not seem of great help. There is a short paragraph on the elephants (pp. 153-155), where some “classics” are missing.<sup>7</sup>

Together with the two chapters of Part II (6 and 7), Chapter 5, “Military recruitment and ethnic composition” (pp. 160-198), belongs to the most innovative pages of the book.<sup>8</sup> First the position of the Egyptians in the army is dealt with (pp. 161-166: essential), before that of the “Macedonian, Greek and

<sup>6</sup> Brief remark about p. 154: Ptolemais of the Hunts was situated on the Red Sea coast as well (FB’s wording is ambiguous).

<sup>7</sup> Esp. H. Kortenbeutel, *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser* (diss. Berlin 1931); H.H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Ithaca 1974); I. Hofmann, *Wege und Möglichkeiten eines indischen Einflusses auf die meroitische Kultur* (St. Augustin bei Bonn 1975).

<sup>8</sup> A few brief remarks. P. 185: one cannot understand why the *epigonoi*, tax-Hellenes who bear Greek names in the 3rd century, would have become (Hellenized) Egyptians in the 2nd. Should we read instead “Egyptianized *Hellēnes*” here? Table 5.3 is not completely satisfying and raises questions (e.g. “son of *misthophoros*” does not occur in the main text; what happens in Lower Egypt?). – Pp. 189-190: what are “*misthophoroi* of the *hēgemonia*”?

other soldiers" (pp. 166-195). The Egyptian presence in the third century was unwarrantedly understated by ancient and modern authors alike (sometimes based on an overinterpretation of Polybius 5.107.1-2; pp. 163-164 n. 19). But whereas before Raphia the Egyptians only represented a small percentage, even if the Ptolemies never attempted to exclude them, after Raphia and the reorganization of the army (Period B) they gradually came to play, together with an increasing number of Greco-Egyptians, a central role, both as professionals and as cleruchs. Though trying to give a more qualified definition of the term *machimos*, which "did not automatically have an ethnic connotation" (p. 163; cf. p. 42), not all Egyptian soldiers being *machimoi* and vice versa, in the end FB is unable to clear the fog completely. Nowhere is a clear-cut comprehensive definition given. As to the second-century *machimoi* posted in the Mediterranean, the question of their ethnicity remains open, though FB believes that at least some of them were Egyptian (p. 165). As to the foreign soldiers in the Ptolemaic army, we hear about their ways of recruitment, their numbers (about 200,000 Greeks and Macedonians) and origin. During Period A, a time of large-scale immigration, they enjoyed a somewhat privileged status. Then follows an in-depth discussion on the construction of identities and the different approaches, aspects, levels and types of ethnicity (pp. 170-177). In establishing one's individual and official identity, the factor "origin" appears to gradually lose its relevance from Period B onward. Yet, in spite of all learned theories, when defining ethnic identities, one always seems to fall back on the simple and obvious categories of good old Herodotus (8.144; cf. pp. 172-173, with Figures 5.1 and 5.2, where "customs" corresponds to "tradition" in the full text and where one should read "second and first" instead of "second and third" centuries). Which brings us to the individual and collective ethnic and pseudo-ethnic designations like *Makedon* (pp. 177-195), and the inescapable *Persai tes epigones*, both elements of the designation being somewhat controversial (pp. 178-191). There is no firm, integrated conclusion about the question, not even at the end, pp. 194-195. If the present reviewer might ever have been so naive as to foster the illusion that the mystery would be solved during his lifetime, that illusion has now been dispelled.

The Second Part, dealing with the "Economic status and social networks of soldiers and officers" (a title inadequately rendering the rich and varied contents), belongs, like the previous chapter, to the core of the book. It explores (again with some intermittent inclination to opacity) how the army, through its organization and networks, "developed into a community builder that integrated different ethnic groups," thus bringing "some degree of stability to the Ptolemaic state" (p. 197). The cleruchic system made the army into a vehicle for the distribution of land, offering, from the second century on, the Eryp-

tian population an efficient opportunity for upward social mobility. Chapter 6 ("Settling soldiers", pp. 199-237) approaches the cleruchic system with its advantages and drawbacks. According to FB, "7 percent of the 20,000 km<sup>2</sup> of cultivable land in Egypt was cleruchic land" (p. 209), unevenly distributed over the country, the Arsinoite, Heracleopolite, and Oxyrhynchite nomes in Middle Egypt accounting for a little more than half of all cleruchic land in Egypt (pp. 208-209). Cleruchic land never became purely private, even if private ownership did exist: though demilitarized to a certain degree, cleruchs do not seem to have ever given up all military activity (pp. 225-227; cf. p. 236, against Oates' prejudice, denying the *katoikoi hippeis* their military status because they were Egyptians). An intricate discussion on the difference between *stathmos* and *kleros* (pp. 227-233) is followed by a section devoted to cleruchs' wills (pp. 233-235), which give us an insight into their real concerns, not aiming at "illegal appropriation of the king's property" (p. 233). Again the problem of the *machimoi* is tackled as well as that of the relationship between *katoikoi* and cleruchs. Only on p. 217 does it become clear (the exposition pp. 204-206 remaining indefinite; cf. pp. 120-121, 165-166) what *katoikoi* exactly are and how – as a subgroup with a privileged status (p. 220) – they fit in the cleruchic system. Yet, when reading statements like that according to which private landowners could also enter the *katoikia* (p. 221), one again wonders how to envision this.

Chapter 7, "Soldiers and officers in the Egyptian countryside" (pp. 238-299), is perhaps the real *pièce de résistance*, giving FB's book its particular, unique character. It describes, on the basis of manifold concrete documents, how cleruchs and garrison soldiers and officers were rooted in the country, how, already in the third century, they created bonds of solidarity between men of different origins and social backgrounds not only within their own groups, but also with the general, civil population, including the Egyptians. In this way the army became a factor of social and ethnic integration. The chapter contains four sections, the first two of which are particularly elaborate. The first deals with the cleruchs (pp. 239-261). Contrary to a widespread misunderstanding, only a small minority of third century cleruchs seem to have lived as absentee landlords in Alexandria (pp. 239-242). There are several pages on the social implications of garrisoning and quartering troops, in the countryside and in *stathmoi* respectively (pp. 242-246). Though creating tensions with the civilian population, it is stressed, as we might expect, that these were not necessarily centered on ethnicity, whereas the authorities sometimes supported Egyptian owners against Greek cleruchs (p. 244). As elsewhere, the author tries to minimize potentially negative side effects of ethnic pluralism (p. 245). Speaking about the networks of predominantly Greek military settlers in the third century (pp. 246-252), she again emphasizes the often support-

ive and friendly relationship between Greek soldiers and Egyptian civilians, who were living side by side. Due attention is paid to mixed marriages (Greek men – Egyptian women), an increasingly frequent phenomenon “creating a discrepancy between socio-cultural and administrative realities” (p. 250). These unions are not always easily detectable because of the dissimilar way double names are used in specific circumstances (pp. 249-250; cf. 254-255), a practice clearly pointing, in the reviewer’s opinion, to the existence of a truly ethnic consciousness. Mixed marriages occurred “less frequently in the third century than in the late period, while no marriages between Egyptian men and Greek women are currently attested” (p. 249, but see n. 55). Peremans’ view that they were more frequent in lower social strata, is questioned as cleruchs and other people contracting such unions generally belonged to the well-to-do middle-class (p. 251), that is, the upper strata of local communities in the *chora* (p. 250). The first section finally gives a survey of the cleruchs in the second century (pp. 252-261), when the plots became smaller and the number of Egyptians proportionally higher, also among the *katoikoi hippeis*, who tended to use Greek names. Talking about the socio-economic status of the *machimoi* (pp. 255-261, including the *naukleromachimoi*, pp. 256-258; cf. 104), FB shows that, despite representing the lower strata of the military, they were better off than generally assumed.

In a puzzling discussion concerning *P.Mich.* 1.82 and *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59590 (p. 246 with n. 41 and pp. 163-164, n. 19) FB polemizes against Oates and Aly. Basing themselves on an overstretched interpretation of Polybius 5.107 (Ptolemy IV would have armed the Egyptians *for the first time*), they saw *machimoi* before Raphia as civilian Egyptians conscripted for labor. So in their view the Egyptian Paris (in the Zenon papyri mentioned above) would have tried to avoid being enrolled in the *machimoi* or to be released from such a commitment, as it entailed onerous tasks without any prestige (p. 163, n. 19; p. 246, n. 41). In fact, so FB, as the condition of *machimos* was relatively favourable, Paris wanted “his status as *machimos* to be confirmed so that he (could) obtain land, which would make his case resemble that of a cleruch” (p. 246). In the reviewer’s opinion FB is the victim of a circular reasoning. An unbiased reading seems to confirm that Paris, who had come over (or escaped: *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59590.4 has the loaded verb ἀναχωρέω) from the Oxyrhynchite, indeed tried to avoid (or rather to annul: it is not completely clear how to interpret the last three preserved words of *P.Mich.* 1.82.9: οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον) his enrollment among the *machimoi*.

In the second section of Chapter 7 the social status of professional soldiers is discussed at length (pp. 261-279). The demarcation line between the latter and the category of cleruchs seems somewhat blurred. In the third century

most professionals were immigrants; from the Great Revolt onward, the majority was made up of Greco-Egyptians or Egyptians, recruited in Egypt. They were living in garrisons or in temple precincts used as such or as fortresses, sometimes causing delicate situations. Whereas intrusions in temples occurred in times of conflict, the Ptolemies avoided troubles with local priestly families as much as possible (p. 264), thus showing their respect for native culture. In this context several second century bilingual archives are examined, belonging to various bicultural, ethnically ambiguous families, like that of Dryton (pp. 275-277; Apollonia's exact national identity still not being established), case studies giving an idea of an open military milieu, connected with the local Egyptian (priestly) elites. Biculturalism is a sensitive topic FB feels familiar with while typically distancing herself from authors like Peremans and Lewis who even refused to consider the idea that both cultures could have blended (p. 279, n. 199).

In the third section, that of the "Socio-military and cultic associations" (pp. 279-295), attention is primarily focused on the gymnasium and the *politeumata*. Contrary to the general opinion, FB sees in the gymnasium a flexible and open institution, again an "engine of integration" (p. 289), admitting non-military members and unifying soldiers from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, from the second century onward (Period B) also including Greco-Egyptians and Egyptians: an evolution paralleling the increasing recruitment of natives. In the *poleis* only the wealthiest citizens (including civilians) were allowed; in the nome capitals and villages the link with the army was stronger. In this fashion the gymnasium became "a paradigm of the mixture of Greek education and Egyptian worship" (p. 281, n. 205, after Habermann and Schubart). Discussing the not too well documented *politeumata* (including the Jewish ones), dissimilar from one another (pp. 290-295), FB tries to play down (without being able to completely ignore) the national factor. Resulting from a bottom-up-process (p. 294), *politeumata* would have had an essentially (but not exclusively) military character, while cultic bonds at any rate prevailed over ethnicity.

The fourth section compares Ptolemaic and Seleucid settlements (pp. 295-299). The different geographical and administrative situations in the two empires (almost total absence versus abundance of *poleis*, pre-existing centralized bureaucracy versus multiplicity of administrative unities), involving different settlement strategies, had long-lasting effects. The fact that the majority of the Greco-Macedonian Seleucid army was settled in garrisons linked with *poleis* (having more rigid rules) rather than with the countryside – most Seleucid *katoikoi* seem to have been civilians – gave it better training opportunities but hampered its interaction with other ethnic groups.

The two chapters (8 and 9) of Part III, "The army and Egyptian temples," show to what extent the Ptolemaic army became, especially from the second century onward, intertwined with local priestly families and sacred institutions, the heart and soul of Egyptian society. As some of these families climbed up in the army and the latter became more and more rooted in traditional society, the king could rely on a growing network of persons with attachments in both army and temples, indispensable for reasserting his control over the country after the Great Revolt.

In Chapter 8, "Priests in the army: a politico-ideological explanation" (pp. 303-328), it is made clear how the (later) Ptolemies favored the concentration of military and religious power in the same hands, encouraging in this way the recrudescence of a pre-Ptolemaic pattern (cf. the discussion in 8.3, pp. 311-313), a pattern that had almost died out in the third century BC. Once more this emphasizes the significance of native Egyptians (via their elites) for the survival of the Ptolemaic state. During their whole reign the Ptolemies found priestly families favorable to their government (pp. 305-311). They were deemed qualified for military promotion, whereas many "military men with priestly functions came from Egyptian families that traditionally held hereditary priestly functions" (p. 306). In two successive sections (pp. 313-316 and 316-319), the "Distribution of soldiers and officers with priestly functions over time and space" and their "Social background" are expounded. The 62 soldiers and officers are listed in Table 1 of the Appendix (pp. 369-371). We should keep in mind that "high-ranking officers with priestly functions are localized mainly in areas where internal revolts arose: the Delta and Upper-Egypt" (p. 315). Particularly worth reading is section 8.6 on "Greek and Egyptian backgrounds" (pp. 321-327). Besides "the Egyptian priestly elite within the Ptolemaic army" (pp. 323-327; some of them *nome-strategoi*), there were two Greek officers and perhaps one Greco-Egyptian with Egyptian priestly functions (pp. 322-323). About 38% of the Egyptian officers were priests and for the entire Ptolemaic period Egyptians represent c. 10-15% of the officers. Only 7 soldier-priests out of the 62 are attested for the third century, almost exclusively in the Delta (pp. 324-325). In parallel with local recruitment, the number of Egyptian soldier-priests significantly increased from the second century onward. For the Egyptian elite the army was a means of integrating themselves into the Ptolemaic establishment; the Ptolemies, on the other hand, could take advantage of these loyal officers with their key military and religious positions to gain a foothold in the local communities.

Chapter 9, "The army and Egyptian temple-building" (pp. 329-362), investigates how, from the second century onward, officers and soldiers, the latter often grouped in associations whose memberships "were more flexible

in terms of ethnicity and profession than usually thought" (p. 339), played an important role in financing temple construction to complement royal and temple funds. The process was facilitated by the positions some army members held in temples and by the establishment of garrison troops in close proximity to temple walls or even within temple precincts, proving that the presence of soldiers in villages and towns cannot be reduced to a source of tensions with the civil population (p. 329). The way temple-building (or -restoring) was financed, was complex (both private and public, royal and temple funding) and subject to evolution (for temple-building and -financing in the Fayyum under Ptolemy I and II, see p. 349). At any rate, the army was involved all over Egypt (cf. the list of benefactions performed by soldiers in favor of Egyptian temples in Table 2 of the Appendix [pp. 372-378]), an involvement that had been almost non-existent under the first three Ptolemies. The last sections give a detailed geographical survey of the dedications. It is hardly surprising that in the *chora* only very few Greek-style temples were built. More important is the fact that after the Great Revolt (and to a certain extent already before) Egyptians were integrated into the Ptolemaic army, and soldiers into the local elites, and that over the centuries Egyptian priestly families mixed with Greek immigrants, "creating an ethnically and culturally mixed elite that dominated the most important offices" (p. 352).

FB, for whom "professional and ethnic divisions (were) often over emphasized by Hellenistic historians" (p. 362), is a scholar who stands for inclusiveness and interprets history from that (somewhat idealistic?) point of view. In this way she also is a child of her time. But whatever assessments will be made, one thing is certain: never again will Ptolemaic society be approached as before.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> A few minor remarks. P. 72: read *ennērēs*. – P. 89: "pitched battle ... recording" is a quotation from Pol. 14.12.4, not 5.107. – P. 124: Figure 4.1, at the bottom right: read *Laarchiai* (cf. p. 122). – Pp. 155-159 (cf. 124): unnecessary alternation *hipparchēs/os*. – P. 213, ll. 1-2: read "100- or 80-aroura *klēroi*" instead of "one 100- or 800-aroura *klēroi*." – P. 255: being "the third aspect of the cleruchic system", the sub-section "7.1.4.1" should have been "7.1.4.3" after "7.1.4.1" ("The decrease ...") and "7.1.4.2" ("The second ... feature ...") (p. 253). – P. 329 (cf. n. 3): read "seven [cases] in the Thebaid" instead of "six."



## Reviews

Sandra Luisa Lippert and Martin Andreas Stadler (eds.), with the assistance of Ulrike Jakobeit, *Gehilfe des Thot. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014. x + 192 pages. ISBN 978-3-447-10236-0.

Few scholars have contributed so much to the *Neue Welle* in Demotic studies in Germany as Karl-Theodor Zauzich. Few can also boast the reception of no less than two *Festschriften*, one for his 65th and one for his 75th birthday. The papers published in this volume, edited by Sandra Lippert and Martin Stadler, were written by Demotists who have all been students of Zauzich at some time or other and are now often big names working at prestigious institutes all over the world.

Carolyn Arlt, "A Demotic Letter from the Stanford Green Collection (P. Stanford Green Demotic 70)" (pp. 1-5) starts off with a Ptolemaic Demotic letter of unknown provenance (but somewhere from the Fayyum), which appears to deal with either an order or a lease of natron, and is, as letters often are, frustratingly unclear. This being said, there is an issue with the plate on p. 5. It is almost impossible to check the transliteration of the verso, so a facsimile would have been helpful. Alejandro Botta, "Die Terminologie von Diebstahl und Raub in einem demotischen Brief an Thot (P.Chicago 19422) und ihre aramäischen Entsprechungen" (pp. 7-11) looks at the Aramaic counterparts to the Demotic terms for theft and robbery in the Demotic letter P.Chicago 19422, viz. *t3y* (*n kns*) and *ir n=f*. Botta carefully avoids the problem whether Aramaic legal language borrowed from Demotic or vice versa, although some readers might have expected a reference to the ground-breaking article by Robert Ritner,<sup>1</sup> showing which scribal tradition was the borrower and which the lender. Mark Depauw, "An Anonymous Pharaoh: The Revolt against Teos illustrated by a Deir Abu Hennis Graffito" (p. 13-20) addresses a very faint graffito (p. 19) that was digitally enhanced to enable the reader to read along (p. 20). Although no actual king is mentioned there is a reference to a general *T3y-Hr-p3-t3*, whom Depauw identifies with Tjaiherpata son of Achoapis, a famous general involved in the struggle between several pretenders to the

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<sup>1</sup> "Third Intermediate Period Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology," in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Congress of Demotic Studies. Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999* (Copenhagen 2002) 343-358.

throne. In Depauw's view the fact that no king is mentioned by name may reflect the uncertain outcome of this struggle at the time when this graffito was written. In line 2 of his transliteration one would rather read *dī{.t}* instead of *dī*.

Christina Di Cerbo, "Seven Offering Tables and a Mummy Label from the Magazines of Luxor Temple" (pp. 21-27) presents various objects that were kept at the Luxor temple before they were moved to a new location. It is not sure whether the reading *T3-šr.t-Ḥnsw* in Offering Table #1 sticks. *Ḥnsw* looks very different from the same name in line 2 of the text. One would almost be inclined to read *T3-šr.t-Ḥk3* with both the seated child and the divine determinative. The mummy label included in her article is probably a forgery. In "Scribal Routine in Two Demotic Documents for Breathing: Papyri Vienna D 12017 and 12019" (pp. 29-42) Jacco Dieleman publishes two Demotic documents for breathing. This reviewer had a hard time locating his "table 3" mentioned twice on p. 30, but this probably refers to p. 37 top. Otherwise the author makes a strong case for the texts being written by the same scribe, supported also by the identical and rather intricate folding and sealing procedure. Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert discusses an enigmatic ostrakon from Vienna that was published by Zauzich in 1991 ("Der Ritt auf der Sau: kulturgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zum demotischen Ostr. D 70 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," pp. 43-50), casually referring to someone's personal vendetta against the *Jubililar* which may have escaped some younger colleagues' attention (p. 43, n. 2). Fischer-Elfert's insightful comments do provide O.Vienna D 70 with much more cultural historical context than before, so that it may be high time to look at this fascinating text again. Friedhelm Hoffmann addresses the age at which the owner of the Demotic mortuary papyrus P.BM EA 10507 died, in "Das Alter des Hor, Sohnes des Petemin, in P.BM EA 10507 2.3" (pp. 51-53). In just a few pages he takes apart the passage that was previously read as *q n ḥ' bn-pw=w tī n=y š[r] ḥb=w t=y n-im=f* "Long-lived, I was not given a son. I was deprived of him," showing that the owner of the papyrus may have been as young as five years or slightly older when he died.

Richard Jasnow addresses the *recto* of a dreadful Demotic text, and manages to tackle it for the most part, in "P. Vienna D 13766: A Fragmentary Demotic Wisdom Text" (pp. 55-60), although one may differ of opinion from time to time about a reading, for example, *tmt* in fragment 1 line 6, which seems out of place here. Some major effort has been made by Myriam Krutzsch and Sandra Lippert, in "Papyrus Berlin P 23724: eine ungewöhnliche Verkaufsurkunde aus Soknopaiu Nesos" (pp. 61-79), transforming a much battered collection of fragments that looks like a nightmare into a papyrus we can actually read. It requires a real specialist such as Lippert to tackle this text successfully, although a facsimile would have helped, because the photograph does not always allow

one to check the readings proposed by her. Still, we should be grateful that someone was brave enough to publish this text. In "Syrians in the Fayyum: A Survey of Crops on Cleruchic Land" (pp. 81-87) Andrew Monson publishes P. Stan. Green Dem. inv. 11 and 65, two fragments of the same papyrus. At first sight, however, the writing in the left fragment looks decidedly sloppier. The text lists various plots of cleruchic land owned by Greeks and Syrians, as well as various crops and farmers. Joachim Quack identifies what he thinks is the true nature of nine lines of a Demotic text written on the *recto* of column 7 of P. Berlin P 8279, in "Ein Festlied aus Soknopaiu Nesos" (pp. 89-94), which had already been partly translated.<sup>2</sup> If there is one thing professor Zauzich taught his students, it is the audacity to take on any text, however difficult, and simply see where they end up.

Maren Schentuleit publishes P. Carlsberg 430, a delightfully unclear Ptolemaic letter about a cow, in "Mach dich nicht lustig über eine Sache, die eine Kuh betrifft: der Dienstbrief P. Carlsberg 430" (pp. 95-104), which is followed by an exposé on royal statuary from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC by Martin Stadler ("Ach, das ist gestreift! Anmerkungen zur ägyptischen Königsplastik im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," pp. 105-127), shedding light on an area of interest one would not have associated directly with the *Jubilar*, and an intriguing article on an obscure professor from Würzburg called Joseph Kohler and his interest in Setne I by Steve Vinson ("Der erste 'Demotist' zu Würzburg: Josef Kohler and Early German Reception of the 'First Tale of Setne Khaemwas,'" pp. 129-138). Günter Vittmann takes on a Ptolemaic papyrus about agricultural matters (including embezzlement) in "Ein Fall von Veruntreuung von Getreidelieferungen in der Ptolemäerzeit? Der demotische Papyrus Mainz 9" (pp. 139-154). The extensive commentary (including a number of exciting words that are not in the *Demotisches Glossar*, such as *šlm* "zerstampen, zerstoßen" on pp. 151-152, n. 83) and facsimile are exemplary, as was to be expected, although some problems remain. This *Festschrift* closes with "Eine demotische Abrechnung und ein demotischer Brief aus Tebtynis (P. Hamburg D 45 und 46)" by Wolfgang Wegner (pp. 155-183) and Indices (pp. 185-191). The index of Egyptian words on pp. 187-188 would have been the perfect place to mark the words that are not in the *Demotisches Glossar*. It is also unfortunate that the texts in this volume did not receive a text number as in the case of the first *Festschrift*. But these are only minor oversights in what can otherwise only be referred to as a charming present for a man who has done so much for Demotic.

University of Leiden

Koen Donker van Heel

<sup>2</sup> O.E. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts, III: Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (London 1969) 232.



Michael Gronewald, John Lundon, Klaus Maresch, Gesa Schenke, and Philipp Schmitz, *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*, Band 13. Papyrologica Coloniensia VII/13. Paderborn, 2013. x + 255 pages + 42 plates. ISBN 978-3-506-77767-7.

The thirteenth volume of papyri from the Cologne collection includes 55 new texts (nos. **496-550**). All but three are written in Greek (one text is in Demotic and two parchment codex fragments are in Coptic).

The literary papyri include two fragments of Homer's *Odyssey* from the second century CE (**496**: *Od.* 15.329-334 and **497**: *Od.* 17.484-488) and a fragment of nine lines from Demosthenes' *De Corona*, also from the 2nd century CE (**498**). **499** presents a new edition of Plutarch's *Vita Caesaris* 1.1-6, including Cologne fragments previously edited by B. Kramer (*PKöln* 1.47) and ten fragments from the papyrus collection at Duke University. The text receives a thorough treatment by John Lundon. The copy was of high quality, dated by the handwriting to the third century CE, and includes some *Lesezeichen*, such as rough breathings, acute accents, apostrophes, and punctuation. Some of these marks were probably added by a second hand in different ink. Since the fragments come from the very beginning of the *Vita Caesaris*, they add to the discussion of whether the manuscript tradition is incomplete at the beginning, but they do not provide a clear answer, because the first word surviving is the same as in the manuscripts, but it is located at line end. All literary texts in this edition are of unknown provenance, but Lundon does try to trace the origin of the Duke and Cologne fragments. He suggest Oxyrhynchus as one possible find spot, which would be supported by the handwriting.

The remainder of the literary papyri (**500-514**) are unidentified fragments from the first to fourth century CE with the exception of a cartonnage text from the first century BCE, no. **513**. **503** is possibly medical and **514** perhaps grammatical. All the literary texts apart from the Plutarch text have been edited by Michael Gronewald.

The Greek documentary section follows, presented in chronological order. Thirteen texts come from the Ptolemaic, eleven from the Roman, and ten from the Late Antique period. The majority of these are edited by Klaus Maresch. It is peculiar to find that the one Demotic text (**517**), written on the verso of a Greek petition (**516**), is placed under the heading "Griechische Urkunden" in the table of contents. This pair of documents comes from mummy cartonnage; the Greek side is a petition to the king that survives only in part and the Demotic back (edited by H.-J. Thissen) lists deliveries of food supplies to a temple. Another text from cartonnage is a longer account of distribution of field and irrigation work performed in the summer months Pharmouthi and

Pachon (edited by Philipp Schmitz, who dates the handwriting of the papyrus to the third century BCE), where a worker's daily wage was three obols. Many different job assignments include weed removers, wood collectors, water bearers, etc. **520** and **521** also come from cartonnage and can be connected to the Heracleopolite nome; they are both petitions from the third/second century BCE, but unfortunately they are not well preserved. **520** is addressed to a Komanos who may be identified with Komanos "of the first friends" and the Komanos who was sent to Rome with Ptolemy VIII in 161/162 BCE.

Further cartonnage texts are **525** and, on its verso, **526**. They seem to date to the end of the second century BCE according to the handwriting and the prices of food in the list on the verso. **525** is labeled as a "school exercise and metrological table." It lists first the numeral signs from 1 to 9,000 and then some *choinix* to *artabe* equivalencies in the first column of which only the end of lines survive. The second column is better preserved and more interesting, listing money unit equivalencies. The list gives us a formerly unknown use of χρυσοῖ χαλκίνοι, bronze gold, five of which equal one *mina*. I do not see anything in the physical appearance of this text to support its identification as a school exercise. This identification is possibly derived from the contents: a table of the type that may have been taught in school. However, it may just as well be a private note or memorizing table of a clerk who had to work with such measurements.

No. **519**, edited by Eva Käppel, is an interesting small text from 158 BCE, which Inaros, a police official (*phylakites*), has written in an unpractised hand. The text, addressed to one Ptolemaios, subordinate of the *topogrammateus* Horos, is a security that Inaros has received the village scribe Petooous under his custody and will take him to the royal scribe Dionysios. The places mentioned are in the Heracleopolite nome.

Klaus Maresch edits several accounts and manages to make sense of difficult figures. **522-523** are accounts of a cult(?) association datable to after the middle of the second century BCE. The price of a *keramion* of wine appears to be ca. 5,000 drachmas in both accounts. The following account, **524**, is interesting as it deals with sums in silver that were changed into bronze (the currency actually used). The exchange rate was not constant, though. The account is dated to 130 to 127 BCE according to the price of oil (200 drachmas for a *kotyle*). **527** from the Hermopolite nome appears to have been written in the bank and lists bank transactions of people including village scribes, bankers, goldsmiths, and some whose profession is not specified.

The following eleven texts date from the Roman period. The first two are census declarations, **528** from Syron kome (Oxyrhynchites) written in 104/105 CE and **529** from Oxyrhynchus written in 119 CE. **528** is addressed to the

*strategos* Apion and declares a large family of people with Egyptian names, including some double names like Harmiysis-Artemon and Harmiysis-Postumus. 529 is addressed to the *strategos* Demetrios and mentions the prefect (Q.) Rammius Martialis.

The next four texts, from the second and third centuries, are a change in land ownership (530), bath expenses (531), an account of grain income (532), and a list of names (533). They are presented without translations, which is an odd deviation from the practice of the edition as a whole. Among the Roman period texts 536 (edited by Adam Łajtar) stands out, a short letter mentioning medical supplies. The sender of the letter may have been a doctor. There is also a small writing exercise (538) with words beginning with ζ and η dated to the second/third century.

The Late Antique papyri range from the fourth to the seventh century. The first (539) concerns the *annona militaris* for the *legio III Diocletiana* in 361 CE. The last ones are a receipt of wheat (547), written by a priest, for the *annona civica*, and a surety document (548), addressed τῷ δημ[οσίῳ λόγῳ], both from the 7th century CE. In between there are an order for payment (541), an account (542), documents relating to wine (543 and 544), a note to a supervisor of workers (545), and a fragment of a contract or receipt (546), where apparently the garbage collector of Oxyrhynchus is mentioned (the rare word ὀνομεταφόρος). In 545, line 3 I would not read πόλ[ει] but rather the word abbreviated as πό(λει), since the stroke after the omicron does not look like the downward strokes of other lambdas in the text but resembles an abbreviation mark.

The volume is wrapped up by two Sahidic Coptic texts edited by Gesa Schenke. They are parts of parchment codices, the former belonging to a Gospel of Matthew from the eighth/ninth century (549) and the latter consisting of a Gospel of John from the sixth century (550). The page numbers in both texts allow the editor to make some estimates regarding the size of each codex.

At the end there are indices and good-quality images of all texts. This is a typical edition of papyri from a large collection with no specific theme in the texts selected for publication.





Mohamed Gaber El-Maghrabi and Cornelia Römer (eds.), *Texts from the "Archive" of Socrates, the Tax Collector, and Other Contexts at Karanis (P. Cair. Mich. II)*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 35. Berlin, München, and Boston, 2015. xviii + 148 pages. ISBN 978-3-11-034215-4.

In the 1950s some of the papyri found by the University of Michigan excavators at Karanis were returned to Egypt and deposited in the Egyptian Museum. Many of the more fragmentary ones were unpublished at the time they were returned and not always photographed before they were sent off. Cornelia Römer unpacked the shipments several years ago and used some of the unpublished papyri in seminars; she took on most of the literary texts published here herself (1-9). The result of her and her students' efforts is a slim volume of 24 texts of which nine (7-11 and 21-24) are from contexts other than the bulk of the texts: fifteen (1-6 and 12-20) are from houses B17 and B18 and the street BS1 that runs in front of them. The editors plausibly relate the new material to other texts already published from this context, which I connected with the tax collector Socrates.<sup>1</sup> Because the papyri were not found together in one spot but were scattered a bit, spilling beyond B17 to the adjacent house (an additional fragment of the papyrus with Menander's *Epitrepontes*) and even the street in front (a fragment of Homer's *Iliad*), it is better to assume that the "context" is a dump for a nearby house (perhaps B2, as I suggested elsewhere),<sup>2</sup> and that the papyri are from the "archive" of Socrates only in the loose, papyrological sense of papers once belonging to Socrates but subsequently dumped. The more important business and family papers belonging to Socrates would have been kept elsewhere.

The new literary and documentary texts, all from the second century AD, fit what was already known to some extent. The literary texts are more or less run-of-the-mill: Homer's *Iliad* (1: 1.292-297; 2: 2.723-791, possibly in the same hand as the Menander roll; 6: 3.348-353), an unidentified prose text (4 *recto*) and a commentary on the first book of the *Iliad* (?) (4 *verso*; the word ὄχι there does not occur in Homer, but does occur in Hellenistic poetry), summaries

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<sup>1</sup> P. van Minnen, "House-to-House Enquiries: an Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 227-251. For an appreciation see, e.g., R.S. Bagnall, "Materializing Ancient Documents," *Daedalus* 145.2 (2016) 79-87.

<sup>2</sup> P. van Minnen, "Archaeology and Papyrology: Digging and Filling Holes?" in K. Lembke, M. Minas-Nerpel and S. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule* (Leiden 2010) 437-474 at 463. B17 is on the NW corner of the intersection of streets BS1 and BS2.

of comedies or satyr plays (5), and the additional fragments of the Menander roll already mentioned (3).

The documentary texts never mention Socrates. There are various tax documents (12A-F [really a *mixtum compositum* of 3-4 papyri with 6-7 texts, with E frs. 3-4 joining *P.Mich.* 6.380; in D 10 read εἰδῶν], 13, both edited by Nicola Reggiani, 19, edited by F. Hamouda), documents addressed to the *strategos* (14, 17, both edited by E.A. Selim, and 18, edited by S. Soliman), a receipt for rent (15, edited by M.G. El-Maghrabi), a notification of death (?) (16, edited by R. El-Moftach), and a letter from a woman (?) (20, edited by F. Hamouda; the identification of the gender is based on the script alone). The variety of texts could reflect the variety of roles Socrates would have had over the course of his career – his position as one of the main collectors of money taxes at Karanis just happens to be the best known.

The texts from other contexts are literary and documentary. From the same house (B25) are two fragments of Homer's *Iliad* (7.26-35; 8.511-515). From another house (B12) come a medical text (10) on the *recto* and a fragment of Epictetus' *Discourses* (11: 4.1.136-138) on the *verso*, both texts edited by David Leith and joining *P.Lit.Lond.* 166 and 58, which we now know came from Karanis. From another house (034) comes a fragment of Demosthenes' *De corona* (9: 85-86).

The documents not from the "archive" of Socrates come from nearby houses B7: an application for a lease of catocic land (21, edited by M.G. El-Maghrabi), and B13: a list of names (22, edited by S. El-Masry and S. Soliman), and from other houses: 4069: a receipt (23, edited by M.G. El-Maghrabi), and 131 (below the floor): a letter to a monk (?) (24, the only chronological outlier in the volume [fourth century AD], edited by F. Hamouda).

The volume comes with color pictures in the text and is of a high editorial standard. We eagerly await more such volumes for the unpublished material from the "archive" of Socrates and other contexts, both in Cairo and at Ann Arbor.

*University of Cincinnati*

Peter van Minnen

R.P. Salomons. *P. Cair. Preis.*<sup>2</sup> Papyrologica Bruxellensia 35. Bruxelles: Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 2014. x + 120 pages. ISBN 978-2-9600834-1-5.

This book is a re-edition of 35 out of the 48 papyri published by Friedrich Preisigke in 1911 as *Griechische Urkunden des Ägyptischen Museums zu Kairo (P.Cair.Preis.)*.<sup>1</sup> As usual in those days, the papyri were published without translation and plates and with often only scanty notes; only a few parallel texts were known at the time. The images were later published in a separate volume by Soheir el Sawy and A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *The Cairo-Preisigke Papyri – Plates* (Cairo 1987). After more than 100 years these still interesting texts badly needed an up-date. Salomons has republished the papyri with the now usual introduction, notes and translation.

All papyri in this book come from the Roman period, except **37** from the third century BCE. Most texts are of an administrative or legal character and stem from the Arsinoite or Hermopolite nome; three (**32**, **43**, **48**) from the Oxyrhynchite and one from the Memphite (**10**) nome. A quick overview: **1** (147 - ca. 150 CE), part of a report of proceedings about a fugitive slave girl: mostly about the liability of the vendor and mentioning the known attorneys Lykarion and Kallineikos; found in Bacchias in the Arsinoite nome, although the lawsuit was probably held in Oxyrhynchus or even Alexandria – for completeness' sake the Greek of the tiny detached fragment SB 14.11397, later found to belong to this papyrus, might have been cited as well; **2–3** (362 CE), duplicate petitions to the *riparii* on the break-up of a marriage by the mother-in-law, who gave away her daughter in marriage to another man; **5** (II CE), summons of, probably, a *strategos* to an *archepphodos* to send up eleven people; **9** (242-243 CE), official letter from a Royal Scribe to a *strategos* (?) concerning revenues of the Idios Logos;<sup>2</sup> **10** (145-146 or 159-160 CE), census return; **11** (163-164 CE), copy of a list with names of tax collectors, written in red ink with remains of seals or stamps; **12** (after 161 CE), judicial decisions granting permission to use agricultural land for building up, among others, a grave and

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<sup>1</sup> The remaining thirteen texts had in the mean time already been republished elsewhere by others. Only the references to these new publications are given, including relevant *Berichtigungsliste* entries and recent literature.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of line 3 probably read καθελ[θόντων; cf. the false aspiration in καθερχομέν[η] in *P.Corn.* 39.5 and ἐφελεῖ[σ]ῃ ἐσθαι in *P.Oxy.* 36.2768.32 cited by F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* 1 (1975) 137; or else καθελ[τόντων with transposition of the consonants τ and θ. The meaning “passing to” (of property) certainly fits the Idios Logos also known for confiscations, and cf. e.g. τῶν κατελθόντων εἰς τὸ ταμίον, *l. ταμεῖον*, in *P. Beatty Panop.* 1.8.206.

two cisterns; **15** (362 CE?), sworn surety for the nomination of a water-guard, sent by a *komarch* in the form of a letter to the *riparii-chomatepeiktai*; **16-17** (ca. 320 CE), duplicate declaration of *bouleutai* swearing to stand surety for another *bouleutes* to deliver meat for the troops; **18-19** (340 CE), duplicates of a list of persons qualified to be nominated as *sitologi*; **20** (356-357 CE), provisional list, written in five different hands, of liturgists, with their guarantors, for the East Town quarter of Hermopolis; **21-25** (II CE), tax receipts;<sup>3</sup> **26** (148 CE), *penthmeros* certificate for work done in the canal of Sebennytos;<sup>4</sup> **27-28** (172 and 173 CE), acknowledgements by *sitologi* of the receipt of grain;<sup>5</sup> **32** (116 CE) is the official confirmation of the return of a will; **33** (341 CE), receipt for the *ναῦλον*-tax towards maritime sea freight and other taxes; **34** (311-312 CE), combining *P.Rain.Cent.* 83 and SB 16.12340, register of copies of bills of lading of various commodities levied from taxpayers;<sup>6</sup> **35** (53 CE), a receipt of rent in grain; **36** (180-181/212-213 CE), short letter about the collection of arrears of poll-tax; **37** (254-231 BCE?), sale of three cows; **38** (IV CE), work contract; **41** (300-350 CE), land lease, possibly connected with the archive of Aurelia Charite; **42** (III/IV CE), *synchorema*, formerly called *donatio mortis causa*, a cession of part of a house meant to take effect after the owner's death; **43** (59 CE), repayment of a fictitious loan (actually deferred payment of a sale), with note of an employee of the notary's office written along the top – belongs to the archive of the weaver Tryphon; **45** (ca. 340 CE), account of expenses connected with an estate; **47** (300-350 CE), fragment of land-survey list; **48** (II CE), private letter stemming from an oasis and mentioning the search for a small boat.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of  $\mu(\text{η}\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma)$  in **21.5** and **23.5**, I prefer the transcription  $\mu\eta(\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma)$  (as indeed supplemented in **22.3**), since the horizontal part of the sign represents the  $\mu$  and the vertical part the  $\eta$ . The same goes for **26.7**. At the end of **21.5** I would prefer Preisigke's reading  $\text{Ταμὸϋ}\theta(\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$  over Salomons'  $\text{Ταμὸσ}\theta(\alpha\varsigma)$ , but, admittedly, in handwriting with *Verschleifung* one can never be certain. In **21.6** the horizontal stroke following the  $\alpha$  of  $(\text{Πρώτων})$  is left out in the *apparatus criticus*; remove the superfluous bracket at the end of **21.7**. In **22.1** instead of  $\text{Καίσα}\rho[\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon]$  read  $\text{Καίσα}(\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma)\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ [\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon]$  (which also fits the lacuna better).

<sup>4</sup> In **26.5**, instead of  $\text{Σεβεννύτ}(\text{ιδί})$  rather resolve  $\text{Σεβεννύτ}(\text{ου})$ , since the adjective normally comes in front of the word for canal.

<sup>5</sup> In **27.12** the reading  $\text{ἐπαί}\tau\omicron\upsilon\text{ν} \dots$  [εἰς is not convincing; the *editio princeps* had  $\text{ξυστ}(\text{ᾶ})$  [ἐπαίτ\omicron\upsilonν εἰς, which is at least more or less expected after the parallel text **28**, but  $\text{ξυστ}(\text{ᾶ})$  is also hard to retrace on the photograph. In line 11, remove the superfluous bracket after  $(\text{ἐτους})$ . In **28.12** the fraction 1/6 is not abbreviated as  $\text{ἐ}(\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\text{ν})$  but written with the number  $\varsigma$  (*stigma*) followed by a slash.

<sup>6</sup> In **34A.11** there is no need to change the original reading of *P.Rain.Cent.* 83 from  $\text{λ}\acute{\iota}(\text{τρα}\varsigma)$  into  $\text{λ}\acute{\iota}(\text{τρα}\alpha\varsigma)$ : as usual, the abbreviation is written with the *lambda* over the *iota*, and both letters are still visible on the photograph.

Although the contents of these papyri were more or less known to most Greek papyrologists, they may be new for other ancient historians or legal historians, who were perhaps not always able to read papyri directly from the Greek transcription. And also for papyrologists this new study of the texts offers updated and sometimes new interpretations, many bibliographical references and additional information such as a list of *riparii* as an appendix to text 2-3, a list of summonses appended to text 5 and a list of revocations of wills to text 32.

Salomons revised the original transcriptions of the papyri with the help of the digital images of the *Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum*, mostly digitized black and white images.<sup>7</sup> This cannot have been an easy task, since many texts are incomplete and written in very cursive hands. Notwithstanding the mass of corrections and additions already gathered over the years in the *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (BL), Band I-XII, Salomons has managed to add many new readings and interpretations of his own. Probably for clarity's sake, references to rejected readings of the *editio princeps* or to accepted or rejected BL-corrections are not included in the *apparatus criticus*, and only when necessary mentioned in the commentary. For paleographical commentary one is referred to Preisigke's remarks in the original edition. Had these details been copied from the old into the new edition, consulting the original edition might have become superfluous.<sup>8</sup> A material description is still lacking: the original papyri, housed in Cairo, could not be inspected. The book ends with a bibliography and the usual indexes.

Rob Salomons took up the task of re-editing *P.Cair.Preis.* after his retirement from his combined jobs at a Dutch high school and university. We are grateful to him for making available (and at a very affordable price) these still interesting and often-cited texts in an updated and modernized format – not only for new generations of papyrologists but, thanks to the addition of commentaries, context and English translations, now also for a wider circle of researchers of ancient history and law.

*Papyrological Institute, Leiden University*

Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk

<sup>7</sup> Online available at <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/index.shtml> or through the individual entries of each text in Papyri.info (accessed December 2015).

<sup>8</sup> The 1911 edition of *P.Cair.Preis.* can be downloaded at <https://archive.org/details/griechischeurkun00preiuoft> (accessed December 2015).





Kevin W. Wilkinson, *New Epigrams of Palladas: A Fragmentary Papyrus Codex* (P.CtYBR inv. 4000). American Studies in Papyrology 52. Durham, NC: American Society of Papyrologists, 2012. xi + 214 pages + 12 plates. ISBN 9780979975851.

The volume contains the first publication of a fourth-century fragmentary papyrus codex, which was acquired by Yale twenty years ago (1996). The codex preserves portions of approximately sixty Greek epigrams, which have been attributed by their editor Kevin W. Wilkinson to the Late Antique Alexandrian poet Palladas. These poems, written in an informal script and in elegiac meter, deserve the attention of both papyrologists and classical philologists, since they significantly improve our knowledge of the history of the Late Antique Greek epigram and the literary production of Palladas. Thus far, the latter consisted of around 150 epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology*. The new papyrus has already been catalogued in the electronic databases of literary papyri (TM and LDAB 145316; Mertens-Pack 1333.01).

The volume has the usual structure of a papyrological edition. Following the prefatory material (preface, list of contents, abbreviations, and a list of figures and plates), the main body of the book is divided into three main sections: (a) introduction (pp. 1-64), (b) edition of the text (pp. 65-119), and (c) commentary, including translations (pp. 120-184). The book concludes with a bibliography (pp. 185-195), the usual indices (pp. 196-214) and a set of twelve high-quality black-and-white printed photos of the preserved parts of the codex. In addition to the printed plates included in this book, digital images are available online on the website of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.<sup>1</sup>

The introduction deals with a variety of issues and is divided into seven chapters. Four of them are authored by Kevin W. Wilkinson (C. Orthography and Other Scribal Characteristics; D. Contents of the Codex; F. Authorship and Date; G. Historical Notes), whereas the remaining three are by Robert G. Babcock (A. Codicological Reconstruction), Ruth Duttonhöfer (B. Paleography) and Akihiko Watanabe (E. Metrics). This Introduction offers a comprehensive and useful, although sometimes unnecessarily detailed, discussion of the layout, physical and formal characteristics, and contents of the codex.

The *editio princeps* of the new papyrus is offered in the second part of the book, which includes a diplomatic transcription, facing text, and notes on

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<sup>1</sup> <http://brbl-legacy.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=4000%20qua>.

paleography.<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson's edition of the new text, based on careful autopsy, is reliable. This is particularly commendable, since the papyrus is preserved in a fragmentary condition: not a single epigram survives in its entirety, and in many cases the script is badly abraded. Furthermore, on many occasions the editor demonstrates good philological skills. For example, he supplements the rare ἀδωροδόκος instead of the much more frequent ἀδωροδόκητος at codex page 6, l. 22; the reason for his choice (although not mentioned *expressis verbis* in the commentary) is obviously the use of this rare word in epigrams. The layout of the transcription and facing text is unusual and rather unfortunate. The effort to reflect the fragmentary nature of the codex folios in the book layout results in large empty spaces on the pages. This is, for instance, the case on pages 66-69, 90-91, 94-99, and 102-113.

The third part of the volume offers a detailed commentary on the preserved parts of the codex pages. All in all, the commentary is of high quality. In some cases, however, the interpretation seems to be problematic or even erroneous. This is the case, for instance, with regard to the terms *πρυτανεία*, *πρυτανεύω*, and *πρύτανις*, which are interpreted as "imperial campaign," "imperial campaigning," and "emperor" (see p. 162).<sup>3</sup>

The indices are generally reliable, yet many minor problems surface, which a careful final edit would have easily prevented: (a) the alphabetical order is not always correct (cf. e.g. p. 201, where *τήκω* has been placed after the words beginning with *τι-*, and *φυλάσσω* after the entry *φῶλον*); (b) occasionally, the *lemmata* do not present the expected forms of words (e.g. there is an entry *εἶπον* instead of *λέγω* on p. 198); (c) it is not entirely correct to include as separate entries forms like *κάμέ*, *κᾶν*, *καῦ* (p. 199), which are in fact two words; (d) it is unnecessary to include proper and geographical names both in the special indices and the general index of Greek words; (e) problems with accents (cf. *δυστυχῆς* on p. 198) and typos (cf. *Ἑρμαῖος* on pp. 196 and 198, *φιλέταιρος* on p. 201).

Although this publication had been eagerly anticipated by scholars, it has not yet provoked the amount of scholarly discussion that was expected. With

<sup>2</sup> Both the edition and the commentary have profited from earlier drafts and from the comments of participants at a graduate student seminar in Yale's Department of Classics organized by Ann Hanson in 2001, many of whom continued to work on the codex after the end of the seminar, as well as from contributions of a number of scholars mentioned in the Preface.

<sup>3</sup> On this problem see the remarks of R. Ast in his recent review of the volume (*BMCR* 2014.02.23).

the exception of a number of reviews,<sup>4</sup> almost all of the ensuing scholarship was presented in the international conference “Palladas and the New Papyrus,” which took place on 4-5 September 2014 at the University of London and was organized by M. Kanellou (UCL), C. Carey (UCL), and E. Hall (KCL).<sup>5</sup> The proceedings of this symposium are being prepared for publication.

Much of the value of the new edition lies in Wilkinson’s discussion of two central issues raised by the material provided by the Yale codex: the authorship of the new poems and the dating of Palladas, if indeed he is the author of the new epigrams. Concerning the issue of authorship, Wilkinson suggests that the new epigrams should probably be attributed to Palladas. The argument for this hypothesis is based mainly on two passages from the codex, which overlap with well-known epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology*, the first of which is ascribed to Palladas by the Palatine corrector (page 21 of the codex, ll. 5–8 = *Greek Anthology* 9.379), while the other (page 12, ll. 28–31 = *Greek Anthology* 9.127) was attributed to the same Alexandrian poet by F. Jacobs. Wilkinson offers further strong arguments in favor of the attribution of all the epigrams of the codex to Palladas by pointing out a series of thematic similarities between the new material and the known epigrams of the poet, which have been preserved by the medieval tradition (see pp. 42–56 of the volume). In his review of Wilkinson’s book R. Ast noticed that, although the editor’s hypothesis cannot be regarded as absolutely certain, “the burden of proof now lies with anyone who does not believe that some or all of the verses are by Palladas.” Wilkinson’s argument was questioned at the London symposium and again in a recent article of L. Benelli.<sup>6</sup> In my view, the identification proposed by Wilkinson, although not absolutely certain, remains the best hypothesis, Palladas being by far the most plausible candidate for the authorship of the new epigrams.

Concerning Palladas’ date, Wilkinson suggests that the new material supports an earlier dating than previously believed, that is, from the 250s or 260s until at least the early 330s instead of *ca.* 319–400. This is a highly complex issue, which depends on several presuppositions and unknown factors. The suggested re-dating is, in my view, an attractive one, yet counter-arguments could be and have been raised. For some of the possible objections, see, for instance, the aforementioned reviews of Ast (n. 3) and Dijkstra (n. 4) and the article of Benelli (n. 6). On the other hand, Wilkinson has defended his

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the review by Ast (n. 3), see J.H.F. Dijkstra in *Phoenix* 68 (2014) 370–373, J. Lenaerts in *CE* 89 (2014) 182–185, M. Kanellou in *CW* 108 (2014) 134–135, and E. van Opstall in *Mnemosyne* 68 (2015) 156–161.

<sup>5</sup> See <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/classics/events/Palladas2014>.

<sup>6</sup> L. Benelli, “Osservazioni sul P. Ct. YBR Inv. 4000 e sulla sua attribuzione a Pallada di Alessandria,” *ZPE* 193 (2015) 53–63.

position in a recent article where he has put forward another interesting and rather convincing argument, namely the use of the title *primipilaris* in *Greek Anthology* 6.86.<sup>7</sup>

In short, Wilkinson and his collaborators are to be congratulated for providing classicists with a valuable supplement to the corpus of Greek epigrams and with a study that contributes significantly to our knowledge of the development of this literary genre in Late Antiquity. The editor is to be commended for his hard work on deciphering and interpreting the fragmentary codex as well as for his effort to place the new material in its philological and historical context and to suggest elaborate, methodologically sound and convincing solutions to the problems that this material raises.<sup>8</sup>

*University of Athens*

Amphilochios Papathomas

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<sup>7</sup> K.W. Wilkinson, "More Evidence for the Date of Palladas," *ZPE* 196 (2015) 67-71.

<sup>8</sup> The present review was written at the University of Vienna in the framework of a project in the Lise Meitner Programme (M 1677-G21) of the Austrian Science Foundation.

Alain Delattre, and Sarah J. Clackson, *Papyrus grecs et coptes de Baouît conservés au Musée du Louvre (P. Louvre Bawit 1-83)*. Bibliothèque d'études coptes 22. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2014. 183 pages. ISBN 9782724706468.

The monastery of Apa Apollos at Bawit was one of the most important monastic establishments in Late Antique Egypt. It was situated near Hermopolis and is documented between the fourth and tenth centuries AD. Its abundant archaeological, epigraphical, literary, and papyrological sources give an extraordinary possibility to study monastic culture and life in Late Antique and early Islamic Egypt. Papyrological research on the monastery has been increasing in the last 20 years especially, but not exclusively, thanks to the work of Anne Boud'hors, Alain Delattre, and the late Sarah Clackson. The reconstruction of the papyrus archives of Bawit is an ongoing and challenging scholarly task. It is perhaps not an overstatement to say that Bawit has become a major theme in Late Antique and early Islamic papyrology.

The book under review (*P. Louvre Bawit*) contains an edition of 73 papyri preserving 83 Greek and Coptic texts from the Apa Apollos monastery. In 1993 the daughter of Jean Clédât donated 85 fragments of Greek and Coptic papyri to the Louvre. The bulk of the material (76 fragments, of which three join to others) stems from Clédât's excavations at Bawit between 1901 and 1905,<sup>1</sup> the remaining nine come from Akhmim. Although Clédât recognized the importance of documentary texts, his publications contain few hints concerning the archaeological context of the papyri. In 1996, the edition of this material was assigned to Sarah J. Clackson. Her early death in 2003 prevented her from finishing work on these papyri. One year later, Alain Delattre took over the project: he expanded Clackson's drafts and examined the papyri that had not been studied by her. The present volume contains the results of his work.

Some of the papyri in this volume have already been published, but most appear here for the first time. The majority dates to the seventh-eighth century AD, but some may be earlier (sixth century) or later (ninth century). The uncertainties in dating these texts should not come as a surprise: typically, Coptic handwriting is extremely difficult to date with precision. Although several texts are very fragmentary and do not provide much information in and of themselves, they nevertheless give an impression of the scale of document production in Bawit. The administrative documents include orders for delivery and payment, a tax receipt, and several other texts related to taxation or the

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<sup>1</sup> It is worth mentioning that the heirs of Clédât are in possession of a further 500 papyri from the site.

internal business of the monastery. Private documents such as sales on delivery and different kinds of legal documents attest to economic activities of monks with each other and with inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. Similarly, accounts and lists offer further insight into the economic life of Bawit. It is especially important that several fragmentary private letters are published in the volume. This genre has not been well represented in the documentation of Bawit so far, since they are usually difficult to attribute to the monastery's archive. Their publication in this volume shows, however, that there is more to be done in this field.

Some texts provide interesting details and I would like to highlight a couple of examples that have caught my eye. Text **1** adds important details about the chronology of the scribes and superiors of the monastery. **2** attests a delivery in oil and perhaps meat (see below) to the Saracen of Pne and **3** a delivery in wine to the cook of the *amīr*. **28** is an account that gives insight into the impressive scale of wine consumption in Bawit: it suggests that 31 caravans delivered more than 1,000 *metra* of wine on one day to the monastery. **29-30** are accounts providing glimpses into the monastery's management of landholding. **38-39** are evidence for a new documentary formula characteristic for Bawit. **50** is a circular letter from a hitherto unknown pagarch adding further evidence on this type of document (for more discussion see below). **62** seems to be a fragment of a magical text. **66** may be an oracular question. If this interpretation holds, we would have the first attestation for this otherwise widespread practice in Bawit. The texts are edited carefully and the commentaries are concise, but informative. The presentation of the volume is splendid, especially the high quality color photos of the papyri added after each edition – a practice one would wish to encounter more often in papyrological editions. There are a few typos and infelicities, but they do not seriously affect the high standard of the volume.

In what follows I offer some minor suggestions concerning readings and interpretation:<sup>2</sup>

**2.2:** Instead of κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) perhaps read κρέ(ως) (κρ<sup>ε</sup> pap.) λί(τρα). It is not entirely clear on the published photo nor even on the digital image whether the raised letter is an ε or a θ. However, the following sign is more likely to be λί(τρα) than (ἀρτάβαι). For the abbreviation cf. e.g. *SPP* 10.43 *passim* (Arsinoite, seventh/eighth century; a digital image is available through HGV). In line 3 perhaps read ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) instead of ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).

**11.2:** perhaps read ἐν after α.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Alain Delattre for supplying me with a digital image of **2** and **29**.

12.1: προσοπ( ) ιδ is translated as “personnes 14.” However, there is no sign of abbreviation after the second *pi* on the published image, but there is a stroke crossing the *delta* which looks like an abbreviation mark. Read προσοπιδ( )? The meaning, however, remains unclear. In line 3, instead of τ(οῦ) read τοῦ.

28 v<sup>o</sup>: begins with a staurogram, not a simple cross.

29.1: The reading suggested for the heading in the commentary is clear on the plate and the digital image, read γνῶ(σις). Α τόπος Ἱερημίου (line 12) also occurs in SB 28.17124.3 (= P.Duk. inv. 93, seventh century). See the notes of the *ed. princ.* on this toponym: N. Gonis, “Hermopolite Localities and Splinter Nomes,” *ZPE* 142 (2003) 176-184, esp. 182-184. SB 28.17124 may also come from Bawit since the toponyms showing up in this list are familiar from the monastery’s documentation and the Duke collection contains several papyri from this site. At the end of line 20 read: γί(νεται) νο(μίσματα) ἴς. Accordingly the account lists rent or tax payments.

30.16: instead of ὀ . [ read ι . [.

32: The long horizontal stroke on the top of the papyrus could be interpreted as οὔ(τως).

44.2: ἰω[ΖΑΝΝΗΣ should be considered merely *exempli gratia* as several other names are possible, such as Ionas, Ioannakios etc.

48.1: One may consider reading [πα]ρ[ακ]αλῶ. In line 2 read perhaps αὐτόν.

50.2: read ΝΑΠΗΥΕ ΝΕΤΙΜΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΖ[ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΝΝΕΠΟΙΚΙΟΝ. The text is addressed to the ΑΠΗΥΕ of the villages and the ἱερεῖς – a sort of village official – of the hamlets (on ἱερεῖς see J. Gascou, *P.Sorb.* 2.69, pp. 66-70). The same formula occurs in other Coptic circulars issued by pagarchs in the early Islamic period, *P.Ryl.Copt.* 278.2 and *BKU* 3.420.2, where we can also suspect the presence of ἱερεῖς. These texts are discussed in more detail in my dissertation *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (Heidelberg 2013), which is currently being prepared for publication. A pagarch of the Koussite nome named Kollouthos may be attested in *CPR* 30.16.11, see also F. Morelli’s commentary *ad loc.*

69: the repetition of the *alphas* in line 3 may suggest that we are dealing with a writing exercise.

80: The phrase ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΗ[ΝΟΥΤΕ (lines 4-5) is also familiar from legal documents and the reference to a *holokottinos* on the back may suggest that the *verso* contained a docket. Accordingly, 80 may be a legal document.

81: I would prefer a date in the seventh century. In line 4 one could consider reading λογιστηρίω.



The volume ends with an appendix that contains a list of the more than 700 published (or shortly to be published) papyri and ostraca from Bawit. The list contains not only the essential data (references, inventory numbers, dates, type of text), but also the corrections that have appeared for each text. Furthermore, several new readings and remarks appear highlighted with an asterisk. This list is an invaluable tool for any serious research to be conducted on the Bawit material.

In sum, this book represents a further important step in the reconstruction of the huge papyrus archive of the monastery of Apa Apollos in Bawit. Alain Delattre should be thanked for his painstaking work on this difficult material which was based on the notes of Sarah Clackson. It can certainly be hoped that there is more to follow.

*Universität Heidelberg*

Lajos Berkes

Anne Boud'hors, Alain Delattre, Catherine Louis, and Tonio Sebastian Richter (eds.), *Coptica Argentoratensia. Textes et documents. Troisième université d'été de papyrologie copte (Strasbourg, 18–25 juillet 2010) (P. Stras. Copt.)*. Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte 19. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014. 489 pages + 72 plates. ISBN 978-2-7018-0372-2.

The current volume is the result of the third International Summer School in Coptic Papyrology, held in Strasbourg in July 2010. In addition to the texts prepared by the participants during that week, additional items have been edited and included, bringing the total to 68 texts from the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg (BNU). This covers a range of literary, magical, and non-literary texts (sections II-IV), over two-thirds of which are written on ostraca (21-66). The volume ends with a general bibliography, full set of indices, and plates of all the pieces. The images are black and white and not all texts are easy to read; some texts would certainly benefit from larger, color images.

In addition, three essays comprise section I. The first two concern the history of the BNU's collection: F. Colin publishes letters between Spiegelberg and Reitzenstein dated March 1898 to May 1899, and A. Boud'hors gives an overview of the entire Coptic holdings. The third essay stands in isolation to the rest of the volume. A. Shisha-Halevy discusses the issues involved in identifying texts written by Shenoute (building an "identity kit" for establishing authorship). As none of the pieces in the volume are by Shenoute, its inclusion here is somewhat odd (and no other lecture presented at the Summer School is included). Nevertheless, its message concerning the difficulties inherent in establishing authorship and its presentation of the range of tools required for doing so is a useful guide for those new to the subject.

In what follows, I will provide only a brief overview of texts 1-26, devoting instead more attention to the two most significant contributions that this volume makes: tax receipts from Djeme (Medinet Habu, Thebes), 27-66, and two late Coptic-Arabic texts, written in Coptic characters, 67 and 68.

Literary texts constitute the shortest section. They comprise biblical fragments in the Bohairic and Sahidic dialects: Deut 7:12-19, 11:29-12:27 (1, E. Perttilä) and Matt 3:2,5-9, 4:3-10 (2, A. Le Tiec); the third part of the popular hagiographic cycle concerning Cyprian (3, E. Fiano); and a *typikon* fragment covering the month of Paoni from the White Monastery (4, D. Atanassova). Section III, magical texts, has an introduction by T.S. Richter, who gives a brief description, in tabular form, of all magical texts in the collection, of which six are here published, ranging in date from the sixth/seventh to tenth/eleventh

centuries, and comprising protective amulets (5, A. Kreps; 6, D. Burns; 7, T.S. Richter), a text concerning eyes and the face (8, H. Vela), and a request for revelation (9, D. Tibet). The latter, a request for revelation of various objects (whether lost property or hidden treasure), is the longest and most complex text, showing a wide range of dialectical influences.

Non-literary texts are further divided into four sections: legal documents, letters, ostraca (mostly tax receipts), and late Coptic-Arabic texts. Two documents, a lease (10) and a loan repayment agreement (11), derive from seventh-century Hermopolis, adding to the small body of Coptic texts of this date from that region (both G. Schmelz).<sup>1</sup> The third legal document (12, M.K. Farag) is a sale of wine on delivery from either the Arsinoite or Heracleopolite nome, and tentatively dated to the eighth century. The text is particularly of note as it is a loan made by a widow. Several of the letters (13-20) contain points of interest. 13 (I. Marthot) and 14 (L. Vanderheyden) are yet further additions to the body of early (here sixth/seventh century) Hermopolite Coptic material. The former, the purpose of which is elusive, is unusual in its use of Coptic for a letter of official character, written to a priest and secular authorities (though I am unconvinced that *πκομες* should be translated as a title rather than a name, as argued on p. 159, n. 2). Through the edition of the latter, Vanderheyden has identified a small dossier of a woman Phoibadia, known only from two other Greek letters. Two letters derive from the Faiyum and date to the eighth and perhaps ninth century respectively (18, C. Heurtel; 19, E. Grossman); both editions include an overview of the linguistic features of the texts. The final document (20, J. Bruning), a late Coptic letter of the eleventh century, constitutes a secondary use of an earlier Arabic text, which was also reused for a list of money required for purchasing two young animals – all texts on the paper are edited. Of the ostraca (all of which are probably Theban in origin), only six are not tax receipts. A range of text types are represented: a writing exercise bearing 1 Jn 2:29, 3:2, 4:11, and 4:16 (21, A. Delattre); a money contract with interest in kind (22, L. Prada); a list of objects (23, C. Hartenstein); a letter to the priest Victor, identified as Bishop Abraham's secretary at the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (24, E. Garel); a letter from an unnamed priest (25, M.J. Albarrán Martínez); and a short letter (26, M. Wiedemann).

The largest group of texts (27-66) are the tax receipts, dated to the 710s and 720s, edited by M.J. Albarrán, E. Garel, C. Hartenstein, L. Prada, and M. Wiedemann, with additional receipts edited by A. Delattre and J.-L. Fournet. Apart from the number of receipts, the principal editors of this section, De-

<sup>1</sup> Trismegistos lists 73 texts from the Hermopolite region dated to the seventh century, of which 28 are attributed specifically to Hermopolis.

lattre and Fournet, include an important introduction to Theban tax receipts (pp. 209-239). This presents a synthesis of the different elements of receipts from the village – not only the receipts published here, but the entire body of known receipts: (1) provenance, support, and date; (2) taxpayers; (3) taxes; (4) authorities; (5) scribes; (6) endorsements and archiving. It should be stressed that this is not an analysis of the administration of taxation in Thebes in these decades, but it is an invaluable tool for such a study, which, to be precise, should await the publication of still more receipts.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, pp. 310-319 contain corrections to 45 previously published tax receipts, emphasising the need for a sound dataset before an accurate study can be undertaken. A couple of key points are raised that, in my opinion, require much further analysis: the date of the ostraca (pp. 211-212) and the purpose of the receipts (pp. 238-239). In a quick note on the dating of these receipts, and why they only cover a couple of decades, Delattre and Fournet suggest that there may have been a shift to papyrus, and that these receipts have not survived. My inclination instead is that there was a change in administrative procedures, more significant than a change in the medium used for writing the receipts. Finally, these new texts serve to highlight (together with the other ostraca from Thebes mentioned above) the amount of new prosopographic information that has emerged for this region since the publication of Till's study in 1962.<sup>3</sup>

On p. 245, there is a note on the issue of the language of the receipts, and the problem in presenting elements as respectively Coptic and Greek. While I agree in large part with how the two languages are presented, there are some elements for which I do not think Delattre and Fournet's decisions are appropriate. My comments in particular concern the language in which signatures were written. The first language of most residents of Thebes at this time was Coptic and, as such, unless there are strong arguments to the contrary, the signatories' signatures should be presented as such: the pattern *NN στοιχεῖ* is grammatically correct as *NN στοιχει*, without the need for the pronominal repetition of the subject, that is, *NN †στοιχει* (which does occur several times amongst these receipts). Two points, which Delattre and Fournet themselves

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<sup>2</sup> Since the publication of *PStras.Copt.*, a number of receipts have been published (e.g., A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem, "Sept reçus de taxe thébains du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 16 [2014] 89-102), and a large number of texts are being prepared for publication, e.g. by N. Gonis, from several collections across Europe, and I will soon be publishing several receipts written by Aristophanes son of John from the British Museum, Columbia University, Kelsey Museum, and the Fitzwilliam Museum. I estimate that at least a further 100 tax receipts need to be added to the current dataset.

<sup>3</sup> An overhaul of W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theban* (Vienna 1962) is a mammoth task, but increasingly a *desideratum*.

raise, serve to emphasize this. The signatory Komes signs **27** and **63**. In the former, his signature is presented as Greek, in the latter as Coptic, due to the inclusion of the pronominal subject  $\text{ⲧ-}$ . Yet, his handwriting is the same throughout. In other examples, unusual mixed-language sentences are created, such as  $\text{M}\bar{\alpha}\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma \text{ⲡ}\bar{\alpha}\pi\eta \text{ⲥ}\text{ⲱ}\text{ⲓ}\chi(\epsilon\bar{\iota})$  in **53.7**; cf. similarly **55.9–10** and **59.8–9**. This is not representative of language use in the village: single words within sentences should not be transcribed in a different language, unless there are good grounds for doing so.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, transcribing the signature of Pcher as Greek (in **27**, **34**, **48**, **63**) is unproblematic, given the paleographic features of his signature (as noted on p. 245). There are also some inconsistencies in the application of this rigid decision, for instance,  $\text{ⲫ}\text{ⲥ}\text{ⲙ}\text{ⲟ}\text{ⲩ} \text{ⲥ}\text{ⲱ}\text{ⲓ}\chi(\epsilon\bar{\iota})$  in **64.9**, which, however, is how I believe the signature should be transcribed.

The final section is the edition, by M. Legendre, of two texts written by the same person, an account of 213 lines (**67**) and a list of 70 lines (**68**), from eleventh-century Faiyum. While written entirely in Coptic script, the language varies between Coptic and Arabic. A substantial introduction to the texts (pp. 325–354) is an important contribution to our knowledge of linguistic interaction in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the long process of the replacement of Coptic with Arabic as the language of daily life in Egypt. Legendre's linguistic analysis incorporates the following: Faiyumic elements of the Coptic; issues of rendering Arabic in Coptic alphabet; Arabic loan words and the new contributions made by these texts (especially concerning adjectives and occupations); and the use of Coptic and Arabic articles. Considerable space is devoted to the integration of Arabic names in Coptic, based on the amount of information that the account and list provide. This includes both the inclusion of different elements of Muslim names and the process of transcribing names into Coptic. Of the names, 26% are identified as Muslim, 38% are Arab (but whether Muslim or Christian is unclear), ca. 20% of names are entirely Coptic, and the rest are too fragmentary to identify one way or the other. Legendre stresses the problems inherent in using such information for analysis of religious conversion, thus adding to similar discussions on onomastics in earlier periods.

Four appendices accompany Legendre's editions and discussion, two of which refer specifically to **67** and **68**: a concordance of the Coptic and Arabic alphabets (I) and lexicographic borrowings from Arabic (II). The second two go beyond the Strasbourg texts and draw upon the body of published Coptic

<sup>4</sup> E.g., in some legal documents from the village, the abbreviated notations  $\nu\acute{o}(\mu\text{ⲓ}\sigma\mu\alpha)$  X and  $\text{i}(\nu)\delta(\text{ⲓ}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\text{ⲛ}\omicron\varsigma)$  X can be added into an otherwise Coptic sentence, but this is a systematic usage of such terms, in which numerals are typically written in their "pseudotominoesque" form (the term used on p. 245).

texts in which individuals with Arab names occur. Appendix III is a list of all Arab names, while IV focuses specifically on expressions of filiation. While all the material will be of importance to scholars of late Coptic texts, linguistic contact between Coptic and Arabic, and historians of Fatimid Egypt, Appendix III has the greatest utility to a wider audience – especially those tackling how to transcribe such names that appear in Coptic texts, who do not otherwise have experience with Arabic. It should be stressed that this is a list of names, it is not a prosopography of Arab officials, etc., in the centuries immediately after the conquest of Egypt. Names are listed with their orthographic variants, followed by full papyrological references. As names are listed regardless of whether they are the given name of the individual or patronymics (and so on), there is some reduplication of information, with the same individuals occurring multiple times. This is no bad thing, but something about which the user should be aware. As one small note, because these names have largely been drawn from the appendices of text editions, there are a couple of small errors, which become evident only through close examination of the texts and individuals in question. For example: *P.Bal.* 130 *App.*, in which Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh occurs, is from Djeme, not Bala’izah, as noted (and the date is 724, not 724-729), and this text is referred to only by its older *sigla*, *P.Lond.Copt.* 440 on p. 399. I am also not sure why certain individuals are included in the list. Under the female name Maryam (p. 420), Legendre includes the woman who occurs together with one Papnoute son of Mathew in *P.KRU* 116 (Djeme, 750s), who in fact was his wife, as made clear by *P.KRU* 71.35, and the daughter of Daniel son of Pakhom. She certainly was not an Arab, and the Hebrew name Mariam is commonly found in Coptic texts. Legendre herself notes that it is difficult to determine how some names, especially biblical ones, should be treated, and for such names from the eighth century, in particular, caution should be exercised with some of the entries in this list. Nevertheless, this appendix remains a valuable reference tool.

One of the things to take away from this volume is how much more work needs to be done on the Strasbourg collection. Boud’hors (pp. 51-58) and Delattre and Fournet (pp. 207-209) present an idea of the amount of material available for study and in need of publication. Several tables throughout the volume are also of great use regarding what texts have been published: pp. 56-58 is an inventory of published Coptic texts; pp. 109-110 is a description of all Coptic magical texts; pp. 207-209 is a concordance of previously published ostraca; pp. 308-309 provides corrections to these previously published ostraca. The variety of texts brought together in *P.Stras.Copt.* provides a glimpse of what lies ahead, pending a full catalogue of the BNU’s collection.





James M. Robinson. *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2015. xv + 326 pages. ISBN: 978-0-2771-7504-0.

The basic details of the story of the Medinet Madi Manichaean books are fairly well known. Allegedly discovered in a decayed wooden box in the ruins of a house in the south of the Fayum, the seven Coptic papyrus codices appeared on the antiquities market in Egypt in 1929. They were divided up and sold, with the bulk of the material being purchased by Carl Schmidt and Chester Beatty. Most of the find, then, is now split between Berlin and Dublin, with a few leaves to be found in Warsaw and Vienna. The contents of the codices are as follows:

- A collection of Psalms (LDAB 107976)
- A collection of Mani's letters (LDAB 108139)
- A collection of homilies (LDAB 108112 + 108140)
- A book of Acts (LDAB 108138)
- Two volumes of dogmatic material (*Kephalaia*) (LDAB 107977 and LDAB 108111)
- A volume of commentary (*Synaxeis*) (LDAB 108137)

The codices' poor state of preservation challenged even the skills of the great Hugo Ibscher, who performed restoration work on the books in 1930s Berlin, but World War II and its aftermath left the codices geographically scattered and only partially conserved and published. The vicissitudes that the codices have endured since that time make for interesting reading, from the stray leaves that ended up in Warsaw because, according to one story, "someone found along the railroad tracks glassed papyrus leaves that had fallen out from the transport into the USSR" (135) to an ill-timed sneeze that completely obliterated a fragile leaf of one of the codices (156).

Robinson's book appears during a period of renewed interest in the Medinet Madi codices.<sup>1</sup> A project to edit and translate the *Kephalaia* codex in the Chester Beatty Library sponsored by the United States National Endowment for the Humanities and the Australian Research Council is presently underway, and an initial summary of the work so far undertaken has just appeared.<sup>2</sup> Now Robinson's volume makes more widely available a wealth of documenta-

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<sup>1</sup> The book under review was first published as an imprint of Cascade Books in 2013 (ISBN 9781597528801).

<sup>2</sup> I. Gardner, J. BeDuhn, and P. Dille, *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings: Studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex* (Leiden 2015). See especially, Gardner's opening contribution, "An Introduction to the Chester Beatty *Kephalaia* Codex," 1-12.

tion concerning the acquisition and early efforts at conservation and restoration of the codices in Dublin and Berlin as well as the difficulties that have attended various attempts to edit and publish the codices.

In recent years, Robinson has produced two other publications providing the records of his work in the 1970s and 1980s. They track the provenance of important discoveries of early Christian codices in Egypt, namely the Nag Hammadi codices and the Bodmer papyri.<sup>3</sup> Like those publications, the book under review conveniently collects published reports and selected archival materials concerning the history of these books since their discovery. A good deal of what Robinson presents in this book is already available to those with access to research libraries. The first two chapters are previously published summaries of the results of Robinson's research in the 1980s.<sup>4</sup> The chapters that follow repeat and considerably elaborate these summaries.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One, "The Acquisition and Initial Conservation and Editing" (49-144), begins with the purchases by Schmidt and Beatty. Robinson reproduces long excerpts from Schmidt's early publications on the discovery printed in twin columns with English translations.<sup>5</sup> This information is supplemented with extended references to archival material in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (much of which was also printed in Robinson's 1992 summary; see n. 4 above). Robinson then provides documentation of the conservation efforts of Hugo Ibscher, again consisting of long excerpts from (and English translations of) Ibscher's own writings paired with a later summary published by Hugo's son and successor Rolf Ibscher. Further archival correspondence from the Beatty Library illuminates the contentious process of attempting to edit the conserved leaves. Finally, Robinson draws together a number of sources to trace the tumultuous history of the codices during and after World War II.

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<sup>3</sup> J.M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery's Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin* (Eugene 2011) and J.M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Story* (2 vols.; Leiden 2014).

<sup>4</sup> The first chapter is simply a very brief abstract published in the *Acts of the XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, available online at: [http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/manuscripts/medinet\\_madi.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/manuscripts/medinet_madi.htm). The second chapter has been the standard reference for the story of the codices: J.M. Robinson, "The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi: 1929-1989," in G. Wießner and H.-J. Klimkeit (eds.), *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus* (Wiesbaden 1992) 19-62.

<sup>5</sup> The primary source is C. Schmidt and H.J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Berlin 1933) 4-90.

Part Two, “The Conservation by Rolf Ibscher” (145-188), provides excerpts, again with English translations, of published and unpublished accounts by the younger Ibscher of his efforts to conserve the codices both in Berlin and London in the 1950s. The procedures he describes (such as spraying the leaves with a solution of Zaponlack) are no longer considered best practices, as Robinson helpfully shows with the inclusion of extended quotations from the handbook of Michael Fackelmann.<sup>6</sup>

Parts Three and Four (189-311) consist of chapters of varying length dedicated to the various parts of the codices in Berlin and Dublin. There is a great deal of repetition here, both among these chapters and with the preceding material in the book. Part of this could have been alleviated by simply devoting a chapter to each codex rather than, for example, having a chapter on the leaves of the *Synaxeis* codex in Berlin (193-197) separated by ninety pages from a chapter on the portion of the *Synaxeis* held in Dublin (288-302). Despite this quirk, this section remains a useful summary of what is known about the individual books and what special problems attach to each of them. A short glossary of the scholars, collectors and dealers involved in the story brings the book to a close.

It is without question very convenient to have all this material gathered together in a single volume, and anglophones will be pleased to have an English version of the many excerpts of earlier scholarship. The translations are reliable, if a little wooden, sticking closely to the grammar and diction of the German. One wishes that Robinson's thorough knowledge of the scholarship on the codices had been carried forward beyond 1992, the latest publication date in the Bibliography that concludes the book (aside from Robinson's own Foreword to the 2005 reprint of Crum's Coptic dictionary). Robinson notes in the preface that he has left that task for “the next generation of scholarship.” Thus, the book will not be the one-stop history of scholarship resource that it might have been. Nevertheless, it will be a key resource for the study of the Manichaean materials from Medinet Madi for the foreseeable future.

*Macquarie University*

Brent Nongbri

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<sup>6</sup> M. Fackelmann, *Restaurierung von Papyrus und anderen Schriftträgern aus Ägypten* (Zutphen 1985).



Joseph E. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt: Text, Typology, and Theory*. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 84. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014. xiii + 219 pages. ISBN 978-3-16-152965-8.

Ce livre est une version révisée de la thèse de doctorat de Joseph E. Sanzo (ci-après S.) intitulée *In the Beginnings: The Apotropaic Use of Scriptural Incipits in Late Antique Egypt*, complétée à l'Université de Californie à Los Angeles (UCLA) en 2012. Il s'agit de la première étude approfondie concernant les *incipits* – les premiers mots, lignes ou même les titres – des livres ou textes bibliques que l'on retrouve dans les amulettes et les contextes reliés (p. e. inscriptions sur les murs de grottes) en Égypte dans l'Antiquité tardive. Cherchant à combler la pauvreté des réflexions accordées aux *incipits* dans le milieu académique, S. s'intéresse plus précisément aux catégories et fonctions de ces *incipits*, ainsi qu'aux relations que ceux-ci entretiennent avec les textes dont ils sont tirés.

Dans son introduction, l'auteur nous présente un sommaire des études précédentes (p. 3-8) qui mentionnent – brièvement – les *incipits* pour exposer les principales théories entretenues à leur sujet. Parmi celles-ci, S. préfère la seconde, c'est-à-dire que les *incipits* fonctionnent selon une relation *pars pro toto*<sup>1</sup>, et concentrera donc sa nouvelle approche sur la définition sémantique et l'analyse fonctionnelle de cette relation. Avant de poursuivre, l'auteur prend un moment pour discuter de la catégorie des amulettes «chrétiennes» (p. 10-14) et maintient qu'il est préférable, autant que possible, d'éviter de faire référence à la dichotomie «non-chrétien» versus «chrétien», et même d'utiliser l'adjectif «chrétien», puisque ces catégories déforment notre perception du système religieux et rituel tel que conçu par les spécialistes et les clients.

Le reste du livre est divisé en trois sections qui correspondent aux trois principaux objectifs du projet, soit développer une typologie des *incipits* scripturaires, créer un corpus préliminaire d'*incipits* et développer une théorie de l'usage rituel des *incipits*. La première section, essentiellement méthodologique, comprend deux chapitres. Le premier s'intéresse plus précisément à la relation *pars pro toto*. S. y inclut les définitions et exemples des tous les termes linguistiques utilisés pour décrire cette relation et affirme finalement que la métonymie, une relation du type «part-of», correspond le mieux aux *incipits* (p. 23). Il propose ensuite que la relation partie-tout est différente selon le texte choisi. En effet, il existe une distinction entre les plus petites unités textuelles (un psaume, la Prière du Seigneur) et les plus larges corpus (les Évangiles, la Bible).

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<sup>1</sup> La première théorie voulant que les *incipits* étaient généralement considérés comme possédant des pouvoirs protecteurs ou guérisseurs en eux-mêmes.

Le deuxième chapitre introduit l'idée d'une approche hiérarchique des Écritures dans les amulettes. Cela implique que les spécialistes choisissaient les passages bibliques qu'ils jugeaient pertinents en fonction de la protection ou de la guérison demandée, et cette pertinence était souvent basée sur un lien analogique entre l'extrait choisi et ladite protection ou guérison. Cette hypothèse s'appuie d'ailleurs sur l'existence d'un modèle de hiérarchie des passages bibliques déjà présent en Égypte dans l'Antiquité tardive: les miscellanées. Dans un *excursus*, S. spécifie que la capacité de créer une hiérarchie des Écritures et de choisir les passages pertinents supportait l'autorité rituelle des spécialistes, car seuls les experts en étaient capables.

La deuxième section, qui comprend les chapitres trois, quatre et cinq, nous fournit d'abord un catalogue des *incipits* scripturaires relevés par l'auteur surtout sur des amulettes (papyrus et autres matériaux), ainsi que sur quelques artefacts reliés<sup>2</sup>. Dans le chapitre trois, nous pouvons compter 25 *incipits* provenant de larges corpus, en majorité des Évangiles, et dans le chapitre quatre, 38 provenant de plus petites unités textuelles, en majorité des Psaumes, dont 18 cas présentant le LXX Ps 90<sup>3</sup>. Pour chaque *incipit*, le catalogue fournit la date, la provenance, le matériel, la langue, la description physique, le contenu (de l'artéfact entier), l'*editio princeps*, une bibliographie, ainsi que le texte du possible *incipit* dans sa langue originale. Chaque chapitre se termine par une brève analyse dans laquelle l'auteur note que les *incipits*, autant ceux des larges corpus que des plus petites unités, ne présentent pas de modèles définis, que ce soit au niveau de l'ordre (lorsque les *incipits* des quatre Évangiles sont présents), de la longueur, ou de la façon dont ils sont utilisés.

Dans le chapitre cinq, S. nous propose ensuite de faire la distinction entre les citations des premiers mots de livres ou de textes bibliques utilisés comme *incipits* intentionnels ou comme unités textuelles indépendantes. En guise de résultat, il classe ses 63 cas dans un tableau (p. 147-148) qu'il divise entre *incipits* certains, probables, peu probables, ou encore ne présentant pas assez d'éléments pour permettre un classement<sup>4</sup>. À ce point, S. pose deux conclusions importantes. D'abord, que les *incipits* certains et probables ne proviennent

<sup>2</sup> Sur les 63 *incipits* inclus dans le catalogue, 3 proviennent de murs de grottes (n° 1, 14 et 55), et l'autre est une inscription sur calcaire (n° 2). À noter que certains artefacts sont mentionnés plus d'une fois (p. e. les murs de la grotte thébaine, n° 14 et 55), faisant ainsi en sorte que le nombre réel d'artefacts est inférieur à 63.

<sup>3</sup> Parmi les *incipits* des larges corpus, nous retrouvons les quatre Évangiles, parfois tous sur un même artéfact, ainsi que la Genèse et l'Épître aux Hébreux. Parmi les plus petites unités textuelles, outre les psaumes, nous trouvons également la Prière du Seigneur (Mt 6:9), les Noces de Cana, l'Ode de Moïse et la lettre de Jésus à Abgar.

<sup>4</sup> Seulement 29 sont considérés comme des *incipits* certains.

que d'une petite sélection de textes ou corpus, c'est-à-dire presque exclusivement des Évangiles, du LXX Ps 90 et de la Prière du Seigneur. Ensuite, que la variété dans la présentation et l'utilisation des *incipits* montre l'absence de la standardisation pour atteindre l'efficacité rituelle.

La troisième et dernière section ne comprend que le chapitre six, dans lequel l'auteur explique de façon plus élaborée sa théorie à propos de l'usage rituel des *incipits*. En ciblant d'abord les *incipits* des plus larges corpus, il soutient que ceux-ci fonctionnent selon une relation *pars pro parte/partibus*. Par exemple, les *incipits* des Évangiles ne font pas référence aux Évangiles en général, ni même à un Évangile complet, mais plutôt à une sélection d'histoires, d'événements et de paraboles concernant la vie de Jésus qui sont considérés comme pertinents et efficaces. Pour appuyer cette thèse, l'auteur mentionne les œuvres de Jean Chrysostome et Augustin pour montrer que ce type de relation se retrouvait aussi dans la littérature chrétienne. Quant aux *incipits* des plus petites unités textuelles, ils fonctionnent le plus souvent selon une relation *pars pro toto*, mais peuvent aussi utiliser la relation *pars pro parte/partibus*<sup>5</sup>.

Dans la dernière partie du chapitre six, S. propose de placer l'utilisation rituelle des *incipits* dans le contexte plus large du monde méditerranéen (p. 171-176). Il y indique que, si l'usage des *incipits* des petites unités textuelles s'est étendu à l'extérieur de l'Égypte et dans plusieurs langues (p. e. dans les amulettes et les bols magiques en araméen), ceux des larges corpus ne se trouvent qu'en Égypte, dans l'Antiquité tardive, et seulement en grec ou en copte. Enfin, la conclusion générale offre un résumé des principaux arguments du livre et identifie quelques futurs domaines de recherche concernant les *incipits*.

L'auteur mérite d'être remarqué pour son traitement systématique du sujet, pour son argumentation bien développée et supportée par des descriptions claires, des tableaux et une bonne présentation, ainsi que pour la façon dont il réussit à appliquer les théories linguistiques aux *incipits*. Étonnamment, on note l'absence de toute discussion sur ce qu'est une amulette et sur les liens entre celles-ci et ce que l'auteur considère comme des contextes reliés (p. e. les murs de grottes). Toutefois, bien que certaines interprétations de S. puissent être débattues parmi les spécialistes, son livre est une contribution originale, importante au nombre grandissant d'études récentes sur la magie ancienne, et représente un outil utile pour les recherches futures dans le domaine.

Université d'Ottawa  
Université d'Ottawa

Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin  
Jitse H.F. Dijkstra

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<sup>5</sup> Ici, l'auteur présente une étude de cas de l'amulette PSI 6.719 = PGM P19 ; n° 10, 32 et 58 dans le catalogue) montrant la distinction dans l'utilisation des deux types d'*incipits* (p. 168-171).





Carolyn Arlt and Martin Andreas Stadler (eds.), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit: Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. vii + 226 pages. ISBN 978-3-447-06925-0.

Like so many proceedings, the fourth volume in the Fayyûm conference series presents the reader with numerous works in progress. Although all are of interest, the essays by Cappers *et al.*, Römer, and Monson stood out to this reviewer as worthy of lengthier comment. These three short but thought-provoking contributions to Fayyûm agricultural history reveal that even after more than a century of study, fundamental aspects of the region's agricultural life remain obscure. From the nature of the Fayyûm's agricultural landscape to the functioning of its unique canal system and the average productivity of its fields, we have much left to learn.

This review will touch lightly on all of the papers in the volume grouped by theme – papyrology, religious geography and toponymy, archaeology – and then turn to a more thorough look at the three contributions mentioned above. It should be noted that this emphasis is the product of personal interest alone and should not be understood as an implied criticism of the work of the other contributors.

The introductory remarks by Martin Andreas Stadler (pp. 1-6) provide a thematic survey of the collection. As suggested by a previous reviewer,<sup>1</sup> the editors might have better served the readership by organizing the volume in this fashion rather than alphabetically by last name. Regardless, Stadler's introduction clearly establishes the relationships between various papers in the volume and is a serviceable guide to its readers.

Numerous papers in the volume present provisional studies of previously unpublished papyri or reappraisals of older texts. Carolyn Arlt ("The Name Ostraca from Soknopaiou Nesos: Office Lottery or Ostracism in the Fayyûm?" pp. 7-17) turns first to the 359 name ostraca of the first and second centuries CE found in Soknopaiou Nesos during several survey and excavation seasons between 2001 and 2010. 355 of the texts are in Demotic, 3 in Greek, and 1 is bilingual. These obscure documents generally contain only the name of a single male individual with patronymic (and occasionally papponymic). Since most were found within the town's temple and every occupational title mentioned is of priestly nature, it is certain that the texts pertain to priestly life in Soknopaiou Nesos. Their function, however, is uncertain. Arlt suspects

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<sup>1</sup> F. Naerebout, *BMCR*, 2014.4.26.

that they may have derived from some sort of priestly lottery but the matter remains unresolved.

Moving southwest to Euhemeria, Rodney Ast and Giuseppina Azzarello survey the unpublished documents from the archive of Lucius Bellienus Gemellus of the early second century CE ("New Perspectives on the Gemellus Archive: Sabinus and His Correspondence," pp. 19-28). Their contribution is preliminary to an edition of the documents and concentrates not on content and the historical significance of the document but on the thorny problem of deducing authorship through palaeography, grammar, and orthography.

Returning to Soknopaiou Nesos, Mario Capasso offers a survey of the documentary finds of the 2007-2010 seasons, including amulets and *figurae magicae* ("Soknopaiou Nesos 2007-2010. Bilancio dei rinvenimenti di papiri e ostraka greci e figurati," pp. 29-34), while Sara Marmai presents a preliminary study of two large papyrus fragments from Lecce containing land surveys on their rectos and an account on their versos ("PUL Inv. G 217 and 219: New Documents from the Fayyûm," pp. 119-122). Although the surveys Marmai introduces are palaeographically similar to papyri in the Menches archive and datable to the second century BCE, several peculiarities hinder an easy association with Menches' village of Kerkeosiris.

Also dealing with unpublished texts, Nadine Quenouille ("Aus dem Fayyûm nach Leipzig. Überblick über den Bestand und Edition dreier unveröffentlichter Zeugnisse in der Leipziger Papyrussammlung," pp. 141-158) provides an overview of the Leipzig collection and a publication of three documents, two of which definitely derive from the dossier of Alypius, the administrator of Aurelius Appianus' properties in the Fayyûm during the 3rd century CE; the third is only tentatively assigned on the basis of the unusual form ποτισθεῖσαν, referring to irrigated ground, previously attested only in the Heroninos archive (*PFlor.* 3.383).

Fabian Reiter offers a reedition of *SPP* 22.78, a money loan of 162/163 CE between residents of Soknopaiou Nesos who chose to register the contract in Euhemeria rather than their home village ("Ein neuer Blick auf *SPP* XXII 78 und das Schicksal der Dorfgrapheia im 2. Jh. n. Chr.," pp. 159-167). The re-edited text, now securely dated, is an early testimony to the apparent end of the village *grapheion* at Soknopaiou Nesos, which now seems to have gone out of use long before the final abandonment of the village by the mid-third century CE (see further below).

Francisca Hoogendijk ("Greek Contracts Belonging to the Late Ptolemaic Tebtynis Grapheion Archive," pp. 63-74) also returns to several older texts, namely the so-called "First Batch" of crocodile cartonnage papyri from Tebtunis discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in 1900, and considers whether

the Greek contracts may also have been registered at the village *grapheion*, formerly reserved for the registration of demotic private contracts. Although her conclusions are provisional, the likely connection of at least several of the eleven Greek contracts she discusses to the *grapheion* dossier indicates a higher degree of official bilingualism in the second and first century BCE than previously suspected.

Turning now to the religious toponymy and geography of the Fayyûm, Holger Kockelmann looks closely at theophoric toponyms and cautions that place names are an insecure guide to local cults (“Theophore Toponyme des Fayyûm. Wert und Bedeutung als Quellen für die Kulte der Religion,” pp. 75-85). Although places like Narmouthis demonstrate strong connections between toponym and local cults, villages like Kerkeosiris and Kerkeesis, for instance, fail to demonstrate any cultic connections, i.e. to Osiris and Isis respectively. Only in Bakchias does a clear example of *interpretatio Graeca* emerge though the equation of Soknobrais/s/*Sbk-nb-ršy* (“Sobek Lord of Delight”) with Dionysus.

Through an examination of divine names, Alexandra von Lieven (“Of Crocodiles and Men: Real and Alleged Cults of Sobek in the Fayyûm,” pp. 87-93) also effectively reduces the number of local Sobek cults, arguing that Egyptology has underestimated the spread of cults of deified humans throughout the Fayyûm. Von Lieven warns that gods with human personal names should not be regarded as animal forms – in this case as forms of Sobek – without explicit evidence.

In the longest essay in the volume (“Das Fayyûm als Abbild Ägyptens. Zu den topographischen Abschnitten des Buches vom Fayyûm,” pp. 95-118), Sandra Lippert offers an in-depth reading of the Book of the Fayyûm, a priestly monograph that provides religious interpretations of the Fayyûm’s topography. Lippert argues that the old notion that the Fayyûm was a miniaturized representation of the whole of Egypt was not simply a priestly flight of fancy. Rather, it reflected the historical reality of immigration and settlement from the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period, a memory preserved in the mythological topography of the Book of the Fayyûm.

Lastly, Paola Davoli and Andrew Wilburn offer archaeological and art historical papers. Davoli presents the provisional results of the Soknopaiou Nesos project over the years 2007-2010 (“Soknopaiou Nesos Project 2007-2010: New Archaeological Discoveries,” pp. 51-61). Although it had long ceased to be an agricultural settlement, the village’s temple continued to be occupied into the sixth or seventh century CE. Reuse as a church or monastery is the most obvious assumption although Davoli notes that no evidence for Christian worship has yet been discovered. Andrew Wilburn concludes the volume by

returning to the famous image of Harpocrates and Toutou on the wall of a Karanis granary dubbed C65 (“A Wall Painting at Karanis Used for Architectural Protection: The Curious Case of Harpocrates and Toutou in Granary C65,” pp. 181-193). Wilburn argues that the image had an apotropaic function and protected the grain within.

In this final section of the review, I turn to the three papers mentioned above. The first, by René Cappers *et al.* (“The Fayyūm Desert as an Agricultural Landscape: Recent Research Results,” pp. 35-50), helpfully collects data contained in the yearly site reports of the cooperative UCLA-Rijksuniversiteit Groningen-University of Auckland survey and excavation at Karanis, which has been underway since 2003. The diverse research agendas of the many scholars involved in the project promises exciting results, all of which stem from the decision to expand the investigation of Karanis beyond the town proper and into the surrounding landscape. This broad perspective embraces not only Karanis itself but also the investigation of the nearby sites of el-Qarah el-Hamra and Qaret Rusas, both of which lie to the west of Karanis near the shores of the Birket Qārūn (Lake Moeris). Following their abandonments, perhaps in the fourth century CE, both sites were covered by the lake only to be re-exposed at a later date. More refined dating of these flood-and-recession events will surely further our understanding of the broader environmental dynamics of the Fayyūm.

These environmental vagaries along the Fayyūm’s desert border should be borne in mind while reading Römer’s study of the irrigation of the north-western Themistou *meris* (“Why Did the Villages in the Themisou Meris Die in the 4th century AD? New Ideas about an Old Problem,” pp. 169-179). Here, Römer blames the gradual collapse of agriculture and village abandonment on the breakdown of the canal system. At first blush, this seems like old news – the breakdown of the irrigation system has long been casually cited as the reason for the alleged crisis of the fourth century CE. Yet by viewing Fayyūm irrigation holistically, Römer offers the most sophisticated expression of this theory to date. Indeed, it is arguably only in the Fayyūm that we may properly speak of an “irrigation system” in antiquity, i.e. a network of canals and other man-made infrastructure branching from a single source (the inlet at al-Lāhūn) and potentially subject to systemic failure in the absence of regular maintenance. Römer’s interpretation of the system links the well-known Itsa-Shidmu dam and the low-lying Tutūn basin in the south with the irrigation of the northwest, arguing that breakdowns in the wall caused water retained in the Tutūn to be lost to the Wadi al-Nezla, the Fayyūm’s main western drain. This, in turn, deprived downstream villages like Theadelphia of needed moisture.

This is, to this reviewer's knowledge, the first serious attempt in English to substantiate the theory of irrigation breakdown in the late antique Fayyūm. It remains to be seen, however, whether this reconstruction of the irrigation system is accepted by archaeologists. Römer's reliance on the problematic study of the Itsa-Shidmu wall by Günther Garbrecht and Horst Jaritz raises concerns since the purpose and function of the structure, along with the very existence of an irrigation lake or reservoir in the Tutūn basin, remain debated issues.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, as Fabian Reiter notes in this volume, the village of Soknopaïou Nesos was already fading by the 160s CE, well before any of the major irrigation troubles that Römer proposes. Soknopaïou Nesos, of course, was not connected to the northwestern stretches of the irrigation system yet it still suffered from decades of decline. At the very least this suggests larger issues at play than simple infrastructural problems. For this, Monson's chapter offers a tantalizing suggestion.

Drawing upon a rich assortment of ancient sources and modern comparative evidence – from the *Description de l'Égypte* to twentieth century scientific soil analyses – Monson presents a convincing argument for relatively high soil salinity and subsequently modest agricultural productivity along the Fayyūm's margins ("Salinization and Agricultural Productivity in the Fayyūm," pp. 123-140). This is squarely at odds with the conventional depiction of the Fayyūm as the unusually productive "Garden of Egypt," a description that held true only for the rich lands of depression's the central alluvial plain.<sup>3</sup> Progressively increasing soil salinity, a problem that bedevils irrigated agriculture in arid lands, might have helped to reduce the viability of the Fayyūm's margins over the long term.

Taken together, these three essays open new vistas on Fayyūm agricultural life in the Greco-Roman period. The Karanis project allows us to see the vil-

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<sup>2</sup> *Untersuchung antiker Anlagen zur Wasserspeicherung im Fayyūm/Ägypten*, Mitteilungen des Leichtweiß-Instituts für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig 107 (Braunschweig-Cairo 1990). Paola Davoli has already cast doubt on the notion of a massive irrigation reservoir (*Speichersee*) in the Tutūn basin (*L'Archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* [Naples 1998] 270). For an alternative explanation of the dam and basin in the Tutūn basin see B. Haug, *Watering the Desert* (diss. University of California Berkeley 2012) 162-167.

<sup>3</sup> B. Haug, "Environment, Adaptation, and Administration in the Roman Fayyūm," in N. Quenoullie (ed.), *Von der Pharaonenzeit bis zur Spätantike. Kulturelle Vielfalt im Fayum. Akten der 5. Internationalen Fayum-Konferenz, 29. Mai bis 1. Juni 2013, Leipzig* (Harrassowitz 2015) 55-71. On the central Fayyūm in the Arab sources see *id.* "360 Days of Summer: Experiencing the Fluvial in Egypt's Fayyūm," forthcoming in Tyler Franconi (ed.), *Shifting Fluvial Landscapes in the Roman World: New Directions in the Study of Ancient Rivers*, JRA Supplement Series.

lage as an embedded element of the natural environment, changing and being changed by its surrounding landscape. Cornelia Römer's study takes seriously the implications of a true Fayyūm "irrigation system" in which damage to one area would have serious downstream repercussions. Lastly, Monson directs our attention to the (perhaps increasingly) insecure ground upon which marginal Fayyūm agriculture rested. It still remains necessary, however, to integrate human decision-makers into this now better-understood landscape. There is, in other words, much left to be done.

*University of Michigan*

Brendan J. Haug



## Books Received

Bastianini, Guido, Nikolaos Gonis, and Simona Russo (eds.), *Charisterion per Revel A. Coles. Trenta testi letterari e documentari dall'Egitto*. Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" 4. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2015. xxxi + 181 pages + 34 plates. ISBN 978-88-6655-826-2.

Blumell, Lincoln H., and Thomas A. Wayment (eds.), *Christian Oxyrhynchus. Texts, Documents, and Sources*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2015. xxii + 756 pages. ISBN 978-1-60258-539-3.

Broux, Yanne, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt*. Studia Hellenistica 54. Leuven: Peeters, 2015. x + 318 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-3125-1. *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, Tome 51 (2012), 52 (2013).

Coussement, Sandra, "Because I am Greek": Polyonymy as an Expression of Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt. Studia Hellenistica 55. Leuven: Peeters, 2016. xix and 429 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-3272-2.

Eastman, David L., *The Ancient Martyrdom Accounts of Peter and Paul*. Writings from the Greco-Roman World 39. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature Press, 2015. xxv + 469 pages. ISBN 978-1-62837-090-4.

Gardner, Iain, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis, Volume 2: P. Kellis VII (P. Kellis Copt. 57-131)*. Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 16. Oxford and Havertown, PA: Oxbow Books, 2014. vi + 366 pages + 18 plates + 130 images on CD-ROM in back pocket. ISBN 978-1-78297-651-6.

Litwa, M. David (trsl.), *Refutation of All Heresies*. Writings from the Greco-Roman World 40. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2016. lix + 824 pages. ISBN 978-0-88414-085-6.

Pintaudi, Rosario (ed.), *Antinoupolis*, Vol. 2. Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" 3. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2014. xii + 504 pages + 1 map in back pocket. ISBN 978-88-6655-665-7.

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Soldati, Agostino, *Papiri Greci da Tebtynis della Università di Padova. Volume 1 (P. Tebt. Pad. 1-25)*. Philippika 85.1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015. xxiv + 150 pages, 25 plates. ISBN 978-3-447-10357-2.

Vandorpe, Katelijin, Willy Clarysse, and Herbert Verreth, *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*. Collectanea Hellenistica 6. Leuven: Peeters, 2016. 496 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-3162-6.

Wipszycka, Ewa, *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions*. Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplements 25. Warsaw: Faculty of Law and Ad-

ministration of the University of Warsaw, the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, and the Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation. xvii + 485 pages. ISBN 978-83-938425-4-4.